

THE
SIDDHANTA KAUMUDI

OF
BHATTU DĪKSHITA.

and Translated into English.)

BY
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PUBLISHED BY THE PANINI OFFICE :

Bhuvanēsvari Āsrama,

ALLAHABAD.

PRINTED BY FREEMAN & Co., LD.

AT THE TARA PRINTING WORKS, BENARES.



INSCRIBED

TO THE

MEMORY OF OUR FATHER

BABU ŚYÂMÂ CHARANA VASU,

ONE OF

THE FIRST ORGANISERS OF

EDUCATION IN THE

PANJAB.



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THE SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ.



मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाष्य च ।
वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरचयते ॥ १ ॥

Having saluted the Three Sages, and reflected over their sayings, this Light of the Truth of Grammarians is composed *by me*.

*Note:—*The three sages or founders and expounders of Grammar are Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali. Their sayings or works are respectively known as the Sūtras, the Vārtikas, and the Bhāṣya. The word “Kaumudī” means Light, or the Revealer: and “Siddhanta” (settled-end) means the Truth established after full investigation or discussion. The word “Siddhanta Kaumudī” therefore means the book that reveals to mankind the truths of Grammar as proved or demonstrated by the great Grammarians.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

संज्ञा प्रकरणम् ।

^१ अइउण् । ^२ ऋलृक् । ^३ एओङ् । ^४ ऐऔच् । ^५ हयवरद् । ^६ लण् ।
^७ अमङ्गणनम् । ^८ ऋभञ् । ^९ घढधष् । ^{१०} जबगडदश् । ^{११} खफछठथचवतव् ।
^{१२} कपय् । ^{१३} शषसर् । ^{१४} हल् ॥

इति महेश्वराणि सूत्राण्येनादिसंज्ञार्थानि ॥ एषामन्या इतः ॥ लणसूत्रेऽकारश्च ॥ हकारादिष्वकार उच्चारणार्थः ॥

^१ a i u (ṇ); ^२ ṛ ṝ (k); ^३ e o (ṇ); ^४ ai au (ch); ^५ ha ya va ra (ṭ);
^६ la (ṇ) or l (aṇ); ^७ ṇa ma ṇa ṇa na (m); ^८ jha bha (ṇ); ^९ gha ḍha dha
(sh); ^{१०} ja ba ga ḍa da (ṣ); ^{११} kha pha chha ṭha tha cha ṭa ta (v); ^{१२} ka
pa (y); ^{१३} śa sha sa (r); ^{१४} ha (l).

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^{१२} कपय् । ^{१३} शषसर् । ^{१४} हल् ॥

इति माहेश्वराणि सूत्राण्यणारिसंज्ञार्थानि ॥ एषामन्या इतः ॥ लण्सूत्रेऽकारश्च ॥ हकारादिव्यकार उच्चारणार्थः ॥

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These fourteen aphorisms are called "the Maheśvara Sūtras" or the aphorisms of Maheśvara. They are useful for forming technical terms or Pratyāhāras like अण् &c. The final consonants in these (e.g. ण, क) are called इत् a word which is defined later on. The अ in the Sūtra लण् is also इत् ॥ The अ in the other consonants like ह, य, व &c. is not इत्, but only for pronunciation.

Note :—The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not an इत् letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically however, there are only 43 pratyāhāras ; as given below :—

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छत् । अट् ॥ झञ् । भश् ॥ अक । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अम् । ङम् । ङम् ॥ अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । झय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । बल् । रल् । झल् । शल् and रल् ॥

Paribhāṣā I.—The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sūtra लण् and in the first अ इ उण् । There arises consequently the doubt, whether the pratyāhāras अण् and उण् when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the ण् of the former or with the ण् of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by अण् and इण् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāṣā :—

व्याख्यानतो विशेषमतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ।

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite."

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अण् except in Sūtra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the ण् of the first sūtra and that the term इण् is formed by means of the ण् of the subsequent sūtra. (Keilhorn).

Note :—The letter ह occurs twice in the above aphorisms, first in aphorism five, and then in the last. The object of the first ह is to include that letter in the Pratyāhāras अट्, अश्, हश् and इण् ; so that the rules applicable to these Pratyāhāras, should apply to ह also. Thus अर्हेण, the न changed to ण though ह intervenes (VIII. 4. 2. S. 197). देवा हसन्ति, here the visarga is elided before ह by VIII. 3. 17. S. 167. देवो हसन्ति, here the visarga is changed to व by VI. 1. 114. S. 166. लिलिहिष्वे or लिलिहिष्व, here य is optionally changed to व after ह by VIII. 3. 79.

S. 2325. The second ह in the last sūtra, is for the purpose of *including it in the Pratyāhāra, वल्, रल्, झल् and ञल् ॥ As स्पर्षाह, रुदिहि, here ह् is added before ह् by VII. 2. 35. S. 2184. स्नेहिस्वा or स्नेहिस्वा, here the ह् is optionally changed into ए by I. 2. 26. S. 2617. अदाग्धाम here स is elided by VIII. 2. 26. S. 2281. अलिभन् here the aorist is formed with the affix क्त after the root ending in ह्, by III. 1. 45. S. 2336.

Note:—The अ in लण् is made इन्, for the sake of forming the Pratyāhāra र, so that र, may denote not only the single letter र, but the two letters र and ल ॥ This is useful in sūtra I. 1. 51. S. 70, by which the Guna and Vridhhi of ल् becomes भल् and भाल् ॥

१। हलन्त्यम् । १। ३। ३ ॥

इति सूत्रेऽन्यमिस्स्यात् ॥

1. In the (or of the) sūtra हल् (14th sūtra in the above) let the final letter (*i. e.* ल्) be इन् ॥

Note:—The sūtra has been explained in two different ways by the author. First: “In the (or of the) sūtra हल् (14 sūtra of the alphabet), the final consonant (*i. e.* ल्) is इन् ॥” The second explanation, and the authoritative one is that which is given later on in the text, *i. e.* “In upadeśa or technical formulæ and terms of grammar, the final consonant is non-efficient.”

२। आदिरन्त्येन सहेता । १। १। ७१ ॥

अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्मध्यगानां स्वस्य च संज्ञा स्यात् । इति हलसंज्ञायाम् ॥

2. An initial letter, with a final इन् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

Applying this sūtra to the technical term हल्; (*i. e.* to the word हल् taken as a संज्ञा or technical term denoting all the consonants beginning with ह् of sūtra 5, and ending with ल् of the last sūtra, and not as the sūtra 14th, of the above alphabets; we come to the second interpretation of the sūtra हल् अन्त्यम् ॥ *

२। हलन्त्यम् । १। ३। ३ ॥

उपदेशेऽन्यं हल् इन् स्यात् । उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम् । ततो अण् अच् इत्यादि संज्ञासिद्धौ ॥

2 a. In an Upadeśa, let the final hal or consonant be called इन् ॥

Upadeśa means the first enunciation of a term in Grammar. (Really it is the name of those technical terms of grammar which are formed for this purpose of *instruction* only, but which are not the current words of the language). Thus we get the sanjñās or terms like अच्, and अण् &c.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicative. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ ह ङ ण्; here ण् is इन् ॥ क् ल क्; here क् is इन् ॥ ए

ओङ् ; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औश् ; here ष् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत् ॥ Not therefore, in अग्निषित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

Note:—This sūtra आदिर्गन्धेन सहेता explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāras अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क् ॥

Why do we say with the 'final' indicatory letter ? Because a pratyāhāra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final ई of ओद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of द् and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत् ॥

३ । उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् । १ । ३ । २ ॥

उपदेशेऽनुनासिकोऽजित्संज्ञः स्यात् ॥ प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥ लणसूत्रस्यावर्णेन सहेताचार्यमाणं रफी रल्योः संज्ञा । प्रत्याहारविहितां न महणश्च । अनुनासिक इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । नञश्च ककारि पोरश्चकार्ये हस्यते । आदिर्गन्धेनेत्येतस्मिन्नेन कृताः संज्ञाः प्रत्याहारसंज्ञेन व्यवहियन्ते ॥

3. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

The followers (or knowers of) Pāṇini's Grammar say that the Anunāsika words in the sūtra should be inferred by the way in which it is treated by Pāṇini. Thus the अ of the sūtra लण् (6th alphabet sūtra), is considered as anunānisika, and therefore, it is इत्; the result of which is that we can form a Pratyāhāra र with the र् of the sūtra हयवरद् and the अ of the sūtra लण्; and thus this Pratyāhāra र Ra denotes the two letters र् and ल् ॥ (This gives the reason why अ of लण् was said to be इत् in the 1st page.)

In counting the letters denoted by a Pratyāhāra the इत् letters should not be counted. Thus अश् denotes all the vowels only; the इत् letters ण् क्, ङ् and ष्, are not included. For letters ण्, क्, ङ् are not vowels, by Pāṇini himself treating them as consonants; as the word अनुनासिक in this very sūtra shows. For had क् been a vowel, then the इ of anunāsika would have been changed to ष before क् ॥ Similarly in other places also Pāṇini has shown that क् is not a vowel.

The technical terms formed with the help of the sūtra, आदिर्गन्धेन &c. (I. 1. 71 S 2) are called Pratyāhāra.

Note:—Anunasika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in विवन्, विद्, विष्, the anunāsika इ is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upadeśa' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upadeśa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or gaṇapāṭha or dhātupāṭha &c.

Note:—From this sūtra up to sūtra 9 of the third Pāda of the 1st Adhyāya of Pāṇini there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इन्. "In Pāṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upadeśa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (agama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एध 'to increase,' the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एध् ॥ So also the final अ of स्पृज् is इन् ॥

Note:—If the word is not an upadeśa, then the nasal vowel is not इन् ॥ As अन्न अयः ॥ A word may be an upadeśa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इन् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74 S. 3418 (आतो मनिन् क्वनिच् क्वनिषच्) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadeśa that becomes इन्, and not all the vowels. The word इन् occurs in sūtras VII. 2. 16. S. 3036 (आदितश्च &c.).

४ । ऊकालोऽङ्गस्वदीर्घप्लुतः । १ । २ । २७ ॥

उच्च ऊच्च उश्च वः । वां काल इव कालो यस्य सोऽङ्ग क्रमात् द्वस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञः स्यात् । स प्रत्येकपुत्रासादिभेदेन त्रिधा ॥

4. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

उ+ऊ+उश्च=वः ; that is, the वः is the plural of उ, (as साधवः is the plural of साधु) ॥ (This वः denotes the three kinds of उ ॥ The genitive plural will be वाप् meaning "of u's") . Let the vowels whose time is like the three उ s, get respectively the name of *hrasva*, *dirgha* and *pluta*. Each one of these again will be of three sorts, according as it is *udātta*, *anudātta* *svarita*.

The उ *u* having one *mātrā* or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is *pluta*. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mātrā*. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase *द्वस्वदीर्घप्लुतः* is a *Samāhāra* *Dvandva* compound, in the singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17 S. 821.

The word *Kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As दधि 'curd' मधु 'honey' here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्तः अन्वासे Devadatta ! Here अ *a* is *pluta* or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I. 2. 47 S. 318. VII. 4. 25. S. 2298 VIII. 2. 82 S. 93.

५ । उच्चैरुदात्तः । १ । २ । २६ ॥

तात्त्वादिषु सभागेषु स्थानेषूर्ध्वभागे निष्पन्नोऽनुवाचसंज्ञः स्यात् । आ ये ॥

5. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udāṭṭa* or acutely accented.

Let that vowel be called udāṭṭa which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation such as throat &c. as *अँ*; *येँ* ॥ Here *आ* being an indeclinable is udāṭṭa by the rule that declares all Nipātas are acutely accented on the first (*निपाता आद्युदात्ताः*) ॥ *ये* is the nom. Plural of *यत्* 'who' *यँ* is acute on the final, being a substantive; for all *फिट्* (*Prātipadikas*) are antodāṭṭa by the rule *फिषोऽन्त उदात्तः* (*Phit Sūtra I. 1.*). *यत्* + *जस्* Here *जस्* being a *सुप्* termination is anudāṭṭa by III. 1. 4 S. 3709. Then *त्* of *यत्* is replaced by *अ*; the affix *जस्* is replaced by *शी* (VII. I. 17 S. 214.), and we have *यै* + *ई* = *येँ*, the *ए* the single substitute for *यै* + *ई* is udāṭṭa by VIII. 2. 5. S 3658.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udāṭṭa or *acute* accent. The udāṭṭa is not marked in writing in Sanskrit. We have followed the German system, by putting a small *ṛ* above the vowel. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udāṭṭa. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c. if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udāṭṭa. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent.

६ । नीचैरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३० ॥

स्पष्टम् । अर्वाङ् ॥

6. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudāṭṭa* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As *अर्वाङ्* ॥ This is a compound of the noun *अर्वन्* with the verb *अङ्* (*अर्वन्तमञ्चति*) ॥ The word *अर्वन्* is formed from the root *क्* 'to go' with the affix *वनिप्*, there is guṇa of *क्* and we have *अर्वन्* ॥ The affix *वनिप्* is anudāṭṭa, being a *पित्* affix, (III. 1. 4 S. 3709); and *क्* being a dhātu is udāṭṭa (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671.)

and so the word अवन् is also ādyudātta. The अ of अवन् is also udātta, because it is a dhātu (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671). Then by II. 2. 19. S. 782 (उपपदमतिङ्) we compound the upapada अवन् with अङ्, and add the affix विन् by III. 2. 59. S. 373 (कृत्विङ् &c.). Then by samāsa accent (VI. 1. 223. and 3734.) or by krit accent (VI. 2. 139 S. 3873) the word अवन् retains its accent, while the first member of the compound loses its accent. Then the न् of अवन् is elided, and we have अवे + अङ् = अवैङ्. The loss of accent takes place by VI. 1. 158 S. 3650. The vowel accent known as grave or anudātta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudātta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

In pronouncing an anudātta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone : while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

७ । समाहारः स्वरितः । १ । २ । ३१ ॥

उदात्तानुदात्तत्वे वर्णधर्मौ समाह्रियेते यस्मिन्सोऽच् स्वरितसङ्गः स्यात् ॥

7. The vowel that has the combination of *Udātta* and *Anudātta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of I. 2. 28 S. 35 is understood here also. The *svarita* or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185 S. 3729. "The affixes having an indicatory त् have *svarita* accent." As कन्या kanyā शिष्यम् śiṣyām, क्व kvā.

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udātta vowel with an anudātta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

८ । तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम् । १ । २ । ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वमहणमतन्वप । स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धमुदात्तं बोध्यम् । उत्तरार्धं तु परिशेषानुदात्तम् । तस्य चोदात्तस्वरितपरत्वे श्रवणं स्पष्टम् । अन्यत्र तूदात्तश्रुति प्रातिशाख्ये प्राप्त्या । क्वश्चोभ्याम् । रथानां न ये राः । श्रुतचक्रं श्रोत्रं ह्यः ॥ इत्यादिष्वनुदात्तः । अग्निमलि इत्यादिवुदात्तश्रुतः । स नवावधोऽपि प्रत्यके मनुनासिकाननुनासिकत्वाभ्यां द्विधा ॥

8. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udātta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

The word *hrasva* in the Sūtra is redundant. In a *Svarita* accent, the first half portion is to be understood to have the udātta accent. The remaining

half, will consequently be anudātta. If an udātta or another svarita follows it then this anudātta portion of the accent is distinctly heard. Otherwise, according to Prātiśākyas, the udātta portion is only heard. In the following, the anudātta is heard : क्वचोऽद्वाः ; स्थानं न वे १ ऽराः ; घृतचक्रं चो १ ऽद्वाः ॥ While in the following the udātta is heard : अग्निमैले पुरोहितम् ॥

Thus each vowel has nine forms, as it is hrasva, dīrgha or pluta, as it is udātta, anudātta or svarita. Every one of these nine, has two more forms : nasal and not nasal : as is taught in the next sūtra.

Note :—According to Siddhāntā, the word ह्रस्व is useless. According to Kāśikā, it is important, as given below.

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udātta and anudātta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svārīta*, its mātṛā being one, half will be *udātta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose mātṛās are two, be *svārīta*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udātta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svārīta*, then first half measure will be *udātta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudātta*. In short, the udātta portion of a *svārīta* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिष्यम् *ṣikyam* the *a* is *svārīta*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony ; in कन्या *kanyā*, the long *ā* is *svārīta*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave ; in मानवको *manavakā*, here *a* prolated is *svārīta*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

In the above examples, क्व १ चोऽद्वाः &c., the accents are thus formed. The word क्व is the Locative form of क्तिप्, formed by adding the affix अन् (V. 3. 12. S. 1959) and substituting क्व (VII. 2. 105. S. 1960). The word क्व is therefore svarita-accented, because formed by the तिन् affix अन् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The word चः becomes anudātta by VIII. 1. 18, S. 403. अद्वाः is ādyudātta, because it is derived from the root अद् with the affix क्वनिन् ; the affix being तिन् makes the word ādyudātta (VI. 2. 197, S. 3686). Now वः + अद्वाः = चोऽद्वाः, the anudātta combining with udātta becomes udātta (VIII. 2. 5, S. 3658) : therefore चो of चो becomes udātta. The svarita क्व being followed by the udātta चो, causes the latter half i. e. the anudātta half of the svarita to be heard. This is indicated by १ namely svarita above and anudātta below. This is a short svarita.

In the example स्थानं न वेऽराः, the svarita is a long vowel. The word वे is udātta by Phīṭ accent, as shown above (S. 5). अरौः is also finally udātta by Phīṭ accent. The udātta १ of व combining with the anudātta अ of अरौः,

becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659), यै; this svarita followed by udâtta औ of अरौ, is heard in its anudâtta portion यै ॥

In the third example यत्तचक्रं यो ऽऽः, the svarita is followed by another svarita, and in this case also, the anudâtta portion of the svarita is heard. The word यैः is antodâtta by Phiṭ accent (See S. 5); the visarga is changed to ङ, and यै + ङ = यो by guṇa, and this यो becomes udâtta, the resultant of udâtta plus anudâtta is udâtta. In अरौ the final अ is svarita, the first अ is therefore anudâtta. The anudâtta अ of अरौ combining with the udâtta यो of यै, becomes all svarita (VIII. 2. 6, S. 3659) i. e. यो ऽऽ; this-svarita यो is followed by the svarita अ of अरौ, and hence the anudâtta portion of svarita यो is heard here also. The word यत्तचक्रं is svarita ending because it is formed by adding the तिन् affix ण्यन् to the root यत् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The अ of अरौ does not take Vriddhi substitution, because of the

Paribhāṣā II.—संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वात् ॥

A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term.

In the last example अग्निमीले पुरोहितं, the ई of ईले is svarita, the ले has eka-ṣruti accent by the rule प्रचयापरपर्याया एकश्रुतिः ॥

Hence here the svarita being followed by anudâtta, the udâtta half of the svarita is heard.

९ मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः । १ । १ । ८ ॥

मुखसहितनासिकयोश्चार्थमाणो वर्णोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञः स्यात् । तद्विध्यम् । अ इ उ ऋ एर्णां वर्णानां प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः ॥ लृवर्णस्य द्वादश । तस्य दीर्घाभावात् ॥ एचामपि द्वादश । वेर्णां ह्रस्वाभावात् ॥

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

Let a letter which is uttered by the mouth in combination with the nose be called *anunāsika*.

The result of the six sūtras given above, is this: The vowels अ, इ, उ, and ऋ have each eighteen forms. The vowel लृ has twelve forms, because it has no long form. The diphthongs ए, ऐ, ओ and औ have also twelve forms, because they have no short forms. Thus there are altogether one hundred and thirty two vowels in Sanskrit.

१० तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् । १ । १ । ९ ॥

तात्त्वादिस्थानमाभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्चेत्येतद्व्यं यस्य येन तुल्यं तन्मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ अकुङ्कितसंज्ञी यानां कण्ठः । इचुयशानां तालु । कटुरषाणां मूर्धा । लतुलसानां दन्ताः । उपपध्मानां यानामाष्ठौ । मण्डगानां नासिका च । एतैः कण्ठतालु । आशैताः कण्ठोष्ठम् । वकारस्य दन्तोष्ठम् । जिह्वामूर्ध्नि यस्व जिह्वामूलम् ।

नासिकाशु स्वारस्य ॥ इति स्थानानि ॥ यत्रो द्विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ आद्यश्चतुर्धा । स्पृष्टेषस्स्पृष्टविवृतसंवृतमेषान् ॥ तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयतनं स्पर्शानाम् । ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । विवृतमूष्मणां स्वराणां च । ह्रस्वस्यावर्जस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम् । प्रक्रियादशायां तु विवृतमेव । एतच्च सूत्रकारेण ज्ञापितम् । तथा हि ॥

10. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called *savarṇa* or homogeneous letters.

Let those letters be called *savarṇa*, which have with each other a common place of utterance, such as throat, palate &c., as well as a common *ābhyantara prayatna*. That is, when the place and *prayatna* are the same, then the letters are *savarṇa*.

1. The letters अ, क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, ह, : have throat as their place and are gutturals or *Kanṭha*.
2. The letters इ, च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, य, श, have the palate and are palatals or *Tālavya*.
3. The letters कृ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, र, ष, have the *murdhā*, and are cerebrals or *Murdhanya*.
4. The letters लृ, त, थ, द, ध, न, ल, स, have the teeth and are dentals or *Dantya*.
5. The letters उ, ए, फ, ब, भ, म, × व, have the lips and are labials or *Oshṭhya*.
- a. The letters ङ, ञ, ण, न, म, have also the nose, and are *also* nasal.
- b. The letters ए, ऐ, have the throat and palate, and are *Kanṭha—tālavya i. e. gutturo—palatals*.
- c. The letters ओ, औ, have the throat and the lips, and are *Kanṭha-oshṭhya i. e. gutturo-labials*.
- d. The letter व has the teeth and the lips, and is *dant-oshṭhya i. e. dento-labial*.
- e. The letter × क is *Jihvā-mulīya* or root of the tongue.
- f. The letter • म anusvāra is pure nasal.

The above are the *sthāna* or places of utterance of the letters.

The *Prayatna* is of two sorts, the inner called *ābhyantara*, and the external called *bāhya*. The first or *ābhyantara* is of four kinds, namely, *sprishṭa*, *īshat sprishṭa*, *vivṛita* and *samvṛita*.

1. The *sparsa* letters have *sprishṭa prayatna*.
2. The *antastha* letters have *īshat-sprishṭa prayatna*.
3. The *ushma* letters and the vowels have *vivṛita prayatna*.

4. The short अ is samvṛita in usage (prayoga) but in Grammar, as a formative element, it is always treated as vivṛita. This fact is indicated by Pāṇini himself in the last sūtra of his Grammar, i. e. in the sūtra अ अ (VIII.4. 68 S. 11), which means that the letter अ which has been all along treated in Grammar as vivṛita, is now made samvṛita. (See the following sūtra).

११ अ अ इति । ८ । ४ । ६८ ॥

विवृतमनूय संवृतोऽनेनविधीयते । अस्य चाष्टाध्यायी संपूर्णोऽप्रत्यक्षस्वाच्छास्त्रदृष्ट्या विवृतत्वमस्त्वैव । तथा च सूत्रम् ॥

11. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open ; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ “In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneousness* mentioned in I. 1. 9. S. 10. would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashtādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise.’ (Dr. Ballantyne).

The present sūtra occurs in the second division of Ashtādhyāyī, i. e. the last three Padas. The whole Ashtādhyāyī has 32 padas; they are divided into two parts—the first 29 Padas forming one group, the last three, the second group. For the purposes of the application of a rule in the first set (7½ Adhyaya) the rules in the second set are considered as non-existent. Therefore though the अ is made samvṛita by this rule, it does not interfere with the अ being considered as vivṛita throughout the rest of the Grammar. The sūtra which declares the rules in the last 3 padas (Tripādi), as non-existent for the purposes of the rules in the 29 padas (7½ Adhyaya) is the following.

१२ पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् । ८ । २ । १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । तेन सपादसप्ताध्यायी प्रति विपाद्यसिद्धा विपाद्यामपि पूर्वं प्रति परं शास्त्रमसिद्धं स्यात् ॥ बाह्यप्रत्यक्षत्वेकादशधा ॥ विवारः संवारः श्वासा नासा घोषोऽघोषोऽल्पप्राणा महाप्राण उदात्तोऽनुदात्तः स्वरितश्चेति ॥ खयां यमः खयः कः पौ विसर्गः शर एव च । एते श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाश्च विवृण्वते ॥

कण्ठमध्ये तु घोषाः स्फुः सर्वज्ञा नाहभागिनः । अयुग्मा वर्णयमगा यणश्चाल्पासवः स्फुताः ॥ वर्गेष्वाद्यानां
चतुर्णां पञ्चमं परं मध्ये यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धः । पलिकर्त्ताः । चख्यन्तुः ।
अर्गग्नः । घृण्णन्तीत्यत्र क्रमेण कखगघेभ्यः परं तत्सदृशा एव यमाः । तत्र वर्णाणां प्रथमाद्वर्तीयाः खयस्तथा
तेषामेव यमाः जिह्वाभूलियोपध्मानीयौ विसर्गः शषसाभ्यन्तेषां विवारः श्वासोऽघोषश्च । अन्येषां तु संवारो
नाहो घोषश्च ॥ वर्गाणां प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमाः प्रथमतृतीययमो यरलवाश्चाल्पप्राणाः । अन्ये महाप्राणा इत्यर्थः ।
बाह्यप्रयत्नाश्च यद्यपि सर्वसंज्ञायामनुपयुक्तास्तथाप्यान्तरतम्यपरीक्षायाद्युपयोग्येभ्यस्त इति बोध्यम् ॥ कारयो
नावसानाः स्पर्शाः । यरलवा भन्तस्थाः । शषसहा ऊष्माणः । अचः स्वराः । >क>पांवाति कपाभ्यां प्रागर्थ-
विसर्गसदृशौ जिह्वाभूलौपोपध्मानीयौ । अं अः इत्यचः परावनुस्वारविसर्गौ ॥ इति स्थानप्रयत्नाविवेकः ॥
* कल्वर्णबोर्मिथः सावर्ण्यं वाच्यम्* ॥ अकारहकार्यारिकारशकारयोर्कारषकारयोर्कारसकारयोश्च मिथः
सावर्ण्यं प्राप्ते ॥

12. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. Therefore the Tripādi rules are asiddha with regard to the 7¼ Adhyāyi rules. Even in the Tripādi, a previous rule is asiddha with regard to the subsequent.

Thus the letter अ is samvṛita really, though treated as vivṛita.

As regards the Bāhya-prayatna, we have eleven modifications: namely 1 vivāra, 2 samvāra, 3 śvāsa, 4 nāda, 5 ghosha, 6 a-ghosha 7 alpa-prāṇa, 8 mahāprāṇa, 9 udātta, 10 anudātta, 11 svarita.

Verse:—The double of khay (ख, फ, छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त, क, प) letters, the khay letters themselves, the >क and >प, the visarga, the śar letters (श, ष, स) are svāsa, aghosa, and expand the throat, i. e. are of vivāra prayatna. The other letters (i. e. the हश्, letters, the yamas of हश् letters and the anusvāra) are ghosha, samvāra, and nāda prayanta. The odd letters of the Vargas, the doubles of first and third, and अण् letters are alpa-prāṇa.

Explanation:—The word यम is a Prātisākhya term. It is the name of the letter when doubled, on account of any one of the first four letters of the varga being followed by the fifth i. e. by a nasal. Thus पलिकर्त्ताः, चख्यन्तुः, अर्गग्नः, घृण्णन्ति, here the doubled letters क्, ख्, ग् and घ् are yama i. e. only those letters which have the same form i. e. the second क्, ख्, &c. are called yama. The खश् letters are the first and second letters of the varga: the ten letters क ख, च, छ &c. The yamas of these खश् letters, so also the Jihvāmāliya, Upadhāmāliya, the visarga and the sibilants are vivāra, svāsa, and aghosha.

The other letters are samvāra nāda, and ghosha. The first, third and the fifth letters of a varga, the yamas of first and third, and अ, र, ल and व are alpa-prāṇa. The others i. e. the second and fourth letters of the varga, and श, ष, स, ह are mahā-prāṇa.

Though the Bāhya-prayatna is of no use in determining the savarna-hood of letters, yet they are of use in finding out the *nearest* equivalent to letters to be replaced &c.

The 25 letters क to व are sparsa. The four letters य, र, ल, व, are antastha. The four letters ञ, ष, स, ह are Ushma. The vowels are Svara. The × क and × व are called Jīvamūlhyā and Upadhīmānīyā. (They represent the lost sibilants of क varga, and व varga).

अं ऋ अः ह these are anusvāra and visarga. Here ends the determination of sthāna (organ of utterance) and prayatna (effort).

1. *vdrt* :—The letters क and ल should be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

From the explanations in the above two sūtras (10 and 12), the letter.

अ	becomes	homogeneous	with	ह
इ	"	"	"	घ
क	"	"	"	ष
ल	"	"	"	स

To prevent this incongruity, we have the following sūtra which declares that there can be no homogeneity between a vowel and a consonant.

Note:—The following lines summarise the above, the vowels are vivāra, svasa, and aghosha. The हश्च letters are samvāra, nāda, and ghosha. The first, third, fifth letters of the varga, and अण् letters are alpa-prāna. The second and the fourth letters of the varga, and ञल letters are mahā-prāna.

१३ नाऽऽज्झलौ । १ । १ । १० ॥

आकारसहितोऽच् आच् स च हल् चेत्येतौ मिथः सवर्णौ न स्तः । तेन दधीत्यस्य हरति शीतलं षष्ठं सान्द्रमित्येतेषु परेषु यणादिकं न । अन्यथा दीर्घादीनामिव हकारादीनामपि महणकशास्त्रबलाद्व्यर्थं स्यात् । तथा हि ॥

13. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

The words of this sūtra are न, आच्, हलौ ॥ The word आच् is a compound of आ + अच्; and means “a vowel along with आ” ॥ There is no homogeneity between the आच् letters and the consonants. Therefore in दधि + हराति the इ of दधि is not changed to ए before ह, nor in दधि + शीतलं the इ is lengthened before ञ; nor in दधि + षष्ठं, and दधि + सान्द्रं any change takes place. But for this sūtra, the letters ह &c. would have been treated as vowels, just as long and pluta letters are also vowels.

१४ । अणुद्वित्सवणस्य चाऽप्रत्ययः । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

प्रतीयन्तं वधोऽयं इति प्रत्ययः । अवधीयमानोऽणु उद्विष्य सवर्णस्य संज्ञा स्यात् । अत्राण् परेण णकारेण ॥ कु चु ङ तु पु एत उदितः ॥ तद्वम् अ इत्यष्टादशानां संज्ञा । तथेकाराकारौ । ऋकारस्त्रिंशतः । एवं लृकाराऽपि । एच्चा द्वादशानाम् ॥ एदेतारैतौतश्च न मियः सावर्ण्यम् । ऐऔजिति सूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात् । तेनैचश्चतुर्विंशतेः संज्ञाः स्युरिति नापादनीयम् ॥ नाज्ज्ञलाविति निषेधा यद्यप्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकानां नव तथापि हकारस्याऽऽकारो न सवर्णः । तच्चाऽऽकारस्यापि प्रभिलष्टत्वात् । तेन विश्वपाभिरित्यत्र होठ इति द्रव्यं न भवति ॥ अनुनासिकाननुनासिकभेदेन यवला द्विधा । तेनाननुनासिकास्त द्वयोर्द्वयोः संज्ञा ॥

14. The letters of the Pratyâhâra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, (except when they are used as pratyâyâs or affixes or) except when specifically so ordained.

The pratyâhâra अण् in this sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyâhâra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ङ, तु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. S. 195. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra आद्युणः (VI. 1. 87 S. 69), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः ; but महा + ईशः = महेशः । So also in sūtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4. 32 S. 2118), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50 S. 2117) follows.' Here long आ is also included ; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sūtra यत्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168. S. 3148. says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words âsansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, S. 1379. the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

The word अप्रत्ययः in the sūtra means "that which is not ordained (pratīyate = vidhīyate)." That is unless where a letter is specifically ordained, it always includes its homogeneous letters, in certain cases. The sūtra means "The अण् letters (vowels and semi-vowels) when not specifically so propounded by name, as well as the letters having an indicatory उ denote their savarna letters also." The अण् here is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण्. The words कु, चु, ङ, तु, पु, are formed by उ and are उदित् ॥

The result of this is, that अ denotes 18 letters ; so also इ and उ . The ए denotes 30 letters, and so also लृ. The diphthongs ए ऐ, ओ औ denote 12 letters.

2. *Vart.*—The letter ए is not to be considered homogeneous with ऐ nor औ with औ ॥ For had ऐ been included in ए, and औ in औ, then where was the necessity of the sūtra ऐ औच् ? These letters need not have been taught separately. Therefore, the diphthongs do not denote 24 letters each, but 12 letters only.

Though the prohibition of the-sūtra नाञ् हलौ (I. I. 10 S. 13) applies, according to the literal interpretation of the sūtra, to the अच् letters only, namely, to the nine letters specifically taught in the Maheshvara sūtras, and not to the letter आ which is not so taught there, yet there is no homogeneity between आ and इ ॥ For according to our interpretation of the sūtra, the letter आ is specifically mentioned in it. For we do not analyse it as न अच् हलौ, but as न आ-अच्, हलौ, and we translate it as “There is no homogeneity between a hal letter and आ and ach letters.” Therefore in विश्वपाणि: the letter आ is not changed to इ by VIII. 2. 31 S. 3579. (इ is substituted for इ before a jhal letter and at the end of a word). The word akshara-samāmnāya means the sūtras teaching the alphabets i. e. the 14 Maheshvara sūtras.

The letters अ, इ, ल are of two kinds according as they are nasalised or not nasalised. Therefore, a non nasalised अ, इ, ल will denote also the nasalised letter : i. e. the simple letter अ, इ, ल include the nasalised अँ इँ लँ ॥

The sense of this sūtra अणुद्दिन् &c therefore is that the अणु letters, namely the fourteen letters taught in the Māhesvara sūtras, they *alone* denote their homogeneous letters also. But ए and इ though included in अणु pratyāhāra, denote their single forms only, for they have no other letter homogeneous to them.

१५ । तपरस्तःकालस्य । १ । १ । ७० ॥

तः परो यस्मात्स च तात्पर्यबोधार्थमाणसमकालस्यैव संज्ञा स्यात् । तेन अत् इत् उत् इत्यादयः षण्णां षण्णां संज्ञा । ऋदिन्तद्वावशानाम् ॥

15, The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time,

By the last sutra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ ; and इ, ई ; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the

letter. Thus अन् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उन् means short उ only and not long or protracted उ.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. Taparah means that which has a न् after it or that which is after न्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by न् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अन् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted form, in all 6 forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अन् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अन् may be followed by न् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अन् letter which is not followed or preceded by a न् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. I. 9 S. 203. अतोभिस एस्. 'After words ending in अन् (i. e. short अ), एस् takes the place of भिस्' Thus वृक्षेः ॥ But in खद्गा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खद्गाभिः ॥

Therefore अन्, इन्, उन् denote six letters each, namely अ, अँ, अः, ई, उँ, उः ॥ अन् denotes twelve letters.

१६ । वृद्धिरादैच् । १ । १ । १ ॥

आन् ऐच् वृद्धिसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

16, आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi,

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, āt and aich. आन् means the long आ, the final न् being indicative only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra aich, and the pratyāhāra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicative न् in आन् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This न् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. I. 70 S. 15.) or that "which precedes or succeeds न्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as

महा + आशयः = महाशयः ॥ Here हा has two matras and not four. So also in खद्वैडकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ए has only two, not four, mât-râs.

१७ । अदेङ् गुणः । १ । १ । २ ॥

अत् एङ् च गुणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

17. अ, ए and ओ are called *guna*.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a *guṇa* letter; as the initial vowels in the following :—अस्ति, “he moves”; एति “he comes”, ओक्षति “he goes.” Here the initial vowels of the roots क्, ह्, and उक् have been respectively gunated into अद्, एद्, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति ॥

The term *Guṇa* occurs in sūtras like निद्वैर्युणः (VII. 3. 82 S. 2346). “Let there be *guṇa* substitute for the ik of the root निद् ‘to melt.’”

१८ । भूवादयो धातवः । १ । ३ । १ ॥

क्रियावाचिनो भवादयो धातुसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû ‘to become,’ and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû ‘to be.’ Sanskrit Grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Kri. 10. Chur.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Tatvabodhini considers that वा is a separate root. According to it the sūtra should be analysed thus भू + वा = भूवौ, भूवौ आदी येषां भूपभूतेत्या वा सदृशाः “word Bhû &c., and like वा denoting action are called Dhâtu.” वा “to blow.”

१९ । प्राग्निश्वरान्निपाताः । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

19. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirî-śvare (I.4.97 S. 644), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipâta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word चा of I. 4. 55 S. 2575; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapra-vachnîya take two names, *i. e.*, their own name as well as the name Nipâta.

The letter र in प्राप्तीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, *i. e.*, aphorism I.4. 97 S. 644. should be taken as the limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 S. 3440. which has the word *īsvare* also.

२० । चाद्यो ऽसत्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥

अङ्गव्याप्याभावो निपातसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

20. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

२१ । प्रादयः । १ । ४ । ५८ ॥

अङ्गव्याप्याः प्रादयस्तथा ॥

21. The words pra. &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, अप, सम्, भङ्ग, अव, निस्, दुस्, वि, आङ्, नि, अधि, अपि, सु, उन्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, *i. e.*, when they are in composition with verbs. Not so, however, the chā &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signify substances they are not Nipātas. As परा जयति सेना "the excellent army conquers". Here the word परा is not a Nipāta.

२२ । उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे । १ । ४ । ५९ ॥

22. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र + नयति = प्रणयति. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणयकः, परिणायकः ॥

२३ । गतिश्च । १ । १ ॥ ६० ॥

प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसंज्ञा गतिसंज्ञाश्च स्युः ॥ प्र परा अप सम् भङ्ग अव निस् निर दुस् दुर वि आङ् नि अधि अपि अति सु उन् अभि प्रति परि उप । एते प्रादयः ॥

23. The words pra &c., are called also Gati (as well as upasarga) when in composition with a verb.

२४ । न वेति विभाषा । १ । १ । ४४ ॥

निषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषा संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

24. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ :—prâpta-vibhâshâ aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule ; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two. This sūtra specially applies to the last class.

Thus the root भि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा इवे (V. 1. 30. S. 1695) forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa. or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either भुषाव or भिष्याव ॥

२५ । स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । १ । १ । ६८ ॥

शब्दस्य स्वं रूपं संज्ञा शब्दशब्दे या संज्ञा तां विना ॥

25. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word'. The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूप, viz., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावकः उक्लनः &c.

२६ । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य । १ । १ । ७२ ॥

विशेषणं तदन्तस्य संज्ञा स्यात् स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥ समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः ॥ उगिहूर्णं महणवर्जम् ॥

26. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97, S. 2842.) declaring "let there be the affix ण् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means

and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + वत् = चेवत्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels ; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III. 3. 56, S. 3231.) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ ॥ Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, S. 686. declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + भितः = कष्टभितः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita ; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टं + परमभितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99, S. 1101, declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडावनः । But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूचनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूचनड will be called सौचनाडिः and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes that have an indicative डक् (ड, ङ, ण), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26, S. 3012) has an indicative ड, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kritavat will apply also to the word which ends in kritavat. Thus the feminine of kritavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6, S. 455) the feminine of sukritavat will be sukritavati. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 अत इस् says "after अ there is the affix इस्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इस् = दक्षिः the son of Daksha.'

२७ । विरामो ऽवसानम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

वर्णानामभावोऽवसानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

27. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15, S. 76 &c.

२८ परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, । १ । ४ । १०९ ॥

वर्णावामतिशयितः सान्निधिः संहितासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

28, The closest proximity of letters, (*there being the intervention of half a mâtṛā or prosodial length between them*) is called contact or sanhitâ.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As सञ्ज = सधि + भञ्ज.

२९ सुसिङ्गन्तं पदम् । १ । ४ । १४ ॥

सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च परसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

29. That which ends in sup (case-affix IV. 1. 2. S. 183) or in tin (III. 4. 78 S. 2154 tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

३० हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः । १ । १ । ७ ॥

अङ्गिभरव्यवहिता हलः संज्ञाः स्युः ॥

30. Consonants unseparated by vowels are called conjunct consonants.

३१ ह्रस्वं लघु । १ । ४ । १० ॥

31. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu):

३२ संयोगे गुरु । १ । ४ । ११ ॥

संयोगे परे ह्रस्वं गुरुसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

32. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

३३ दीर्घञ्च । १ । ४ । १२ ॥

33. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).



अथ परिभाषा प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER II.

PARIBHĀSHĀS OR RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

३४ । इको गुणवृद्धी । १ । १ । ३ ॥

गुणवृद्धिश्चाभ्यां यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयते तत्रैक इति पञ्चमन्तं पदद्वयपतिष्ठते ॥

34. In the absence of any special sthâni, whenever *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is enjoined about any expression by using the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, it is to be understood to come in the room of the *ik* vowels only (*i*, *u*, *ri*, and *li* long and short,) of that expression.

Wherever in any rule in this Grammar, *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is ordained by employing the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, there the word “*ikaḥ*” in the genitive case, meaning “in the place of *ik*,” is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular sthâni or the letter to be replaced.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 S. 2164 declares:—“when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is *guṇa* of the base.” Here the sthâni or the letter which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word “*ikaḥ*” must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, “when a S. or an A. affix follows there is *guṇa* of the *ik* vowels of the base.” The *guṇa* of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of लृ is अल्; and their *Vṛiddhi* is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी + अति = ने + अति = नयति “he leads.”

३५ । अक्षश्च । १ । २ । २८ ॥

अक्षस्यैर्विप्लुतशब्दैर्व्याजिधीयते तत्राऽच इति पञ्चमन्तं पदद्वयपतिष्ठते ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

When in this book ‘short’ ‘long’ or ‘prolated’ is taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dirgha* or *pluta*, there the word *achāḥ*, in the genitive case, meaning “in the place of the vowel” is to be supplied to complete the sense.

As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47. S. 318 "there is the substitution of *harsva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'in the place of the vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:— the *harsva* is substituted in the place of the *vowel* of the crude-form. As *र* is shortened to *रि* in forming the compound with *अति* in *अतिरि*, नौ to *अतिनु*, गा to *उपगु* ॥

३६ । आद्यन्तौ द्दक्षितौ । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

दिक्षितौ द्यस्योक्तौ तस्य क्रमाद्यन्तावयवौ स्तः ॥

36. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory *द* or *क्*, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters *द* and *क्*. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is *द* that augment is to be placed *before* the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a *क्ति* augment is to be added *after* the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35 S. 2184) which says "ārdhahātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except *व*, have *इद्*". The question may arise where is this *इद्* to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ārdhahātuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory *द* shows, that it is to be placed before the ārdhahātuka affix. Thus the future termination *स्यति*, is an ārdhahātuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment *इद्*. Thus *भू + इद् + स्यति* = *भविष्यति*, 'he will be.' Similarly *लतिता* 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. S. 2595 the root *भी* takes the augment *बुक्* in forming the causative. This having an indicatory *क्* is to be added after the word *भी*, as, *भी + बुक् + णिञ् + ते* = *भीषयते* 'he frightens.'

३७ । मिद्वचोऽन्यात्परः । १ । १ । ४७ ॥

अच इति निर्धारणे बन्धी । अचां मध्ये योऽन्यस्तस्मात्परस्तत्त्वैवान्तावयवौ निस्स्यात् ॥

37. The augment that has an indicatory *म्* comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final portion of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory *म्*. The augments having an indicatory *म्*, technically called *मित्* augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called *नुम्*, which *उ* and *वृ* are *इन्*, and the actual augment is *न्*. When, therefore, it is said "let *नुम्* be added to the word," the letter *न्* is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of *पयस्* 'milk' is formed in the following way:—*पयस्*

+ नृक् + इ (VII. 1. 72 S. 314) = वचास्ति (VI. 4. 8 S. 250). Here नृ is added between च and स् i. e. after the अ of च, which is the final vowel of the word : and before this नृ the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly वृक्ष् + क्त + ति (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) = वृक्ष् + वृक्ष् + क्त + ति (VI. 1. 59 S. 2402) — वृक्षति । Similarly विरुणद्धि ।

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 S. 38 and III. 1. 2, S. 181 by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

३८ । षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

अनिर्धारितसंबन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा बोध्या । स्थानं च प्रसङ्गः ॥

38. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śāshthi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 34. the word इक् is in the genitive case ; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.'

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence वर्णाणां स्थाने हरिः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasaṅge' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras अस्तेभूः (II. 4. 52 S. 2470), or वृक्षा वधिः (II. 4. 53 S. 2453), the words 'asti,' and 'brû' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस् ; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम्, and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of वृ.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikarāṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 24 and 35), and it qualifies the

word shashthī. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound ; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठकालः &c. Or स्थानन योगोऽस्या अस्ति, the ए in sthāne is anomalous.

३६ । स्थानन्तरतमः । १ । १ । ५० ॥

प्रसङ्गे सति सदृशतम आदेशः स्यात् ॥ यन्नानेकविधमान्तये तत्र स्थानत आन्तर्ये बलीयः ॥

39. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likeliest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, S. 85 "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—वण्ड + अयं = वण्डायं ; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.* अ and इ and उ have all one mātrā ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first ; as, चेत्ता स्तोता.

४० । तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य पूर्वस्य बोध्यम् ॥

40. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood

as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be performed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77. S. 47) the word यणचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्, व्, र्, ल्, (यण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus रधि + उक्कम् = रधुक्कम्; so माध्विक्, पचलोवनम् ॥

४१ । तस्मादित्युतरस्य । १ । १ । ६७ ॥

पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य परस्य ज्ञेयम् ॥

41. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61, S. 118 declares that ‘after उद्, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उद् + स्थानम्. Here the word उद् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter य् must be substituted in the place of sthā, and by I. 1. 54, S. 44 this dental takes the place of स् we have उद् + स्थानम् = उत्थ-यानम्.

४२ । अलोन्यस्य । १ । १ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टान्यस्यादेशः स्यात् ॥

42. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, S. 265 it is declared त्याग्दीनामः “in the place of त्याद् &c., there is अ.” It does not mean that the whole word त्याद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of त्याद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

४३ । डिच्च । १ । १ । ५३ ॥

अयन्यन्यस्यैव स्यात् । सर्वस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

43. And the substitute which has an indicatory ड (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra I. 1. 55, S. 45. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25, S. 92r) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in क there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute आनङ् is a डित् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz.*, the क of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

४४ । आदेः परस्य । १ । १ । ५४ ॥

परस्य यद्विहितं तत्तस्यादेर्बोध्यम् । अलोऽन्यस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

44. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. This is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42. (अलोऽन्यस्य) To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97, S. 94r) by which it is declared: “In the place of अच् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई.” This rule may be stated in other words as:—‘In the place of अच् there is ई when अच् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.’ Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अच् but only one. By sūtra 42 that letter would have been the last letter of अच्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अच् and we have द्वि + अच् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74, S. 940) ‘an island,’ अन्तरीपं ‘promontory.’

४५ । अनेकाल शित्सर्वस्य । १ । १ । ५५ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अलोऽन्यसूत्रापवादः । अष्टाभ्य औशित्याशावादेः परस्येत्येतदपि परस्वादेशेन बाध्यते ॥

45. A substitute consisting of more than one letter,

and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to-sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra ह्रस्वो वच्चिः (II. 4. 53, S. 2453) which means 'in the place of ह्र let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ह्र and not only the last letter क्. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ह्र is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ह्र is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

Thus in the sūtra अष्टाभ्य औश् (VII. 1. 21, S. 372) "after the stem of अष्टा औश् is substituted for the ending of the Nominative and Accusative plural." The substitute औश् is a शित् substitute and therefore it replaces the whole of the affixes णस् and जस् not only their initials as would have been otherwise required by the preceding rule आदेः परस्य. For by that rule the initials only of the affixes जस् and णस् would have been replaced by औ. This sūtra is in fact an exception to the last sūtra.

४६ । स्वरितेनाधिकारः । १ । ३ । ११ ॥

स्वरितस्वयुक्तं शब्दस्वरूपमधिकृतं बोध्यम् ॥ परानित्यान्तरङ्गापशानाद्युत्तरं बलीयः ॥ असिद्ध बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गं ॥ अकृतव्युहाः पाणिनीयाः ॥ निमित्तं विनाशोऽप्युत्तरं दृष्ट्वा तत्प्रयुक्तं कार्यं न कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

46. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1. S. 180.) धातोः (III. 1. 91 S. 2829), अङ्गस्य (VI 4. 1 S. 200). अस्य (VI. 4. 129 S. 233).

Paribhāṣā. Of (these four kinds of rules,—viz) a subsequent (rule,) a nitya (rule) an antaranga (rule), and an apavāda (rule), each following

rule possesses greater force than any one of, or all, the rules mentioned before it. •

Note.—By I. 4. 2, S. 175. we are taught that a subsequent (पर) rule supersedes a rule which precedes (पूर्व). This Paribhasha further expands the same.

An *anitya* rule is stronger than a Para (पर) rule. As तुदादिभ्यः ञः (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) तुदाति; रुधादिभ्यः ञम् (III. 1. 78, S. 2543) as रुणद्धि, Here the nitya affixes ञ and ञम् debar even the पर rule of Guna of the light penultimate vowel of VII. 3. 86. S. 2189. Similarly धिनवाव and धिनवाम Here the augment आद् by III 4. 92. S. 2204 being a *nitya* rule supersedes even the *subsequent* (पर) rule VI. 4. 107 S. 2333 which required the elision of the उ of धिनु before the affixes व and म ॥

Thus तुद् + तिप् VII. I 77 S. 3576. Vikarana ञ before Sarvadhātuka; (nitya).

VII. 3. 86 S. 2189. Guna for उ (para but anitya). III. 1. 77 S. 2534. applies before the substitution of guṇa for उ and it would apply also if guṇa were substituted for उ, and if तुद् were changed to तोद् ॥ On the other hand VII. 3. 86 applies before ञ is added to तुद्, but after the addition of ञ to तुद् guṇa could not by VII. 3. 86 be substituted for उ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly III. 1. 77 is nitya and VII. 3. 86 is anitya; III. 1. 77 takes, therefore, effect first and we have तुद् + ति, and subsequently VII. 3. 86 is no longer applicable. A nitya is thus defined :—A rule which would apply if another rule that applies simultaneously were to have taken effect, and which applies when that other rule does not take effect, is *nitya*, a rule with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*.

An *antaranga* rule possesses greater force than even a *nitya* rule. Antaranga is a rule the causes of the application of which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a bahiranga rule; in like manner that rule the causes of the application of which lie without or beyond the sum of the causes of that antranga rule is bahiranga. In the formation of ग्रामणिनी nom. dual of the neuter noun ग्रामणी, we have two rules, first VII. 1. 73. S. 320. by which न, is added before the dual case affix णी; and I. 2. 47 S. 318. which requires the shortening of the stem ग्रामणी to ग्रामणि ॥ Though the न् augment is nitya, it is for the time being suspended in favour of the antaranga rule causing shortening and when the stem is shortened then the न् is added. For had न been added first, then ग्रामणीन् would end in a consonant and the rule of shortening I. 2. 47 S. 318 would not have applied, as the stem was not vowel-ending.

An apavāda possesses greater force even than an antaranga rule. A rule which is given in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which or to all of which another rule can not but apply, or in other words

which all fall already under some other rule, supersedes the latter. Thus दैत्यारिः, श्रीशः ॥ दैत्य + अरि or श्री + ईश. here the antaranga rules आद्युणः and इकोद्यर्णश्च would supersede even the पर rule of savarna-dīrgha, and अ + अ would be अ ई + ई would be श्री ॥ But savarna-dīrgha rule being an apavāda rule supersedes the antaranga guṇa and yaṇ-ādesā.

Paribhāṣā. That which is *bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). Thus, in the formation of स्थोन, from सिङ् + न, ऊ is substituted for the ङ् of सिङ् by VI. 4. 19 S. 256 I. we obtain thus सिङ् + न. Here two rules apply simultaneously, *vis.* VI. 1. 77 S. 47. which teaches the substitution of ङ् for इ before ऊ and VII. 3. 86 by which guṇa should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix न, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect ? The substitution of ङ् for इ is caused by ऊ, that of guṇa for इ by न; as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of ङ् lies within or before the cause न of the substitution of guṇa, and, on the other hand, the cause न of the substitution of guṇa without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of ङ्,—the substitution of ङ् for इ and the rule VI. 1. 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*; and the substitution of guṇa for इ and the rule VII. 3. 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accordingly VI. 1. 77 must take effect, because VII. 3. 86, so far as the taking effect of VI. 1. 77 is concerned, does not exist.

Paribhāṣā. The followers of Pāṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

In other words, ' an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (operation) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation).

अचसंधि प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER III.

ON VOWEL—SANDHIS.

४७ । इको यणचि ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

इकः स्थाने यण् स्यादचि संहितायां विषये । सुधी उपास्य इति स्थिते । स्थानत आन्तर्यासीका-
रस्य यकारः । सुध् उपास्य इति जाते ॥

47. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल्, are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1. 101, S. 85 namely, the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding, for the application of this rule. Thus सुधी + उपास्यः Here the long ई of सुधी is replaced by य् which is the nearest substitute, having regard to sthâna or organ of utterance.

Thus we get सुध् य् + उपास्य ॥

This gives occasion to the application of the following rule requiring reduplication :—

४८ । अनचि च ॥ ८ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अचः परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तो न त्वचि ॥ इति धकारस्य द्वित्वम् ॥

48. When a vowel does not follow, there is optionally reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह्), after a vowel.

Therefore, the letter य् is doubled, and we have :—

सु ध् ध् य् + उपास्य

Now, a doubt arises as to the applicability of this rule of doubling by the following consideration ;—

४९ । स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५६ ॥

आदेशः स्थानिवत्स्यान्न तु स्थान्यलाभयविधौ । अनेनेह यकारस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाच्स्वमाभित्याम-
चिचोति द्वित्वनिषेधो न शङ्क्योऽनल्विधाविति तन्निषेधात् ॥

49. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthâni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the ope-

ration of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

Now the substitute **व** should be considered as **ई** which it has replaced; and as **ई** is a vowel, this **व** should be considered as a vowel. That being so, **व** is not followed by a consonant, but by a vowel, and so **अनाधिच** does not apply, and **व** should not be reduplicated.

This doubt, however, is set at rest by the next half of this sūtra itself, which says **अनन्विधौ**—"not when a rule of letter is to be applied." The **व** is like **ई**, but not for the purposes of the application of the Letter—rule like **अनन्वि च** ॥ The **व** therefore is properly doubled.

But is not this **अनन्विधि** exception set aside by the following sūtra ?

५० । अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५७ ॥

अन्विध्यर्थमिव । परनिमित्तोऽज्ञादेशः स्थानिवत्स्यात् स्थानिभूताश्चः पूर्वत्वेन दृष्टस्य विधौ कर्तव्ये ॥ इति स्थानिवद्भावे प्राप्ते ॥

50. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes, when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:— **अचः** genitive of the pratyāhāra **अच** meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is 'pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Therefore **व** would be **स्थानिवत्** to **ई** because it is a vowel substitute caused by something which follows namely **उ** of **उपास्य** and the rule of doubling is to be applied to **व** a letter which precedes **व** ॥

To this we answer "No", because of the following sūtra.

५१ । न पदान्तद्विर्ध्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णाऽनुस्वारदीर्घजभ्रविधिषु ॥ १ । १ । ५८ ॥

पदस्य चरमावयवे द्विर्ध्वचनारो च कर्तव्ये परनिमित्तोऽज्ञादेशो न स्थानिवत् । इति स्थानिवद्भावे निषेधः ॥

51. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthānivat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthānivat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—‘A rule relating to the last letter of a word.’

2. द्विवचनविधिः ‘a rule relating to the doubling of letters.’ In the sandhi of सुधी + उपास्य we have सुध्ध् + उपास्य Here ई is changed into ध्. If this ध् were sthānivat to ई, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before ध् would be inapplicable. But ध् is not equivalent to ई, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form सुध्धुपास्य. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthānī.

3. वरोविधिः, ‘a rule relating to the affix वरच्.’

4. यलोपविधिः ‘a rule relating to the dropping of ya.’

5. स्वरविधिः ‘a rule relating to accent.’

6. सवर्णविधिः ‘a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.’

7. अनुस्वारविधिः ‘a rule relating to anusvâra.’

8. दीर्घविधिः ‘a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.’

9. जन्धिविधिः ‘a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जन्, in the place of hard consonants.’

10. चरविधिः ‘a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.

५२ । भ्रलं जश्शशि ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

स्पष्टम् । इति धकारस्य स्कारः ॥

52, In the room of शल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when शश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus सुध्ध् + उपास्य = सुद्ध् + उपास्य ॥

At this stage, the sūtra after the following turns up for application.

५३ । अक्षरान् लोपः ॥ १ । १ । ६० ॥

असक्तस्थानक्षरान् लोपसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

53. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision.

५४ । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ ८ । २ । २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं यत्पदे तदन्तस्य लोपः स्यात् । इति यलोपे प्राप्तिः ॥ यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ यणो मयो द्वे वाच्ये * ॥ मय इति पञ्चमी यण इति प्रथीति पक्षे यकारस्यापि द्वित्वम् । तद्विधेयकारयकारयोर्द्वित्वविकल्पाच्चत्वारि रूपाणि ॥ एकधमेकयम् । द्विधं द्वियम् । द्विधमेकयम् । एकधं द्वियम् । सुद्युपास्यः । मध्वरिः । धाचंशः । लाकृतिः ॥

54. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

Therefore in सुद्व्यु+उपास्य, the final letter of the conjunct consonant, namely the letter य् should be elided. But this mishap to the letter य् is prevented by the following *Vārtika*. यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः "Prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of semivowels." Therefore the य् is not elided.

But then appears the following *Vārtika* which requires the doubling of य् also, यणोमयोद्वैवाच्ये "The letters of the यण् class are reduplicated after letters of the मय class."

Thus we have four forms with the doubling of ध् and य् optionally.

1. One ध् and one य् as सुद्युपास्यः ।
2. Two ध्स and two य्स as सुद्व्युपास्यः ।
3. Two ध्स and one य् as सुद्व्युपास्यः ।
4. One ध् and two य्स as सुद्व्युपास्यः ।

So also मधु + अरिः = मध्वरिः ; धाचंशः, लाकृतिः ।

५५ । नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ४८ ॥

पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे स्त आदिनीशब्दे परे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने । पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे । आक्रोशे क्रियम् । तत्त्वकथने द्विवचनं भवत्येव । पुत्रादिनी सविणी ॥ तत्परे च * ॥ पुत्रपुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे ॥ वा हतजग्धयोः * ॥ पुत्रहती । पुत्रजग्धी । पुत्रजग्धी ॥

55. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādinî follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debar the reduplication required by sūtra 48. Thus पुत्रादिनी

स्वनसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication necessarily takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी 'a kind of serpent, that eats up her young ones'.

Vart:—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्रपुत्रादिनीं स्वनसि-पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart:—Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती. or पुत्रजहती, पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्रजग्धी ॥

५६ । त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५० ॥

अवारिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु वा द्वित्वम् । इनन्त्रः । इन्द्रः । राष्ट्रम् । राष्ट्रम् ॥

56. According to the option of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः इनन्त्रः, राष्ट्रम्, राष्ट्रम् ॥

५७ । सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५१ ॥

द्वित्वं न । भर्कः । ब्रह्मा ॥

57. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As भर्कः, ब्रह्मा ॥

५८ । दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ८ । ४ । ५२ ॥

द्वित्वं न । शचम् । पात्रम् ॥

58. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शचम्, पात्रम्,

५९ । अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ८ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अचः पराभ्यां रेकहकाराभ्यां परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तः । इत्यनुभवः ॥ नह्यस्ति ॥

59. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word यर् of VIII. 4. 45 S. 11 6. is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus इत्यनुभवः, न ह्यस्ति ॥

६० । हलो यमां यमि लोपः । ८ । ४ ॥ ६४ ॥

हलः परस्य यमो लोपः स्याद्वा यमि । इति लोपपक्षे द्वित्वाभावपक्षे चैक्यं रूपं तुल्यम् । लोपारम्भफलं तु आदित्यो देवताऽस्त्येत्यादित्यं हविरित्यादौ ॥ यमां यमीति यथासंख्यविज्ञानाग्नेह ॥ महात्म्यम् ॥

60. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

In the case of elision (as required by this rule) as well as in the case of want of reduplication, (for the reduplication is after all *optional*), there would be one common form. Why then teach this *lopa* rule at all? This *lopa* rule is particularly applicable in cases like आदित्यं हविः To the word आदित्य is added the affix य (य्यत्) by IV. 1. 85, S. 10 77. and we have आदित्यं; now this य not having been obtained by *doubling*, would not have disappeared by any one of the preceding rules. Hence this *lopa*-rule. Thus āditya + ya (IV. 1. 85) = ādity + ya (the *a* is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 3 11.) = ādityya. Then by applying the present rule we have āditya with one *y* only.

There are nine letters in यम् pratyāhāra, i. e. य, व, र, ल, झ, म, ङ, ण and न; when यम् follows another यम्; here the substitute and sthāni contain equal number of letters, therefore the rule of yathā sankhya I. 3. 10., S. 128 applies. Namely य must be followed by य, व by व, र by र and so on: and not य followed by व, or र etc. Therefore there is no elision of म in महात्म्यम् though म a yam letter is followed by य another yam letter.

६१ । एचोऽयवायावः ॥ ६ । १ । ७८ ॥

एचः कमावय् भव् आय् आव् एते स्युराचि ॥

61. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, आय्, अव् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Note.—The yathā sankhya rule 1. 3. 10 S. 128 applies here also, and so ए is replaced by अय्, ऐ by आय्, ओ by अव् and औ by आव् ॥ Or अय् would be the proper substitute of ए, अव् of ओ etc. by the rule of sthāne-antartama I. 1. 50 S. 39. For ए etc. are compound letters or diphthongs, ए = अ + इ, ओ = अ + उ etc. and so their most approximate substitutes are अय्, अव् etc. Hence the author of Siddhānta has not read the yathā sankhya rule here, but later on.

Here arises a doubt, are not the final य् and व् in these substitutes, इत् letters? For were we not taught in sūtra हलन्त्यम् 1. 3. 3. S. 1. that all final consonants are इत्? If then, these य् and व् be इत्, then they require to be elided by the following rule.

६२ । तस्य लोपः ॥ १ । ३ । ६ ॥

तस्येतो लोपः स्यात् । इति यवयोर्लोपो न । उच्चारणसामर्थ्यात् । एवं चेत्संज्ञापीडं न भवति । ह्रस्वे । विष्णवे । नायकः । पावकः ॥

62. Of this, (namely of what which has been called इत्), there is elision.

There is no elision of the final इ, and इ in अइ, अइ, आइ and आइ, because these letters are not इत् or indicative. Why are they not indicative? Because the very fact of their being expressly so taught shows it: otherwise the substitutes would have been अ and आ only: in fact, the इ and इ do not get the designation इत् at all here.

Now applying this rule of diphthong sandhi, we have: हरे + ए = हरये ; विष्णो + ए = विष्णवे, नै + अकः = नायकः ; पौ + अकः = पावकः ॥

इ३ । वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ इ । १ । ७६ ॥

यकारादौ प्रत्यये परे ओवैतोर्इ आइ एतौ स्तः । गोर्विकारो गव्यम् । गोपयसौर्यदिति यत् । नावा तार्थे नाव्यम् । नौवयोधर्मेत्यादिना यत् ॥ गोर्धृतौ छन्दस्युपसङ्ख्यानम् * ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च * ॥ गव्युतिः । ऊतिधृतीत्यादिना यूतिशब्दो निपातितः ॥ वान्त इत्यत्र वकाराद्गोर्धृतावित्यत्र छकाराद्वा पूर्वभागे लोपोव्योर्वलीति लोपेन वकारः प्रश्लिष्यते । तेन श्रूयमाणवकारान्त आदिशः स्यात् । वकारो न लुप्यत इति यावत् ॥

63. The substitution of अइ and आइ for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in इ viz अइ and आइ. Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in इ (viz. अइ and आइ) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ. Thus गो + य = गइ + य = गव्यं milk By sūtra IV-3-160S 1538 the affix यत् is added to गो and पयस् in the sense of modification. Similarly नौ + य = नाव्यम् (what can be crossed by a boat). Here also यत् is added by IV-4-91 S. 1643 in the sense of " to be crossed," the word so formed meaning 'a river' &c.

Vart:—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas. As गो + यूति = गव्युति as आनो मित्रा वरुणा धृतैर्गव्युतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place in secular literature even, when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गव्युति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ गव्युति meaning क्रोशयुगम् ॥ The word यूति is an irregularly formed word so taught in sūtra III. 3. 97. S. 3274.

Now a doubt arises in the case of गव्युति; should not the इ be elided by VIII. 3, 22. S. 171 or by VIII. 3. 19. S. 67. No. For the sūtra वान्तोयि प्रत्यये has really a इ in latency before it ; the real sūtra being वान्तो &c. This इ is invisible by the rule लोपो व्योर्वलि VI. 1. 66 S 873. So also in the vārtika गोर्धृतौ छन्दस्युपसङ्ख्यानम्, there is this invisible इ before छ ॥ Therefore the ādeśa is अइ with the इ, that is, the इ is not elided.

Why the व् is not liable to elision in गव्यं and नाव्यं by the application of VIII. 3. 19 or 22, and why should it be so liable in गव्युति only? The rules VIII. 3. 19 & 22 apply to pada bases only. Now गो before वृत्ति is a Pada; while गो or नौ before वत् is not a Pada but a Bha base, by I. 4. 18. S. 231.

६४ । धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ६ । १ । ८० ॥

यार्हौ प्रत्यये परे धातोरेवमेवान्तादेशस्तर्हि तन्निमित्तस्यैव नान्यस्य । लव्यम् । अवभ्यलाव्यम् तन्निमित्तस्यैवेति किम् ॥ भोयते । भौयत ॥

64. For the final diphthongs ओ and औ of a root, are substituted अव् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एचः, वान्तोति प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word तन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य् ॥ Thus लू forms its Future Passive Participle by वत् (III. 1. 97 S. 284 2.) this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: S. 2168. Thus ल् + य = लो + य, which according to the present sūtra becomes लव्यम् ॥ So also पू—पो + य = पव्यम् ॥ लू + ण्यत् (III. 1. 125 S. 3304.) = लो + य = अवदय लाव्यम् and अवभ्य पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ + वे + यक् + ते ॥ Hereby Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15 S. 2409), व becomes उ, as आ + उ + य + ते; now by sandhi आ + उ = ओ VI. 1. 87 S. 69, we have ओ + यते = भोयते ॥ Since ओ is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also भौयत, लौयमानिः, पौयमानिः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). The word एव in the aphorism has force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and औ before य are changed then only to अव् and आव् when य has caused the production of ओ; औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

६५ । क्षय्यज्ययौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८१ ॥

यान्तादेशनिपातनार्थमिदम् ॥ क्षेतुं शक्यं क्षय्यम् । जेतुं शक्यं ज्ययम् । शक्यार्थे किम् । क्षेतुं जेतुं शौक्यं क्षेयं पापं जेयं मनः ॥

65. In क्षय्य and ज्यय there is substitution of अय् for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix वत् (III. 1. 97 S. 2842). assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षेतुं = क्षय्यः (क्षि + य = क्षे + य); so also ज्ययः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, जेयं मनः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

६६ । क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८२ ॥

तस्मै प्रकृत्यर्थयेवं तदर्थम् । क्रेतारः क्रीणांयुरिति बुद्ध्या आपणे प्रसारितं क्रय्यम् । क्रयमन्यत् ।
क्रयणार्हमित्यर्थः ॥

66. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यन्; the guṇa ए being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थम् means 'for the purpose of that' i. e., for the purpose of being bought by the purchasers. As क्रय्या गौः, क्रय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रय्ये वो धान्यं न चास्ति क्रय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

६७ । लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८ । ३ । १९ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्वा लोपोऽपि परे ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति लोपशास्त्रस्यासिद्धत्वान्न स्वर-
संधिः । हर एहि । हरयेहि । विष्ण इह । विष्णविह । श्रिया उद्यतः श्रियायुद्यतः । गुरा उत्कः । गुरावुत्कः ॥
कानि सन्ति कौ स्त इत्यत्रास्तेरलोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वेन यणावादेशौ प्राप्तौ न पदान्तेतिसूत्रेण पदान्तविधौ
सन्निषेधान्न स्तः ॥

67. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अय् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

When this *lopa* once takes place, there is no further combination of vowels; because the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् of VIII. 2. 1. S. 12. intervenes and makes this *lopa* as if non-existent. Thus, we have हरे + एहि = हरएहि or हरयेहि (O Hari; come). so also विष्णो + इह = विष्ण इह or विष्णविह । and श्रिये + उद्यतः = श्रियाउद्यतः or श्रियायुद्यतः; गुरो + उत्कः = गुराउत्कः or गुरावुत्कः ॥

In the following examples कानि + सन्ति and कौ + स्तः the rule VI. 1. 77 S. 47 and this rule would have applied respectively because सन्ति is really असन्ति and स्तः is really अस्तः the अ being elided. An âdeśa is equal to the स्थानि as we have been taught in Sutra I. 1. 56 S. 49. Therefore we ought to have forms like कान्यसन्ति and कास्तः, But this is prevented by Sutra I. 1. 58 S. 51. for an âdeśa is not equal to a स्थानि when a Padânta rule is to be applied. Now the substitution of semivowels by sūtra VI. 1. 77 S. 47 or the *lopa* of this Sūtra is a Padânta rule and hence the âdeśa is not equal to a Sthâni.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्माउद्धर, हावन्न or हा अवन्न, असावाहित्यः or असा आहित्यः ॥

६८ । एकः पूर्वपरयोः । ६ । १ । ८४ ॥

इत्यापिकृत्य ॥

68. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase “for the preceding and the following one is substituted”.

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. In every *sūtra* upto VI. 1. 112 S. 255. (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekāśeṣa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c.

६६ । आदगुणः ॥ ६ । १ । ८७ ॥

अवर्णावधि परे पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणविशः स्यात्संहितायाम् । उपेन्द्रः । रमेशः । गङ्गोदकम् ॥

69. The *guṇa* is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ + a vowel = *guṇa*).

The word अधि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these vowels, there is the single substitute, namely, *guṇa*. Thus उष + इन्द्रः = उपेन्द्रः ; रमा + ईशः = रमेशः ; गङ्गा + उदकम् = गङ्गोदकम् ॥

७७ । उरण् रपरः ॥ १ । १ । ५१ ॥

क इति त्रिंशत् संज्ञेत्युक्तम् । तत्स्थानि योऽण् स रपरः सन्नेव प्रवर्तते । तच्चान्तरतम्यात्कृष्णजि-
रित्थवाऽर् । तवल्कार इत्यत्राऽल् । अथो रङ्गाभ्यामिति पक्षे द्वित्वम् ॥

70. When a letter of अण् *pratyāhāra* comes as a substitute for ऋ it is always followed by a र्.

This *sūtra* consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of कृ and means literally ‘of कृ’ or ‘in the place of कृ’; the second word is अण्, a *pratyāhāra* denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means ‘having a र after.’

This *sūtra* is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of कृ ऌ Thus, there are only three *guṇa* vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper *guṇa* for कृ? By the application of the rule of ‘nearness of place’ we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the *guṇa* of कृ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the *guṇa* of कृ, the actual substitute is अर् ॥

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a *pratyāhāra* formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ऌ. In that case the *sūtra* would mean that अण् substitutes of कृ and ऌ are always followed by र् and ऌ respectively. Thus the *guṇa* of णि = अर्, of लि = अर्.

It has already been taught that क् is the name of 30 letters. *Viz.*—18 forms of क् and 12 forms of ल्. In the place of these 30 Vowels, whenever an अ and इ or उ is substituted, it must always be followed by a र्. Therefore कृष्ण + क्वाङि = कृष्णङिः. Here अ is followed by र् as the nearest substitute of क्. Similarly तव + ल्कारः = तवल्कारः. Here अ is followed by ल् as the nearest substitute of क्. Similarly there is doubling when the rule अचो र्हाभ्याम् (VIII. 4. 46 S. 59) is applied.

७१ । झरोझरि सवर्णे । ८ । ४ । ६५ ॥

हलः परस्य झरो लोपो वा स्यात्सवर्णे झरि । द्वित्वभावे लोपे सत्येकधम् । असति लोपे द्वित्वलोप
योर्वा द्विधम् । सति द्वित्वे लोपे चासति त्रिधम् । कृष्णङिः । कृष्णङिः । कृष्णङिः ॥ यण इति पञ्चमी
मय इति षष्ठीति पक्षे ककारस्य द्वित्वम् । लस्य स्वनचि चेति । तेन तवल्कार इत्यत्र रूपचतुष्टयम् ॥ Verse:
द्वित्वं लस्यैव कस्यैव नोभयोरुभयोरपि । तवल्कारादिषु बुधैर्बोध्यं रूपचतुष्टयम् ॥

71. A mute or Sibilant (भ्र्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

When there is not doubling and there is *lopa* under this rule, then we have only one ध्. But when there is no *lopa* or when there is doubling, then we have two ध्s. Thirdly, when there is doubling, but there is no *lopa*, then we have three ध्s. Thus Kṛishṇardhiḥ; or Kṛishṇarddhiḥ or Kṛishṇardddhiḥ.

By the Vārtika यणो मयो द्वेवाच्ये (See Sutra 54), when यणः is taken in the ablative case and मयः in the genitive case; namely, when the Vārtika is translated as "after a यण letter, there is doubling of the मय letters," in that alternative the क् is also doubled in तवल्कारः. The ल् here also will be doubled by the rule of अनाचिच्च (VII. 4. 47. S. 48). Therefore तवल्कारः will have 4 forms as given in the verse above mentioned. As Tavalkārah; Tavallkārah; Tavalkkārah; Tavallkkārah.

७२ । वृद्धिरेचि । ६ । १ । ८८ ॥

अदिचि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । गुणापवादः । कृष्णेकत्वम् । गङ्गौचः । देवैश्वर्यम् । कृष्णौत्क-
ण्ठयम् ॥

72. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-1-diphthong=vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz, the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the sūtra 69. Thus Kṛishṇa + Ekadvam = Kṛishṇai katvam; Gaṅgā + oghaḥ = Gaṅgaughah, Deva-
śaishvaryam = devaiśvaryam. Kṛishṇa + autkaṇṭhyam = Kṛishṇaut kaṇṭhyam.

७३ । एत्येधत्सूदसु । ६ । १ । ८६ ॥

अवर्णादेशाद्योरेत्येधत्कोटि च परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्वात् । पररूपसुणापवादः । उपैति । उपैधते । प्रहोहः । एजायोः किम् । उपेतः । मा भवान्मेदिधत् । पुरस्तादपवादस्यायेनेषं वृद्धिरेकं पररूपमित्येत्येष बाधिका न स्वोमाङोमेत्यस्य । तेनावैहीति वृद्धिरसाधुरेव ॥ अक्षावृत्तिन्याहुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥ स्वादिरेणिङोः * ॥ स्वैरः । स्वनेरितुं क्षीलमस्येति स्वैरी । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्वैरिणी । प्रावृहोऽङोऽप्येष्ये * ॥ प्रौढः । प्रौढः ॥ अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ “प्रमेतिसूत्रे राज्ञेः पृथग्न भ्राजिग्रहणा-
दज्ञापकात्” । तेन ऊढग्रहणेन न्तान्तेनैव गृह्यते न तु क्तवत्यन्तस्यैकादेशः । प्रौढवान् । प्रौढिः ॥ इष इच्छायां तुहादिः । इष गतौ दिवादिः । इष आभिषेच्ये क्रयादिः । एषां धञि प्यति च एषः एष्यः इति कप् । तत्र पररूपं प्राप्तेऽनेन वृद्धिः । प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ यस्तु ईष उञ्छे । यश्च ईष गतिर्हिंसावर्धनेषु । तयोर्हीर्घोपधत्वात् ईषः । ईष्यः । तच्चाहुणे प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ कृते च तृतीयासमासे * ॥ सुखेन कृतः सुखा-
र्त्तः । तृतिथेति किम् । परमर्तः ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनार्णदशानावृण * ॥ प्रार्णम् । वत्सतरार्णमित्यादि ॥ ऋणस्यापनयनाय यत्कृद्ग्रहणं क्रियते तद्वर्णार्णम् । वृषार्णो वेषः । नवी च वृषार्णा । ऋणशब्दो दुर्गभूतो जले च ॥

73. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-1-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-1-ऊ of ऊद् (the substitute of वा in वाद् by VI. 4. 132 S. 329).

The whole of the last sūtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, *i. e.* when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध् as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊद् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप-1-एधते = उपैधते प्रह-1-ऊह = प्रहोह ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87 S. 69, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, S. 78 this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, S. 80 because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् “Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules.” Therefore the present rule does not apply here, :— उप + आ-1-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-1 इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एषि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vārt :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by कक्षिणी, as अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥

Vārt :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिन्, or ईरिणी thus स्वैर, स्वैरी, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix यम् added to ईरगतौ: (Ad. 8. स्वनाभिप्रायेण ईरण = स्वैर the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. S. 694) Another form is स्वैरी = स्वनाभिप्रायेणेन ते गच्छति with the affix जिनि (III. 2. 78 S. 2988).

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊह, ऊहि, एष, एष्य; as प्रोहः, प्रोहः, प्रोहिः, प्रेषः, प्रेष्यः ॥ But by the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम्, a maxim which we infer from the sutra VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 where the word भ्राज is taken separately from राज, the rule applies only to ऊह and not to ऊहवान्. Therefore we have प्रोहवान् and not प्रोहवान्. The word एष is derived from the root इषु 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इषु 'to go' (Div. 18), and इषु 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ्, and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यन् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused पररूपः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes, and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as सुखेन क्तः = सुखार्तः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word कृण follows the following:—प्र, वस्ततर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वस्ततरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer'.

Vart:—So also when the words कृण and दद्या are followed by कृणः—as, कृणार्णम् and दद्यार्णम् ॥ The word कृणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country. The word कृण means inaccessible place as well as water, in addition to its well-known meaning of debt.

७४ । उपसर्गादिति धातौ । ६ । १ । ९१ ॥

अवर्णान्नादुपसर्गादकारादौ धातौ परे वृद्धिरकारदेशः स्यात् । प्रार्च्छति । उपार्च्छति ॥

74. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upsarga) is followed by the short अ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with क्, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent क् ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. S. 69. Thus उप + कृच्छति = उपार्च्छति, प्रार्च्छति ॥

७५ । अन्तादिवच्च । ६ । १ । ८५ ॥

योऽयमेकदेशः स पूर्वस्यान्तवत्परस्यदिवत्स्यात् । इति रेफस्य पदान्तस्ये ॥

75. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in VI. 1. 84 S. 68 is considered in the

light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An Ādeśa is like the sthāni, but in an ekādeśa, the sthāni is indeterminate, or rather the sthāni is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra.

Therefore the र् is Padanta in उपार्च्छति &c, and being considered as final, the next rule applies :—

७६ । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

खरि भवसाने च परे रेफस्य विसर्जनीयः स्यात्पदान्ते । इति विसर्गे प्राप्ते । अन्तपञ्चादेन पदान्त-
रेफस्य न विसर्गः । उभयथर्तुं कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोरित्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥ उपसर्गेणैव धातोरक्षेपे सिद्धे धाता-
विति योगविभागेन पुनर्वृत्तिविधानार्थम् । तेन कस्यक इति पाक्षिकोऽपि प्रकृतिभावोऽत्र न भवति ॥

76. The Visarjanīya is substituted for र् before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause, provided this र् is final in a pada.

The word र् is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause.

Therefore the र् of उपार्च्छति should be changed into visarga; but this is not so; because Pāṇini himself in his Sūtras उभयथर्तुं (VIII. 3. 8, S. 3630) and कर्तरिचर्षिदेवतयोः (III. 2. 186, S. 3167) has not changed the र् into visarga.

The word upsarga itself denotes its correlative dhātu, as the word father denotes the correlative word son.

The repetition of the word dhātu in the sūtra VI. 1. 91 S. 74 is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129, S. 92 which causes प्रकृतिभाव or non-sandhi of क्. The optional non-sandhi is even prohibited with regard to this क्.

७७ । वा सुप्यापिशलेः । ६ । १ । ६२ ॥

भवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादकाराद्यै सुद्धातौ परे वृद्धिर्वा स्यात् । आपिशलिग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । प्रार्थनीयति ।
प्रर्षनीयति । सावर्ण्यात् त्ववर्णस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ प्रात्कारीयति । प्रत्कारीयति । तपरत्वादीर्घे न । उपक्कारीयति
उपक्कारीयति ॥

.77 According to the opinion of Āpiśali, the Vri-
ddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of
a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning
with ऋ ॥

Thus प्रार्थनीयति or प्रर्षनीयति प्रात्कारीयति or प्रत्कारीयति ॥ The क् and त् are
considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word क् in the last sūtra
includes त् also. The name of the Grammarian Āpiśali is mentioned for the
sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

The short क and short ल are only to be taken, because the letter क in the sūtra has a त after it. Therefore the rule would not apply to long क. Therefore we have only one form in उप + कृकरीयति = उपकरीयति.

७८ । एङि पररूपम् । ६ । १ । २४ ॥

आहुपसर्गादेकासौ धातौ परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । प्रजति । उपोषति । इह वा सुपीत्यनुवर्त्य वाक्य-
भेदेन व्याख्येयम् ॥ तेन एकासौ सुधातौ वा ॥ उपेङकीयति । उपैङकीयति । प्रोषीयति । प्रौषीयति ॥
एवे चानियोगे ॥ नियोगोऽवधारणम् । क्वेव भोक्ष्यसे । अनवदत्तमावेवशाब्दः । अनियोगे किम् । तदेव ॥

78. For the अ or आ of the Preposition + ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्धातौ are understood here. In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूप ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. 1. 88 S. 72. Thus प्रजति; उपोषति ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, S. 77 according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेङकीयति or उपैङकीयति, प्रोषीयति or प्रौषीयति,

Vārt :—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word and the sense is not that of 'appointment.' Thus क्वेवभोक्ष्यसे (where will you eat) meaning there is no room for you to sit and eat or I do not think that you will get food to eat. Here the sense of एव is that of uncertainty. When the sense is that of नियोग the Vṛiddhi takes place: as तथैव, (Thy alone.)

७९ । अचोऽन्त्यादि णि । १ । १ । ६४ ॥

अर्चां मध्ये योऽन्त्यः स आदिर्यस्य तद्विसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ° तच्च
देः ॥ शकन्धुः ॥ कर्कन्धुः । कुलटा । सीमन्तः केशवेरो । सीमान्तोऽन्त्यः । मनीषा । हलीषा । लाङ्गलीषा ।
पतञ्जलिः ॥ सारङ्गः पञ्चपक्षिणोः । साराङ्गोऽन्त्यः ॥ आकृतिगणोऽग्रम् ॥ मार्तण्डः । ओत्सोष्ठयोः समासे
वा ॥ स्थूलौतुः । स्थूलौतुः । बिम्बोष्ठः । बिम्बोष्ठः । समासे किम् । तथोष्ठः ॥

79. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called णि .

This sūtra defines णि . It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निषित् the portion इत् is णि ; so also in सोमसुत् the portion सुत् .

The word अन्तः in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification ; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

This sūtra is used here in order to make it applicable to the following *Vārtikas*.

Vartī:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः etc. It takes place in the हि portion of these words and not merely of the letter अ, though the anuvritti of आत् is understood here. Had the Para-rûpa been only of अ, we could not have got the forms like मनीषा which is formed by मनस् ईषा. The following is the list of Sakandhwādi words—1. शकन्धुः—the well of the Sakás (शक + अन्धु well). 2. कर्कन्धुः—the well of the Karkás. 3. कुलदा—unchaste woman (कुल + अदा) 4. सीमन्त—सीम + अन्त : (hair parting when not meaning 'hair parting, the form is सीमान्त the boundary limit). 5. मनीषा—the lord of the mind. 6. हलीषा—हलि + ईषा (Here ईषा means plough stick). 7. लाङ्गलीषा. 8. पतञ्जलिः—पतन्तः + अञ्जली (one to whom handfuls of offering are made i. e. an honored man). So also 9. सारङ्गः when meaning a variegated beast or a bird, otherwise the form is साराङ्गः—सार + अङ्गः (the chief member of a body).

The Śakandhwadi is an Ākritigaṇa, i. e. no complete list of this class is given anywhere, but whenever we find a compound word, in which a para-rûpa substitution has taken place, to the exclusion of the ordinary rules of Sandhi, we may safely place that word in this class. Thus घृत + अण्डः = घृतण्ड from which we have the secondary derivative form मार्तण्डः. We have the regular form मार्तण्डः also.

Vart :—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place optionally when ओत् and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word: as स्थूल ओत्तुः = स्थूलौत्तुः or स्थूलोत्तुः, so also बिम्बौष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठी ॥ When not a compound the Vriddhi is compulsory: as तत्रोष्ठः

८० । ओमाङोश्च । ६ । १ । ९५ ॥

ओमि आङि चालरे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । शिवायोनमः ॥ शिव एहि । शिवेहि ॥

80. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. Thus शिवाय + ओम् नमः = शिवायौ नमः Similarly शिव + आ + इहि = शिव + एहि = शिवेहि ॥

Question :—In the last example the form could have been obtained by the regular rules of Sandhi also, as शिव + आ + इहि = शिवा + इहि = शिवेहि. Where is then the necessity of this rule ?

Answer :—The आ could not combine with शिव, for the rule पूर्व धातु-उपसर्गेण वृद्धयेत् the upasarga must first combine with the dhātu and then other Sandhi rules must take place. The combination of उपसर्ग and धातु is an antaranga rule, while Sandhi is merely a bahiranga rule. Therefore आ first combines with the dhātu इहि and forms एहि and then this एहि combines with शिव ॥

८१ । अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ । ६ । १ । ९८ ॥

ध्वेनरनुकरणस्य योऽच्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । पदत् इति पठिति ॥ एकाचो न ॥ अदिति ॥

81. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) + इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त ; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पदत् + इति = पठिति ॥

Vārt:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—अत् + इति = अदिति ॥

८२ । नाम्नेडितस्यान्यस्य तु वा । ६ । १ । ९९ ॥

नाम्नेडितस्य प्रागुक्तं न स्यादन्तस्य तु तकारमात्रस्य वा स्यात् ॥ डाधि बहुलं द्वे भवत इति बहुलवचनद्विस्त्वम् ॥

82. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्+इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Vārtik:—There is diversely the repetition of the word when the affix डाच् follows.

The doubling takes place by this *Vārtika*. The word âmreḍita is defined in the next sūtra.

८३ । तस्य परमांशेडितम् । ८ । १ । १०० ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य परं रूपमांशेडितसंज्ञं स्यात् । पदत्पठति ॥

83. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called âmreḍita (repeated).

Thus पदत् पदत् + इति = पदत्पठ + इ + ति = पदत्पठेति. Now, this para-rûpa rule is optional. The regular form therefore, will be without the elision of the final अत् as पदत् + पदत् + इति = पदत् पठसिति. The त् is changed to इ by the next sūtra.

८४ । झलां जशोऽन्ते । ८ । २ । १०१ ॥

पशान्ते झलां अद्यः स्युः । पदत्पठसिति ॥

84. A corresponding ज, ब, ग, ड or द् is substituted

for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् अच्, श्लिङ् अच्, अग्निचिद् अच्, विहूश् अच् ॥

८५ । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः । ६ । १ । १०१ ॥

अकः सवर्णेऽपि परे दीर्घ एकादेशः स्यात् । दैत्यादिः । श्रीशः । विष्णुश्च । अचि किम् । कुमारी बोते । नाञ्जलाविति सावर्ण्यनिषेधस्तु न दीर्घसकारयोः । ग्रहणकशास्त्रस्य सावर्ण्याविधिनियेधाभ्यां प्रागनिष्पत्तेः । अकः किम् । हरये ॥ “ अकोऽकि दीर्घ इत्येव सुवचम् ॥ ” अति सवर्णे ऋ वा ॥ होतृकारः । होतृकारः ॥ लृति सवर्णे लृ वा ॥ होत्स्कारः । पक्षे कृकारः सावर्ण्यात् । होतृकारः । अति ऋ वा लृति लृ वेत्युभयत्रापि विधेयं वर्णद्वयं द्विमात्रम् । आद्यस्य मध्ये द्वौ रेफौ तयोरेका मात्रा । अभितोऽञ्भक्तोरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु मध्यं द्वौ लकारौ । शेषं प्राग्वत् । इहोभयत्रापि ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकः प्रकृतिमात्रो वक्ष्यते ॥

85. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus दैत्य + अरिः = दैत्यादिः ; श्री + ईशः = श्रीशः ; विष्णु + उद्भयः = विष्णुद्भयः । Why do we say “ when a vowel follows ” ? Observe कुमारी बोते The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी बोते ॥ The ई and वा are homogenous, in spite of I. I. 10: S. 13 for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and वा, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुविस्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. I. 69 S. 14) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ्ज हलौ (I. I. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाञ्ज हलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. I. 9 S. 10) and then comes the ग्रहणकवाक्यं (I. I. 68 S. 25). Therefore in नाञ्ज हलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which. I. I. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short इ and वा are not सवर्ण by I. I. 10: the long ई and वा would be savarna. The sutra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः would have been more clear if stated as अकोऽकि दीर्घः । Why do we say ‘ an अक् or simple vowel ? ’ Observe हरे + ए = हरये. Why do we say ‘ by a homogenous vowel ? ’ Observe इधि + अच् = इध्यच् ॥

Vārt :—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional : so also with लृ ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or लृ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ककाल &c).

Or 3rdly (and this is the opinion of Bhattoji Dikshita) the single substitute short क् or short ल् (which comes in the place of क् + क् or क् + ल्) is *really* long consisting of two mâttras, in this way:—होत् + क्कारः = होत् १ १ + क्कारः ॥ These two र's are not visible in writing, but are there. They constitute one mâtâ, for each consonant has half a mâtâ. Thus one mâtâ of two र's and one mâtâ of क् make two mâtâs really and though apparently short क् is retained, it is practically long. Similarly in the case of ल् there are two ल's. In other words, the short क् (that comes in the place of two क्'s) contains latent in it two र's, of one mâtâ and its own self of one mâtâ. Similarly the single substitute ल् contains merged in it two ल's (of one mâtâ) and its own self of one mâtâ.

Thus होत् + क्कारः = हात्कारः or होत्कारः, so also होत् + ल्कारः ॥ होल्कारः or होत्कारः ॥ The ईर्ध of ल् is क् ॥

Moreover, by the rule of कृत्यकः VI. 1. 128. S. 92 the Sandhi is optional.

८६। एङः पदान्तादति । ६। १। १०९ ॥

पदान्तादिङोऽति परे पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । हरेऽव । विष्णोऽव ॥

86. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus हरे + अव = हरेऽव, विष्णो + अव = विष्णोऽव ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अय् and अव् ॥

८७। सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः । ६। १। १२२ ॥

लोके ब्रह्मैवैकान्तस्य गोरति वा प्रकृतिभावः स्यात्पदान्ते । गोअग्रम् । गोऽग्रम् । एङन्तस्य किम् चित्रग्रवम् । पदान्ते किम् । गोः ॥

87. After गो (when it retains the form गो and is final in a pada) the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गाऽग्रं or गो अग्रं ॥ Why do we say ending in an एङ् vowel? Observe चित्रशु + अग्रम् = चित्रग्रवम्. Here गो does not end in ओ but has assumed the form शु and so the rule does not apply.

Why do we say at the end of a pada? Observe गो :

८८। अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य । ६। १। १२३ ॥

अतीति निवृत्तम् । अचि परे पदान्ते गोरवङ् वा स्यात् । गवाग्रम् । पदान्ते किम् । गवि । गवस्थितविभाषया गवाक्षः ॥

88. According to the opinion of Sphoṭayana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अस्ति ceases, that of अस्ति manifests itself. Thus गो + अवङ् = गवामङ्, so also गवाजिनङ्, गवौवनङ्, गवोद्वङ्, or in the alternative we have गोऽमङ्, गोऽजिनङ्, गवौवनङ्, गवोद्वङ् ॥ The mention of Sphoṭayana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गवि. This is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

८९ । इन्द्रे च । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

गोरवङ् स्यादिन्द्रे । गवेन्द्रः ॥

89. The substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो is compulsory when the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥

Note:—The Pāṇini reads this sūtra as इन्द्रे च नित्यम् ॥ Bhattoji has read the word nityam, in the next sūtra, instead of this.

अथ प्रकृतिभावः ॥

CHAPTER IV.

NON-SANDHI.

९० । प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

प्लुताः प्रगृह्याश्च वक्ष्यन्ते तेऽपि नित्यं प्रकृत्या स्युः । एहि कृष्ण ३ अत्र गौभरति । हरी एतौ । नित्यमिति किम् । हरी एता वित्याश्वयमेव प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यादिकोऽसवर्ण इति ह्रस्वसमुच्चितो माभूत् ॥

90. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc. S. 93) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc. S. 100.) vowels always remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus एहिकृष्ण ३ अत्र गौभरति, हरी एतौ ॥ The force of the word *nitya* is that these pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given below.

Thus in हरी ईदौ “The two Haris (Hari and Har) are Lords,” the present sūtra applies fully ; for the long ई of हरी being Pragrihya, because it is the ई of the dual number, retains its form. The subsequent rule does not apply, because ई is followed by a savarna letter, *i. e.* ई. In चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र “The chakrin is here”, the ई of चक्री is neither Pluta nor Pragrihya, because it is Nom. Singular. and therefore the subsequent rule of shortening fully applies to it, there being no scope for the application of any other rule.

But in हरी + एतौ both the present sūtra and the subsequent sūtra find scope, and the subsequent sūtra would make it हरि एतौ ॥ But the word *nitya* prevents this, and we have हरी एतौ ॥

६१ । इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च । ६ । १ । १२७ ॥

पशान्ता इकोऽसवर्णेऽपि परे प्रकृत्या स्युर्ह्रस्वश्च वा । अत्र ह्रस्वविधिसामर्थ्यादेव प्रकृतिभावे सिद्धे तदनुकर्षणार्थमकारो न कर्तव्य इति भाष्ये स्थितम् । चक्रि अत्र : चक्ष्यञ्च । पशान्ता इति किम् । गौर्यौ ॥ न समासे * ॥ वाच्यश्च : ॥ सिति च * ॥ पार्थञ्च ॥

91. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a non-homogenous vowel, retain their original forms ; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have चक्रयञ्च ॥

The name of Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation. According to Mahābhāṣya, the च in the sūtra is redundant. If it be said that च is necessary to draw the anuvritti of Prakṛiti-bhāva, that is not the case. For the mere fact of making the long vowel short, shows that there is Prakṛiti bhāva. For if there were to take place Sandhi after shortening, as चक्री + अत्र = चक्रिअत्र = चक्षत्र, then where is the good of shortening, for the last form could have been obtained without shortening. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गौर्यै ॥

Two Vārt.—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa) and of words formed by an affix having an indicative स् :—Thus अयं ते योनिऋत्विजः, प्रजां विवाम ऋत्विज्याम् The word ऋत्विज्य is formed by a सिन् affix, namely by घस् (V. 1. 106 S. 3495), added to ऋतुः and therefore the ङ is changed to व ॥ Before a सिन् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16). Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवश्वः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्ययम् which are so by II. 2. 18 S. 761. Thus वाच्यश्चः is an example of compound; and पार्थम् formed by the affix जस् see I. 4. 16, S. 1252.

९२ । ऋत्यकः । ६ । १ । १२८ ॥

कति परेऽकः प्राग्वत् । ब्रह्म ऋषिः । ब्रह्मर्षिः । पदान्ता इत्येव । आच्छत् । समासेऽप्ययं प्रकृतिभावः । सप्तऋषीणाम् । सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥

92. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus ब्रह्मा + ऋषि = ब्रह्मऋषि or ब्रह्मर्षिः ॥ The इक् vowels must be final in a Pada here also, otherwise we have Sandhi as आ + आच्छत् = आच्छत् ॥ Even in compound this non-modification is observed, thus सप्त + ऋषीणाम् सप्तऋषीणाम् or सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्र ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)”? Observe वृक्षावृक्षयः (वृक्षौ + ऋक्षय) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

९३ । वाक्यस्य देः प्लुत उदात्तः । ८ । २ । ८२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

93. Upto the close of this chapter (Second Pāda of the Eight Adhyāya), is always to be supplied: “the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i. e. “the last vowel

(दि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent apophorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (दि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent.

६४ । प्रत्यभिवादे ऽगृद्धे । ८ । २ । ८३ ॥

अशूद्रविषये प्रत्यभिवादे यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः प्लुतः स्यात् स चोदात्तः । अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽग्रम् । भो आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्तः ॥ स्त्रियां न ॥ अभिवाद्ये गार्ग्यग्रम् । भो आयुष्मन्ती भव गार्गी ॥ नाम गोत्रं वा यच्च प्रत्यभिवादवाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्रैव प्लुत इष्यते । नेह । आयुष्मानेधि ॥ भोराजन्यविशां वति वाच्यम् ॥ आयुष्मानेधि भोः । आयुष्माने धीन्द्रवर्म ३ न् । आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रपालित ३ ॥

94. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation." The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽग्रम् "I do salute you, I am devadatta". is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तः ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived"

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवाद्ये गार्ग्यग्रम् is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies:—भो आयुष्मन्ती भवगार्गी ॥

Ishti:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि : देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vārt:—The prolation is optional, when भो follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽग्रम् ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रवर्माग्रम् भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मन् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मन् ॥ Vaishya: अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रपालितोऽग्रम् भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

९५ । दूरागृते च । ८ । २ । ८४ ॥

दूरास्संबोधने यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः प्लुतः स्यात् । सकृन्पिब देवदत्त ३ ॥

95. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here सक्तून् पिव देवदत्ता ३ O devadatta! drink the gruel".

६६ । हेहेप्रयोगे हेहयोः । ८ । २ । ८५ ॥

एतयोः प्रयोगे दूराद्धूतं बह्वाक्ष्यं तत्र हेहयोरेव प्लुतः स्यात् । हे ३ राम । राम हे ३ ॥

96. When the words हे and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the हे and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे ३ राम, or राम हे ३ ॥

९७ । गुरोरनृतोनन्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् । ८ । २ । ८६ ॥

दूराद्धूतं बह्वाक्ष्यं तस्य ऋजिप्रत्याग्नस्यानन्यस्यापि गुरोर्वा प्लुतः स्यात् । हे ३ वदत्त । देवद ३ त्त । देवदत्त ३ । गुराः किम् । वकाराभ्यस्त्याकारस्य मा भूत । अनृतः किम् । कृष्ण ३ । एकैकमहणं पर्यायार्थम् । इह प्राचामिति यागो विभज्यते । तेन सर्वः प्लुतो विकल्प्यते ॥

97. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (of two previous Sūtras,) in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by the two previous Sūtras. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus हे^३वदत्त or देवद^३त्त or देवदत्त^३ ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of व in Devadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनृतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्ण ३ ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time ; not हे^३वद^३त्त ३ ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation at all.

९८ । अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते । ६ । १ । १२६ ॥

उपस्थितोऽनार्ध इतिशब्दस्तस्मिन्परे प्लुतोऽप्लुतवद्ववति । अप्लुतकार्ये यणादिकं करोतीत्यर्थः । सुश्लोका इति । सुश्लोकेति । वल्किम् । अप्लुत इत्युक्तेऽप्लुत एव विधीयत प्लुतश्च निबिध्यत । तथा च प्रगृह्याश्रये प्रकृतिभावे प्लुतस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् । अग्री इति ॥

98. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts ; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोका इति = सुश्लोकेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् “like as” ; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta” ? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛiti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्री, the इ is pragrihya. It may be made pluta also as अग्री इ ॥ Now if before इति the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्री इति formed by अग्री इ + इति ॥ For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, S. 90, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्री इ इति ॥

९९ । ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य । ६ । १ । १३० ॥

ई३ प्लुतोऽपि परेऽप्लुतवद्वा स्यात् । चिनुहि इ इति । चिनुहीति । चिनुहि इ इवम् । चिनुहीवम् । उभयत्र विभाष्यम् ॥

99. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmanā, the pluta ई३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus चिनु हि इ इति = चिनुहीति ॥ चिनु ही३ इवम् or चिनुहीवम् ॥ The name of Châkravarmanā is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129, S. 98) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति it ordains prakṛiti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakṛiti bhāva by VI. 1. 125, S. 90. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

१०० । ईदूनेद्विचनम प्रगृह्यम् । १ । १ । ११ ॥

ईदूनेदन्तं द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं स्यात् । हरी एतौ । विष्णू इमौ । गङ्गे अमू । पथेते इमौ ।
मणीवोद्वेति तु इवार्थे वशादर्थो वा बोध्यः ॥

100. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." This sūtra gives three of these terminations, *vis.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्) ॥ Thus:—हरी एतौ, विष्णू इमौ; गङ्गे अमू. Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of हरी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because हरी is the nominative dual of हरि ॥

Vart.—The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीव "like two gems." So also दम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

१०१ । अदसो मात्र । १ । १ । १२ ॥

अस्मात्परानीकृतौ प्रगृह्यौ स्तः । अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्णावमू आसाते । मात्किम् । अमुकेऽव ।
असाति मादग्रहण एकारोऽप्यनुवर्तते ॥

101. (The long ई and ऊ) after the म् of the pronoun अदस् are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म्, of *whatever number* they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions, namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्ण । वमू आसाते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "after the letter म"? Because in the example अमुके + अव = अमुके व, the ए, preceded not by म but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 71, S.

2026) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of the last sūtra which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

१०२ । शे । १ । १ । १३ ॥

अयं प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अस्मे इन्द्रावृहस्पती ॥

102. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. I. 39, S. 3561). Thus अस्मे इन्द्रावृहस्पती .

Of this substitute शे, the initial ष is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragrihya.

१०३ । निपात एकाजनाङ् । १ । १ । १४ ॥

एकोऽजिनपात आङ्बर्जः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । इ विस्मये । इ इन्द्रः । उ वितर्के । उ उमेष्टः । अनाङि-
स्युक्तेरङिशाकारः प्रगृह्य एव । आ एवं तु मन्यते । आ एवं किल तत् । किन्तु न प्रगृह्यः । ईषदुष्णम्
ओष्णम् । ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादाऽभिधौ च यः । एतमातं कितं विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् ॥

103. A particle consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

All such particles technically called nipāta which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र has the sense of wonder. उ उमेष्ट, उ has the sense of a doubtful question.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations :—(1) As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "nearto," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् 'to go आगम्,' 'to come,' अ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आजन्मनः "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), "till" "until" as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एवं मन्यते. "Oh! do you think so."

१०४ । ओत् । १ । १ । १५ ॥

ओहन्तो निपातः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अहो ईशाः ॥

104. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya:

As अतोईशाः ॥

१०५ । सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे । १ । १ । १६ ॥

संबुद्धिनिमित्तक भोकारो वा प्रशङ्कोऽपैदिके इतो परे । विष्णो इति । विष्ण इति । विष्णविति । अनार्थ इति किम् । ब्रह्मबन्धवित्त्वब्रवीत् ॥

105. The final ओ of the vocative singular before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus the forms above given are correct.

In Ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता न्ना ब्रह्मबन्धवित्त्वब्रवीत् ॥

१०६ । उञः । १ । १ । १७ ॥

उञ इतो वा प्रायुक्तम् उ इति विति ॥

106. The particle उञ before *iti*, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उञ meaning उ ॥ This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति ॥

१०७ । ऊँ । १ । १ । १८ ॥

उञ इतो दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः प्रगृह्यन् उञ इत्ययमादेशो वा स्यात् । ऊँ इति ॥

107. The particle ऊँ replaces उञ in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उञ is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal ॥ ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति ॥

१०८ । मय उञो वो वा । ८ । ३ । ३३ ॥

मयः परस्य उञो वो वा स्यादिति । किमु उक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । वत्सासिद्धत्वाद्वापुस्त्वारः ॥

108. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह् and ञ्), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus kimuuktam or kimvuktam. The उ is a Pragrihya and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व् being considered asiddha, the व् is not changed to anusvāra in the above example.

When this **इ** is followed by **इति**, and preceded by a **व** consonant, then by I. 1. 17, S 106 it is optionally **प्रगृह्य**, and it may be replaced by **ऊँ** ॥ When it is not a **pragrihya**, then it is changed to **इ** by **वर्णादेशः** (VI. 1. 77 S 47), or to **इ** by the present sūtra. In the case of **वर्णादेशः इ**, there is **anusvāra** by VIII. 3, 23, S 122 as **किंविति** ॥ When it is a **Pragrihya**, then it is changed to **इ** by the present sūtra as **किंविति** or **किंइ इति** ॥ So also with **ऊँ** substitute, where the **इ** will be nasal : as **किंम्विति**, or **ऊँ** will remain unchanged, as **किंइ ऊँ इति** ॥ Thus we have five forms with **इति** ॥

१०६ । इदृतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे । १ । १ । १९ ॥

सप्तम्यर्थे पर्यवसप्तमीद्वयन्तं प्रगृह्यं स्यात् । सोमो गौरी अधिप्रितः । मामकी तन् इति । सुपां छलुगिति सप्तम्यां लुक् । अर्थमहणं किम् । वृत्तावर्थान्तरोपसंक्रान्ते ना भूत् । वाच्यमन्वो वाच्यम् ॥

109. The finnal **ई** and **ऊ** of words giving the sense of the locative case are **pragrihya**.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39, S. 356r) which declares that " in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by **इ** or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or **आ**, or **आत्**, or **वे**, or **वा**, or **डा**, or **उवा**, or **वाच्** or **आल्** takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is **ङि** (**इ**). In forming the L. S. of **तन्** " body," we have **तन्+इ**. The **इ** will be changed into a homogeneous letter with **ऊ** and we have **तन्+ऊ=तन्** " in the body," as, **अच्यवर्त्या मामकीतन्** (for **मामक्यां तन्वां**). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being **तन्वां**. Similarly **गौरी+इ=गौरी** " on the Gauri," as **सोमो गौरी अधिप्रितः** (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long **ई** and **ऊ** are used in the sense of locative, and are **pragrihya**.

It is only long **ई** and **ऊ** which are **pragrihya**, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) **दा** (**आ**) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus **अग्नि+ङि=अग्नि+डा=अग्ना** ' in the fire,' as, **प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवति य इन्द्राय सुतोमो रवावात्** (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here **अग्ना** though in the locative case, its final is not **pragrihya**. Therefore **अग्ना+इति=अग्नेति** ॥

The **ई** and **ऊ** must be of the 7th case. Therefore **मति+दा** (3rd s.)=**मति+इ** (letter homogeneous with the prior)=**मती** ' with wisdom '. Here **ई** is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not **pragrihya**. Thus **मती+इति=मतीति** ॥

The word **अर्थ** is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound

of वाप्याच् “in the well” and अश्च “horse,” the case-affix is elided, and we get वापि + अश्च. Here, no doubt, the word वापि is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided ; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpi has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi ; as, वाप्यश्च : “the horse near the well.” In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pûrva-pada) ; for words like वापि &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case ; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

११० । अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः । ८ । ४ । ५७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्याणोऽवसानेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । इधि । इधि । अप्रगृह्यस्य किम् । अग्नी ॥

110. The anunâsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrihya. The अण् here is a Pratyâhâra with the first ण् ॥ Thus इधि or इधि,

Why do we say ‘which is not a pragrihya’ ? Observe अग्नी,

अथ हल्सन्धिप्रकरणम् ।१०

CHAPTER V.

THE SANDHI OF CONSONANTS.

१११ । स्तोः द्युना द्युः । ८ । ४ । ४० ॥

सकारतवर्गयोः शकारचवर्गाभ्यां योगे शकारचवर्गौ स्तः । हरिश्चेते । रामश्चिनोति । सञित् ।
षार्द्धिञ्जय ॥

111. The letter स and the dental when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

1st. स in contact with शः as, हरिस् + चेते = हरिश्चेते,

2nd. स in contact with चुः—as, रामस् + चिनोति = रामश्चिनोति,

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + चेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमश्चुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चुः—सत् + चित् = सञित्.

5th. चकार followed by सकार; as, यज + न (III. 3. 90 S 3268) = यज + ण = यज्ञः, वाच् + न = वाचः ॥ In fact the instrumental case द्युना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by द्यु, or द्यु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th. (a) स followed by चु is changed into शः as, अस् + ति = अस्श्च + श + ति (III. i 77, S 2534 VI. i. 16 S 2412) = अस्श्च + ति = अस्श्च + ति = (VIII. 4. 53 S 52) = अस्श्चति ॥ Similarly मस्ज forms मज्जति, वस्ज forms वज्जति ॥

The next aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44 S. 112) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S 128) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो ओः द्युः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

११२ । शात् । ८ । ४ । ४४ ॥

शात्परस्य तवर्गस्य ऋतुत्वं न त्यात् । विभः । प्रभः ॥

112. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तौः are understood here. This is an exception to

the last rule. Thus विष् + न (III. 3. 90. S. 3268) = विष् + न (VI. 4. 19. S. 2561) = विष् : ॥ Similarly मृ + न :

११३ । ष्टुना ष्टुः । ८ । ४ । ४१ ॥

स्तोः ष्टुना षोणे ष्टुः स्यात् । रामव्यष्टः । रामटीकते । पेष्टा । तष्टीका । चक्रिण्टीकते ॥

113. The letters स्तु and dentals in contact with ष्टु and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, रामस् + ष्टुः = रामव्यष्टः

(2) स with ष्टु, as, रामस् + टीकते = रामटीकते ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेष्ट + ता = पेष्टा ॥ ॥

(4) तु with ष्टु, as सत् + टीका = तष्टीका ॥ चक्रिन् + ष्टीकते = चक्रिण्टीकते ॥

११४ । न पदान्तादोरनाम् । ८ । ४ । ४२ ॥

अनामिति छुप्रपञ्चीकं पदम् । पदान्ताद्वर्गात्परस्यानाम् स्तोः दुर्न स्यात् । षट् सन्तः । षट् ते षः पदान्तात्किम् । ईष्टे । दोः किम् । सर्पिष्टमम् ॥ * अनामवतिनगरीणामिति वाच्यम् ॥ षण्णाम् । षण्णवतिः । षण्णगर्भः ॥

114. After ष्टु final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus षट् + सन्तः = षट् सन्तः ॥ षट् + ते = षट्ते ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईष्ट् + ते = ईष्ट + टे = ईष्टे ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after ष्टु'? Observe सर्पिष्ट् + तमम् = सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nām'? Observe षट् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārtika:—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, षण्णगर्भः six cities'.

११५ । तोः षि । ८ । ४ । ४३ ॥

सवर्गस्य वकारे परे न ष्टुत्वम् । सन्वष्टः ॥

115. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, सत् + ष्टु = सन्वष्टः ॥

Here the Sutra **झलां जघोन्ते** (S. 84.) should be read again, by which a soft consonant is substituted for the hard. Thus **वाक् + ईशः = वागीशः**; **चित् + रूपम् = चित् रूपम्** ॥

११६ । यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा । ८ । ४ । ४५ ॥

यः पदान्तस्याऽनुनासिके परोऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । एतन्पुरारिः । एतद्भुरारिः । स्थानप्रयत्नाभ्यामन्तरत्वे स्पर्शे चरितार्थो विधिर्यं रेफे न प्रवर्तते । चतुर्ध्रुलः । * प्रत्यये भाषायां निवृत्त्यम् ॥ तन्मात्रम् । चिन्मयम् । कथं तर्हि महोदयाः ककुचन्त इति । यवादिगणे इकारनिपातनात् ॥

116. In the room of a **य** letter (every consonant except **ह**) final in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word **पदान्त** is understood here. Thus **एतत् + पुरारिः = एतन्पुरारिः** or **एतद्भुरारिः** । This rule does not apply to **इ** as **चतुर् + ध्रुलः = चतुर्ध्रुलः** ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada' ? Observe, **वेद + मि = वोधि** ॥ Here there is no option. So also **छुभ्नाति** ॥

Vat:—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus **तत् + माचम् = तन्मात्रम्**, similarly **चिन्मयम्** ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes **मय** and **माच** that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal. How do you explain the form **ककुचन्तः** in the sentence **महोदयाः ककुचन्तः** ? Because the **इ** is used in **यवादि** class. (For a list of the words belonging to this class, see Gaṇapāṭha VIII. 2. 9).

११७ । तोर्लि । ८ । ४ । ६० ॥

तवर्गस्य लकारे परे परसवर्णः स्यात् । तल्लयः । विह्वल्लिखति । नकारस्याऽनुनासिको लकारः ॥

117. In the room of **तु** (a dental) when the letter **ल** follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus **तत् + लयः = तल्लयः**; **विह्वान् + लिखति = विह्वल्लिखति** ॥ Here **त** has been changed to pure **ल**, while the dento-nasal **त्** is changed to a nasal **ल्** ॥

११८ । उद्ः स्यास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । ६१ ॥

उद्ः परयोः स्यास्तम्भोः पूर्वसवर्णः स्यात् । भार्येः परस्य । उत्थानम् । उत्तम्भनम् । अन्नाद्योपस्य महाप्राणस्य सस्य तादृश एव यकारः । तस्य झरोझरीति पाक्षिको लोपः । लोपाभावपक्षे तु यकारस्यैव अक्षणे न तु झरि चेति चत्स्यम् । चत्स्यं प्रति यकारस्याऽसिद्धत्वात् ॥

118. After **उद्**, in the room of the **स** of **sthā** and **stambha**, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (*i. e.* a dental is substituted for this **स**) ॥

As **उद् + स्याता = उद् + स्याता = उद् + याता** (VIII. 4. 63 S. 120) = **उद् + याता** (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121) = **उत्थायाता, उत्थातुव, उत्थातव्यम्** ॥ So also with **स्तम्भ**, as, **उत्तम्भिता, उत्तम्भितुम् &c.** (See I. 1. 67 S. 41 and 54. S. 44).

Here the Aghosha (Surd) and Maháprāṇa **ख** is changed to **ख** which is also Aghosha and Maháprāṇa. This then is optionally elided by **झरोझरि** (S. 71). But in the alternative when there is no lopa, the **ख** is heard in pronunciation.

By the rule **खरिच** (S. 121), the **ख** is not changed to **खर्** letter, because the rule of **चर्त्वे** is not applicable to **ख**; for this **ख** is considered as non-existent for the purposes of **चर्** rules.

११६ । झयोहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ४ । ६२ ॥

झयः परस्य हस्य पूर्वसवर्णो वा स्यात् । घोषवतो नादवतो महामाणस्य संवृतकण्ठस्य हस्य तादृशो वर्णचतुर्थ एवा देशः । वाग्घरि । वाग्हरिः ॥

119. In the room of the letter **ह**, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyāhāra **झय** includes *all* Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here. The substitute of **ह** will be **घ** by the rule of nearness of place of utterance, because **ह** is a ghosha (sonant); Maháprāṇa (aspirated) and Samvrit (contracted) and so is also **घ**. Thus **वाक् + हरि = वाग्घरि** or **वाग्हरि** ।

१२० । शदछोऽटि । ८ । ४ । ६३ ॥

षान्तात् झयः परस्य घस्य छो वा स्यादटि । हस्य ऋषुत्वेन अकारे कृते ॥

120. In the room of **श** preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter **छ** when a vowel or **य**, **घ** or **र** follows such **य** ॥

Though **झय** means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words **झय** and **अन्यतरस्यां** are to be read into the sūtra. Thus **तत् + शिव = तद् + शिव** (S. 84) = **तद् + छिव = तच् + छिव = तज् + छिव**. At this stage applies the next Sūtra.

१२१ । खरि च । ८ । ४ । ५५ ॥

खरि षे झलां चरः स्युः । इति अकारस्य चकारः । तच्छिवः । तच्शिवः ॥ छत्वनमीति वाच्य-
म् ॥ तच्श्लोकेन । तच्छ्लोकेन । अमि किम् । वाक् ऋयोवति ॥

121. In the room of **झय**, there is the substitute **चर्** when **खर्** follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words **झलां** and **चरः** are supplied from the last sūtra. Therefore **ज्** is changed to **च** and we have the form **तच्छिव** or **तच्चिव** :

Vārtika:—It should rather be stated, "when a letter of अच् pratyā-hāra follows. The sūtra only gives अच् letters, the Vārtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals. Thus तत् + श्लोकेन = तच्छ्लोकेन.

Why do we say when a letter of अच् pratyāhāra follows? Observe वाक् इत्येतत्ति.

१२२ । मोऽनुस्वारः । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

मान्तस्य पदस्यानुस्वारः स्याद्वलि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । हरिं वन्दे । पदस्येति किम् । गम्यते ॥

122. The Anusvāra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus हरिवन्दे ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. The म् must be at the end of a pada which we get from sūtra अलोऽन्त्यस्य (S. 42); therefore not here; गम्यते.

१२३ । नञ्चापदान्तस्य झल्लि । ८ । ३ । २४ ॥

नस्य मस्य चापदान्तस्य झल्यनुस्वारः स्यात् । यशांसि । आक्रस्यते । झलि किम् । मन्यते ॥

123. The Anusvāra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus यशांसि, आक्रस्यते ।

Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See मन्यते.

Note;—Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? observe राजन् पाहि,

१२४ । अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः । ८ । ४ । २८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अङ्कितः । अञ्चितः । कुण्ठितः । शान्तः । युष्मितः । कुर्वन्तीत्यत्र ण्वे प्राप्ते तस्यासिद्धत्वाद्नुस्वारे परसवर्णे च कृते तस्यासिद्धत्वात् णत्वम् ॥

124. In the room of anusvāra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अङ्कितः, अञ्चितः, कुण्ठितः, शान्तः, युष्मितः These are thus formed:—To the causal *churādi* root अङ्कः (meaning pada and lakshana), we add the participial affix क्त. Thus अङ्क + क्त. The causal sign इ is elided by the sūtra निष्ठायाश्च सेदि (VI. 4. 52. S. 3057). Then by the present rule, we have अङ्कितः The इ here is the इद् augment. Or it may be from the root अक्लि (meaning lakshana) where the augment जुच् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and then this न् becomes इ.

अञ्चितः comes from the root अञ्च (meaning pūjā), with the affix क्त. The न् is not elided by VI. 4. 30 S. 424.

कुण्डितः is formed from the root कुडि (meaning pratighāta). The augment वुम् is added to the root before the सेद् participial affix. This व् is changed into ण्

चान्तः is formed from the root चम् (meaning upasāma) with the affix क्त (See VII. 2. 27. S. 3068). The अ of चम् is lengthened by VI. 4. 15. S. 2666. The म् is changed to न् by the present rule.

गुम्भितः is formed from the root गुम्भ् (meaning grantha) with the affix क्त. In कुर्वन्ति, the न is not changed into ण्, though required by VIII. 4. 2. S. 197. Because the णत्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123, the न is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). That anusvāra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), the ण is never substituted for न् ॥

१२५ । वा पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ५९ ॥

पदान्तस्यानुस्वारस्य यथि परे परसवर्णो वा स्यात् । त्वङ्करोषि । त्वं करोषि । संध्यन्ता । संयन्ता । संवत्सरः । यँलोकम् । यँलोकम् । अत्रानुस्वारस्य पक्षेऽनुनासिका यवलाः ॥

125. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus त्वङ्करोषि or त्वं करोषि ; सध्यँन्ता or संयन्ता ; संवत्सरः or संवत्सरः ; यँलोकम् or यं लोकम् .

Here the anusvāra has become nasal व् व् ङ् in the other alternative.

१२६ । मो राजि समः कौ । ८ । ३ । २५ ॥

विवचन्ते राजसौ परे समो मस्य न एव स्यात् । सम्राट् ॥

126. म् is substituted for the म् of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्तिप् ॥

Thus सम्राट् ॥ The substitution of म् for म् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (VII. 1. 40. S. 3562). Why do we say 'before राज्' ? See संयत् (VI. 4. 40. S. 2986. Vārt). Why do we say 'of सम्' ? Observe किं राट् (V. 4. 70 S. 955). Why do we say 'ending with क्तिप्' ? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्तिप् is added by III. 2. 61 S. 2975 the ञ् is changed to ङ् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294, which is changed to ङ् at the end of a word, in सम्राट् ॥ सम्राड्यङ्ग is formed by ङ्यङ्ग affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

१२७ । हे मपरे वा । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

मपरे हकारे परे मस्य न एव स्याद्वा । झल झल चल्नि । किम् झलयति । किं झलयति ॥ यवलापरे यवला वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

127. **ख** is optionally substituted for **म** before that **ह** which itself is followed by a **म** ॥

The **ख** may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with **ह** ॥ Thus किं or किं^व हल्यति, 'what does he cause to shake' ?

Vart :—Before **ह**, **हः**, and **ह्र**, the preceding **ख** may be changed to **अ**, **व** or **ल** respectively.

Now, by this *Vārtika*, three letters **अ**, **व**, **ल**, are ordained in the room of **ख**, **व**, **ल**. But the rule does not say which letter is to be substituted for which letter. To remove this doubt the following interpretation sūtra should be remembered :—

१२८ । यथा संख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् । १ । ३ । १० ॥

समसंबन्धी विधिर्यथासंख्यं स्यात् । किं^व ह्यः किं^ह ह्यः । किं^व हल्यति । किं^ह हल्यति । किं^ल हल्यति । किं^ल हल्यति ॥

128. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Therefore as under the former rule, the letters to be substituted are three in number and the substitutes are also three in number, therefore applying the present rule, **अ** would be replaced by **अ**; **व** by **व** and **ल** by **ल**. Thus we have किं^अ ह्यः or किं^व ह्यः ; किं^व हल्यति or किं^ह हल्यति ; किं^ल हल्यति or किं^ल हल्यति.

१२९ । नपरे नः । ८ । ३ । २७ ॥

नपरे हकारे मस्य नः स्याद्वा । किं^न ह्यते । किं^ह ह्यते ॥

129. **न** is optionally substituted for **म**, when it is followed by **ह** which has a **न** after it.

म becomes **न** before a word beginning with **ह**; as किं^न ह्यते or किं^ह ह्यते.

१३० । डणोः कुक् डुक् शरि । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

डकारणकारयोः कुक्डुक्कावागमौ वा स्तः शरि । कुक्डुक्कोरसिद्धत्वाज्जदस्यं न ॥ अथो द्वितीयाः शरि पौस्करसावेरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्राङ्ख्षष्ठः प्राङ्क्षष्ठः । प्राङ् षष्ठः । सुगण्दषष्ठः सुगणद षष्ठः । सुगण्षष्ठः ॥

130. The augment **क्** is added to a final **ङ**, and the augment **ट्** to a final **ण**, before a sibilant, optionally.

The **कुक्** and **डुक्** augments being considered as asiddha, there is no ञच् change, i. e. soft letters are not substituted for the hard. Before giving

the examples of this sutra, the following *Vārtika* must be applied, in order to get the proper forms.

Vārtika :—According to the option of Achārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of च्च pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of चर् pratyāhāra).

Thus प्राङ्क्षष्ठः or प्राङ्क्षष्ठः or प्राङ्क्षष्ठः ; सुगण्दषष्ठः or सुगण्दषष्ठः or सुगण्दषष्ठः

१३१ । डः सि धुट् । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

डात्परस्य सस्य धुडा स्यात् । षट्सन्तः । षट्सन्तः ॥

131. After a word ending in ड् there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ।

Thus षट्सन्तः or षट्सन्तः-

The word डः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ड्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्वेशे पञ्चमीनिर्वेशो बलीयान् ॥

१३२ । नञ्च । ८ । ३ । ३० ॥

नकारान्तात्सस्य धुडा । सन्तः or सन्तः ॥

132. After a word ending in न्, धुट् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus सन्तः or सन्तः ॥

१३३ । शि तुक् । ८ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नस्य पदान्तस्य शो परे तुक्त्वा स्यात् । शद्विच्छेदोऽपीति छत्त्वविकल्पः । पक्षे ह्यरोहरीति चलोपः । सञ्छम्भुः । सञ्छम्भुः । सञ्छम्भुः । सञ्छम्भुः । अछौ अचछा अचछा अशाविति चतुष्टयम् रूपाणा-
मिह तुक्छत्त्वचलोपानां विकल्पनात् ॥

133. The augment त् may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

By rule VIII. 4. 63. S. 120. there is an optional छ. By the rule ह्यरोहरी VIII. 4. 65. S. 71. there is elision of the छ in the other alternative. Thus सञ्छम्भुः or सञ्छम्भुः or सञ्छम्भुः or सञ्छम्भुः

१३४ । डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् । ८ । ३ । ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वात्परो यो डम् तदन्तं यत्परं तस्मात्परस्याचो नित्यं डमुडागमः स्यात् । प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा सुगण्णीयः । सप्तच्युतः ॥

134. After a word ending in ड्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant ड्, ण् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word **ह्रस्वः** is in the Ablative singular here ; and **ह्रस्वात्** qualifies **ह्रस्वः** ; and **ह्रस्व** itself qualifies the word **पदस्य** understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word **पदस्य** (VIII. 1. 16 S. 40) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with **ह्रस्वः** ॥ **अप्ति** is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. **ह्रस्व** is a pratyāhāra meaning **ह्र**, **ण** and **न** ; and so also **ह्रस्वुद्** is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments **हुद्**, **णुद्** and **नुद्** ॥

In other words **ह्र** is augment after **ह्र**, **ण** after **ण** and **न** after **न** ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus **हुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ह्र**, as **प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा** ॥ **णुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ण**, as **सुगण्णीशः** ॥ **नुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **न**, as **सन्नयुतः** :

१३५ । समः सुटि । ८ । ३ । ५ ॥

समो रुः स्यात् सुटि । भलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥

135. **रु** is substituted for the **म** of **सम्** (and thereby **अँ** or **अं** is substituted for **अ**) when the augment **स्** follows, in a samhitā.

१३६ । अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा । ८ । ३ । २ ॥

अत्र रूपकरणे रोः पूर्वस्याऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् ॥

136. In the following sūtras upto VIII, 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—"But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which **रु** has been ordained."

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which **रु** has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where **रु** is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5, S. 135 says "In the place of the final of **सम्**, there is **रु** when **सुद्** augment follows." The vowel **अ** of **सम्** becomes nasal; as **सँस्कर्त्तुम्**, **सँस्कर्त्तव्यम्** ॥

१३७ । अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः । ८ । ३ । ४ ॥

अनुनासिकं विहाय रोः पूर्वस्यात्परोऽनुस्वारागमः स्यात् । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥

137. After what precedes **रु**, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvāra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. S. 136. When nasa is not substituted, we add an anusvāra to such vowel. The word **अन्य** should be

read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः " a letter other than a nasal ", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ह ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5. S. 135 teaches ह substitution of the ह् of सम् an anusvāra would be added. As संस्कृता, संस्कृत्यम् ॥

Some say " the word परः in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः ; i. e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ह ॥

By the rule खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः the ह is changed into Visarga and by the next rule this Visarga is changed into स्.

१३८ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

खरि विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यात् । एतदपवादे वा शरीति पाक्षिके विसर्गे प्रति ॥ संपुक्तानां सो वक्तव्यः *॥ संस्कृता ॥ संस्कृता ॥ समो वा लोपमेक इति भाष्यम् *॥ लोपस्यापि रुपकरणस्थत्वादनुस्वारानुनासिकाभ्यामेकसकारं रूपद्वयम् । द्विसकारं तूक्तमेव । तत्रानचि चेति सकारस्य द्वित्वपक्षे त्रिसकारमपि रूपद्वयम् । अनुस्वारविसर्गे जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीययमानामकारोपरि शर्षु च पाठस्थोपसंख्यानत्वेनानुस्वारस्याप्यत्वात् । अनुनासिकवर्ता त्रयाणां शरः खय इति कद्वित्वे षट् । अनुस्वारवतमानुस्वारस्यापि द्वित्वे द्वादश । एषामष्टादशानां तकारस्य द्वित्वे वचनान्तरेण पुनर्द्वित्वे च एकतं द्वितं त्रितमिति चतुष्पञ्चाशत् । अणोऽनुनासिकत्वे ऽष्टोत्तरशतम् ॥

138. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. There is Visarga also by the rule वाशरि VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. Then we have the following Vārtika which ordains स् always, and never visarga.

Vārt:—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स्. Thus applying the previous four rules we have सम् + कर्ता = सम् + सुट् + कर्ता (VI. 1 137 S. 2550) = स् + ह + सुट् + कर्ता (VIII. 3. 2. S. 136) = संस्कृता or सँस्कृता ॥

According to Mahābhāṣya, there is elision of स् after सम्

Thus there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कृता ॥ Thus सँस्कृता and संस्कृता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सँस्कृता, संस्कृता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 S. 48 to this latter, and have three स्, as सँस्कृता, or संस्कृता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सँस्कृता, संस्कृता and संस्कृता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vārtika शरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra : and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त् will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त्, two त् and three त्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when अच् is nasalised.

१३६ । पुम् : खय्यम्परे । ८ । ३ । ६ ॥

अम्परे खयि पुम्भाषस्य रुः स्यात् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽप्रत्ययस्येति षत्वपर्युदात्तात् × क × पयोः प्राप्नो । अव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु षत्वप्राप्नो । संप्रकानामिति सः । पुँस्कोकिलः । पुँस्कोकिलः । पुँस्तुवः । पुँस्तुवः । अम्परे किम् । पुँक्षीरम् । खयि किम् । पुँशाशः । ख्याम्परे न पुँख्यानम् ॥

139. रु is substituted for the म् of पुम्, (whereby the उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

The word पुँस् is formed by the Unâdi affix डुम्सुन् added to the root पुम् ॥ There are two views of Unâdi formed words—one considers them as *derivative* words, the other regards them as *non-derivative* or *वृद्धि* words. If the word पुँस् be taken as a derivative word (vyutpatti paksha) then the exception “apratyaye” of the sūtra VII. 3. 41. S. 155 would apply, and र् would not be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155. To prevent both these incongruities, the Vārtika सं पुँकानामिति सः (see the preceding sūtra) always ordains स् and never रु ॥ Thus पुम् + कोकिलः = पुर + कोकिलः = पुष् or पु × क + कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 41. S. 155) = पुँस्कोकिलः or पुँस्कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 2 & 4 S. 135 & 136). Similarly पुँस्तुवः or पुँस्तुवः

Why do we say ‘before a surd mute’? Observe पुँशासः, पुँगवः (V. 4 92. S. 729) Why do we say ‘followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal’? Observe पुँक्षीरः, पुँक्षुरः ॥

Vārtika :—Not so when चक्ष् follows पुम्, in those cases where ख्याम् is substituted for चक्ष् (II. 4. 54 S. 2476). As पुँख्यानम् ॥ ख्यान is formed by adding ल्युट् to चक्ष् (III. 3. 115 S. 3290).

१४० । नद्व्यप्रशान् । ८ । ३ । ७ ॥

अम्परे छवि नकारान्तस्य पदस्य रुः स्यात् न तु प्रशान्ताव्यस्य । विसर्गः । सत्वम् । ऋत्वम् । शार्ङ्गिष्ठिन्धि । शार्ङ्गिष्ठिन्धि । चर्किञ्चायस्व । चर्किञ्चायस्व । पवस्य किम् । हन्ति । अम्परे किम् । सन्तसहः खङ्गमुष्टिः । अप्रशान् किम् । प्रशान्तनोति ॥

140. रु is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ढ, ध, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive. शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि = शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 7. S. 140) = शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 15 S. 76) = शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 34 S. 138) = शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धिः (III. 4. 40 S. 3361) = शार्ङ्गिच्छिन्धि or शार्ङ्गिच्छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 2-4 S. 136, S. 137). Similarly चर्किञ्चायस्व or चर्किञ्चायस्व ॥

Why do we say of a Pada? Observe इति ॥ Here the न् of इन् is not changed to रु before ति, because it is not final in a pada. Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रदान्'? Observe प्रदान् तनोति. प्रदान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अन् follows छच्'? See भवान् स्वरुक् ॥ स्वरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरुक्: (कन् V. 2. 64 S. 1864).

१४१। नृन्पे। ८। ३। १० ॥

नृनिव्यस्य रुः स्याद्वा पकारे परे ॥

141. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before

ए ॥

Thus नृन् + पाहि = नृन् + पाहि = नृन् + पाहि (VIII. 3. 15, 8. 76). At this stage applies the following sūtra.

१४२। कुप्वोः × क × पौ च। ८। ३। ३७ ॥

कवर्गे पवर्गे च परे विसर्जनीयस्य क्रमाञ्जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ स्तः। चाद्विसर्गः। येन नाप्राप्त इतिन्यायेन विसर्जनीयस्य स इत्यस्यापवादोऽयम्। न तु सपरि विसर्जनीय इत्यस्य। तेन वासः क्षौममित्यादौ विसर्ग एव। नृन् × पाहि। नृन् × पाहि। नृन्ः पाहि। नृन्ः पाहि। नृन्पाहि ॥

142. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that the visarga also comes. By the maxim येन न प्राप्त &c. this sūtra debarb the sūtra VIII. 3. 34 S. 138 which ordains रु for the visarga. But it does not debar VIII. 3. 35. S. 150. Therefore we have the visarga in वासः क्षौमम् &c.

Thus we get नृन् × पाहि or नृन् × पाहि or नृन्ः पाहि or नृन्ः पाहि or नृन्पाहि ॥

१४३। कानाम्नेडिते। ८। ३। १२ ॥

कानकारस्य हः स्यादाम्नेडिते परे संपुंकानामिति सः यद्वा ॥

143. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an āmredita.

Here by the vārtika, under S. 138, the रु is changed to रु ॥ Or the next sūtra applies :—

१४४। कस्कादिषु च। ८। ३। ४८ ॥

ह्रस्विण उस्तरस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यादस्य च तु सः। × क × पयोरपवादः। इति सः। कौत्स्कान्। कौत्स्कान्। कस्काः। कौत्स्कान्। सविष्कुण्डिका। धनुष्कपालम्। आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

144. रु or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37 S. 142. **व्** is substituted after **ह्** or **उ**, and **स्** everywhere else. Thus कस्काः, 2. कौतस्कुनः (with अण् of कुत भागतः). 3. भ्रातृषुषः (VI. 3. 23 S. 981) 4. शुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21 S. 979) 5. सद्यस्काः; 6. सद्यस्त्री (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्तिप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्त्री in the sense of तन्त्रभवः क्रतुः). 8. काँस्कान् (the ह् is by VIII. 3. 12 S. 143). 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्हिष्पूलम् 13. यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ No complete list of this class is given anywhere. It is an, ākṛitigaṇa

Thus काँस्कान् or काँस्कान् ॥

१४५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । १ । ७२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

145. In the sūtras of Pāṇini beginning with this up to VI. 1, 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech,' should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. Whatever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice.

१४६ । छे च । ६ । १ । ७३ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य छे परे तुगागमः स्यात्संहितायाम् । इदुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जभ्येन ह् । ततश्चस्वस्यासिद्ध-
स्वापूर्वे इदुत्वेन जः । तस्य चत्वेन च् । इदुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्योः कुरिति कुत्वं न । स्वच्छाया । शिवच्छाया ॥

146. The augment **त्** is added to a preceding short vowel also when **छ** follows in an uninterrupted speech.

To a short vowel followed by **छ**, is added the augment **त्** in Sanhitā. Here we must remember the rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1 S. 12.) to get the proper form.

Thus स्व + छाया = स्वत् + छाया. Here appear two rules, (1) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 requiring the **त्** to be changed to **च**; (2) VIII. 2. 39 S. 84 requiring the **त्** to be changed to **इ**. By the maxim पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् the **च** will be considered as non-effective for the purposes of जइत्व change. Therefore we apply this second rule first and get.

स्वइ + छाया (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84.) Here appear again two rules (1) VIII. 4. 55 S. 121 by which **इ** required to be changed into a **च** letter, and (2) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 by which **इ** required to be changed to **ज्**. The latter takes effect, the former being considered as asidhha, and we get स्वज् + छाया, and then **ज्** is changed to **च** — स्वच + छाया (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121.)

Here appears the rule VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 requiring च् to be changed to क्. But च् was obtained by VIII. 4. 55 a rule *subsequent* to VIII. 2. 30 and therefore it is considered as asiddha, and so च् is not changed to क्॥

Thus we have स्वच्छाया, शिवच्छाया ॥

१४७ । आङ्माङीञ्च । ६ । १ । ७४ ॥

- एतद्योषष्ठे परे तुक् स्यात् । पदान्तद्विति विकल्पापवादः ॥ आच्छादयति । माच्छिवत् ॥

147. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

This sūtra ordains तुक् *necessarily* when by VI. 1. 76 S. 149 it would have been optional. Thus आच्छादयति, माच्छिवत् ॥

१४८ । दीर्घात् । ६ । १ । ७५ ॥

दीर्घोच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । दीर्घस्यायं तुक् न तु छस्य । सेनासुराच्छायेति ज्ञापकात् । चेच्छियते ॥

148. The augment त्, is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

The तुक् is added to the long vowel and not to छ, as we learn from Pānini himself using it in the sūtra विभाषा सेनासुराच्छाया &c. II. 4. 25. S. 828. Had तुक् been added to छ, then छ being changed to च् by VIII. 4. 55, there would have been two च्'s, and not the form च्छ as used by Pānini himself in the above sūtra. Or if by applying the maxim संनिपातलक्षणविधिः (See. S. 204) the छ may not be changed, (because the छ was the occasion for the addition of त् and this त् should not cause the vanishing of this छ,) then also we should have च् after छ as छच and not च्छ ॥ This indicates that तुक् is added to the long vowel.

Thus चेच्छियते ॥

१४९ । पदान्ताद्वा । ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

दीर्घात्पदान्ताच्छे परे तुक्वा स्यात् । लक्ष्मीच्छाया । लक्ष्मीछाया ॥

149. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

Thus लक्ष्मी च्छाया or लक्ष्मी छाया ॥

अथ विसर्गसंधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISARGA SANDHI.

१४९ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

विष्णुच्चाता ॥

149 A. स्र is the the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

This sūtrā has already been taught before. It is repeated here for the sake of the visarga Sandhi. Thus विष्णुस् + चाता = विष्णुर् + चाता = विष्णुः + चाता = विष्णुस् + चाता = विष्णुच्चाता ॥

First, the स्र of the affix सु of the nominative singular is changed to ह by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162; and then this ह is changed to *Visarga* by VIII. 3. 15 S. 76 and then this *Visarga* is changed to स्र by the present rule. This स्र is not again changed to ह because with regard to ह this visarga-born स्र is considered as *asiddha*

१५० । शर्परे विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

शर्परे खरि विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयो न त्वन्यत् । कः स्सरुः । घनाघनः क्षोभणः । इह दयायथं सत्त्वं जिह्वामूलीयञ्च न ॥

150. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् । In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus कः स्सरुः, घनाघनः क्षोभणः ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliya and upadh-māniya changes also do not take place, in cases like अङ्गिः प्सातम्, वासः क्षौमम् ॥

१५१ । वा शरि । ८ । ३ । ३६ ॥

शरि परे विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीय एव वा स्यात् । हरिः शेते । हरिश्शेते । खर्परे शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ रामस्थाता । हरिस्फुरति । पक्षे विसर्गे सत्त्वे च वैकल्प्यम् ॥

151. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As हरिः शेते or हरिश्शेते,

VArt:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As राम स्याता or रामः स्याता हरिस्फुरति or हरिः स्फुरति ॥

In the other alternative there will be Visarga or the स् change. Thus we get three forms रामस्याता or रामः स्याता or रामस्स्याता.

कुप्पोः × क × पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

क × करोति । कः करोति । क × खनति । कः खनति । क × पचति । कः पचति । क × फलति । कः फलति ॥

151 A. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial. This sūtra has already been taught before (S. 142.)

Thus कः + करोति or क × करोति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvāmūliya and the Upadhmanīya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

The rule VIII. 3. 34, S. 138 does not apply, because this sūtra is an apvāda to that. But VIII. 3. 35. S. 150 will not be debarred. As वासः क्षौमम् आङ्गिःप्रातम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35, and 37, In fact, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other, (VIII. 2. 1). every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two:—(1) कुप्पोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × क × पौ च “The jihvāmūliya and upadhmanīya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

१५२ । सोऽपदादौ । ८ । ३ । ३८ ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यात्पराधोः कुप्पोः परयोः ॥ पाशकल्पककाम्येष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ पयस्पाशम् यशस्कल्पम् । यशस्कम् । यशस्काम्यति ॥ भनव्ययस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्रातः कल्पम् ॥ काम्ये रेरेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥ नेह । गीः काम्यति ॥

152. स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपशदौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix.

Vart:—This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य
Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67 S. 2022);
(V. 3. 70 S. 2025); यशस्कम्, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9 S. 2663).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an
Indeclinable: as, प्रातः कल्पम्॥

Vart:—The visarga which comes from ह is only changed to स before
काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यति, and यशस्काम्यति; but not here,
गीःकाम्यति ॥

१५३ । हणः षः । ८ । ३ । ३९ ॥

हणः परस्य विसर्गस्य षकारः स्यात्पूर्वविषये । सर्पिष्पाशम् । सर्पिष्कल्पम् । सर्पिष्कम् ।
सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

153. ह् is the substitute of that visarga, which is
preceded by ह् or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with
a hard guttural or a labial, under the circumstances mention-
ed in the preceding sūtra.

Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्; सर्पिष्कल्पम्; सर्पिष्कम्; सर्पिष्काम्यति॥

१५४ । नमस्पुरसोर्गल्योः । ८ । ३ । ४० ॥

गतिसंज्ञयोरनयोर्विसर्गस्य सः कुप्योः परयोः । नमस्करोति । साक्षान्प्रभृतिस्वात् कृमो योगे
विभाषा गतिसंज्ञा । तद्भावे नमः करोति । पुरोऽन्त्यमिति नित्यं गतिसंज्ञा । पुरस्करोति । अगतित्वाग्नेह
पूः पुरौ पुरः प्रवेष्टव्याः ॥

154. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substi-
tuted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words
are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74 S. 768 and 775).

Thus नमस्करोति ॥

The word नमस् is optionally a Gati word when it is combined with
the verb कृ, because it belongs to the class of साक्षान् &c. (see Ganapātha
under I. 4. 74). When it is not a Gati word, then we have नमः करोति ॥ पुरस्
is always a Gati when it is Indeclinable (I. 467. S 768). Thus पुरस्करोति ॥ But
when it is not a Gati word then पूः प्रवेष्टव्याः where पुर is a noun and is declined
as पूः (N. S), पुरौ (N. D), पुरः (N. Pl).

१५५ । इतुवुपधस्य चाऽप्रत्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४१ ॥

इकारोकारोपधस्याप्रत्ययस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यात्कुप्योः । निष्प्रसूहम् । आविष्कृतम् । दुष्कृतम् ।
अप्रत्ययस्य किम् । अग्निः करोति । वायुः करोति । एकविंशशास्त्रनिमित्तकस्य न-यस्यम् । कस्कारिषु
भ्रातृषु पञ्चशब्दस्य पाठात् । तेनेह न । मातुः कृपा ॥ शुद्धसः प्रतिषेधः ° ॥ मुहुः कामा ॥

155. इ is substituted, before a hard guttural or a

labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर, बहिर, आविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥

Thus निष्प्रसृहस् आविष्कृतम्, दुष्कृतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः कृपा? For here in मातुः &c., the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, S. 280. and the र् of मातुर् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृषुषः in Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48. S. 144). indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c. : the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of this is that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekādeśa उ obtained by ऋ + अ = उ (VI. 1. 111 S. 279.)

Vart. :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of शुहुस् ; as शुहुस्कामा or शुहुः कामा ॥

१५६ । तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ४२

तिरसः सो वा स्यात् कुप्पोः । तिरस्कृता । तिरःकर्ता ॥

156. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कृता, or तिरःकर्ता ॥

१५७ । द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे । ८ । ३ । ४३ ॥

कृत्वोर्थे वर्तमानानामेषां विसर्गस्य षकारो वा स्यात् कुप्पोः । द्विष्करोति । द्विः करोतीत्यादि । कृत्वोर्थे किम् । चतुष्कपालः ॥

157. ष is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix चुच् (ष) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvasuch by V. 4. 18. S. 2086.

As द्विः करोति or द्विष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kṛtvasuch or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपालः where ष् is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155.

१५८ । इत्सुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ८ । ३ । ४४ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य षः स्याद्वा कुप्पोः । सर्पिष्करोति सर्पिः करोति । धनुष्करोति । धनुः करोति । सामर्थ्यमिह व्यपेक्षा । सामर्थ्ये किम् । तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब स्वमुक्कम् ॥

158. For the visarga of words ending in **इस्** and **उस्**, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted **क्**, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The **क्** is understood here. Thus **सर्पिष्करोति** or **सर्पिः करोति**, **धनुः करोति** or **धनुष्करोति** ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe **तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब स्वयुक्कम्** where **सर्पिः** is not in construction with **पिब**, but with **तिष्ठतु** ॥

The word **सामर्थ्यं** here means **व्यपेक्षा** or mutual relation of two words ; and not "having the same meaning," or it may mean both. In fact **सामर्थ्यं** is equivalent to **आकाङ्क्षा** i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean 'compound.' But it being a **पदविधि** the word **समर्थ** is understood here (**समर्थः पदविधिः** II. I. I S. 647.). The employment of the word **सामर्थ्यं** here indicates that it is a different **sāmarthya** from that of II. I. I. It does not denote **एकार्थीभावः** or **एकार्थ्यं** which is the **sāmarthya** of compounds where *two* or *more* words denote *one* object. The **sāmarthya** here means **vyapekshā** which is thus defined **नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तेत, तयो र्यो योगः** "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas."

१५९ । नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ८ । ३ । ४५ ॥

इदुसोर्विसर्गस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं षः स्यात् कुप्पोः परयोः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति किम् । परमसर्पिःकुण्डिका । कस्कादिषु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकाशब्दोऽसमासे व्यपेक्षाविरहेऽपि षत्वार्थः । व्यपेक्षायां नित्यार्थश्च ॥

159. The visarga of an **इस्** or **उस्**-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to **क्** in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The word **इस्** and **उस्** are understood here. Thus **सर्पिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम्** ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe **परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका**. The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

The inclusion of the word **सर्पिष्कुण्डिका** in the **कस्कादि** class (VIII. 3. 48. S. 161 A) indicates that the **क्** change will take place even when there is no compounding as well as when there is no **व्यपेक्षा** or co-relation. But when there is **व्यपेक्षा** the **क्** change is compulsory.

Q.—The word **सर्पिस्** is derived from the root **सृ** by adding the **Unādi** affix **इति** (Uṇ II. 109), and **धनुस्** by the **Unādi** affix **उत्ति** (Uṇ II. 117), therefore

on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इत्युतोः would denote the more forms सर्विन् and धनुस् and not forms like परमसर्विन् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra ?

Ans.—The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस्:— प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मान् स विहित स्तद्विस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself.” This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्विष्करोति or परमसर्विः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra ?

Ans.—Because the word सामर्थ्ये there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

१६० । अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अकारादुत्तरस्यानव्ययस्य विसर्गस्य समासे नित्यं सकारादेशः स्यात्करोत्यादिषु परेषु न तूत्तरपदस्थस्य । अयस्कारः । अयस्कामः । अयस्कंसः । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्पात्रम् । अयःसहिता कुशा अयस्कुशा । अयस्कणी । अतः क्रिम् । गीःकारः । अनव्ययस्य क्रिम् । स्वःकामः । समासे क्रिम् । यशः करोति । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य क्रिम् । परमयशःकारः ॥

160. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस, कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अयस्कारः, (III. 2. 1 S. 2913.) कम्—अयस्कामः, कंसा—अयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः, पात्र—अयस्पात्रम्, कुशा—अयस्कुशा, कर्णी—अयस्कणी ॥

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः ॥

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe स्वः कामः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here ; यशः करोति ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमयशः कारः ॥

१६१ । अधः शिरसी पदे । ८ । ३ । ४७ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य सादेशः स्यात्पदशब्द परे । अधःस्पदम् । शिरस्पदम् । समास इत्येव । अधः पदम् । शिरः पदम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येत्येव । परमशिरःपदम् ॥

161. For the visarga of अथस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद् in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अथस्पद्, शिरस्पद् ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अथः पद्म, शिरः पद्म ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पद्म ॥

१६१ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

भास्करः ॥

161 A. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest. This sūtra has already been taught before (see S. 144). It is read here again for the purpose of *Visarga-Sandhi*. Thus अः + कर = भास्करः ॥

—:O:—

अथ स्वादिप्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VII.

ON COMBINATION OF CASE-ENDINGS.

१६२ । ससञ्जुषो रुः । ८ । २ । ६६ ॥

पदान्तस्य सस्य सञ्जुषाब्दस्य च रुः स्यात् । अदत्त्वापवादः ॥

162. For the final **स्** and for the **ष्** of **सञ्जुष्** is substituted **रु**, at the end of a word. This debars **जश्**.

Thus, **शिवस् + अर्थ्य**, here **शिवस्** is a word formed with the Nominative Singular case affix **हु**. This **स्** will be changed by the above Sūtra into **रु** and not to a **जश्** letter. Thus, we get **शिवर् + अर्थ्य**. Then applies the next rule :—

१६३ । अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते । ६ । १ । ११३ ॥

अप्लुतावतः परस्य रोरः स्यादप्लुतेऽति । भोभगोऽघो इतिप्राप्तस्य यत्त्वस्याऽपवादः । उत्वं प्रदि ह्रस्वस्याऽसिद्धत्वं तु न भवति । रुत्वमनूय, उत्त्वविधेः सामर्थ्यात् ॥

163. The **उ** is the substitute of **रु** (the **रु** substitute of a final **स्** VIII. 2. 66.) when an **अ**, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

This sūtra debars the **य** of VIII. 3. 17 S. 167 The **रु** taught in the TripAdi VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 is not *asiddha* though so required by VIII. 2. 2 S. 12. for the purposes of **उ** substitution required by the present sūtra of the 6th Adhyāya. This is because this sūtra specifically mentions the word **रु** and then ordains **उ** in its stead. Had this sūtra not perceived the **रु** of VIII. 2. 66. it would have simply ignored it and not mentioned it at all.

The phrase **उत्** is understood here, as well as the word **अति** of VI. 1. 109, Therefore **शिवर् + अर्थ्य** = **शिव + उ + अर्थ्य**. At this stage, the next sūtra VI. 1. 102 raises a doubt, viz, should **अ** and **उ** of **शिव + उ** become a long **आ** as **शिवा**.

१६४ । प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः । ६ । १ । १०२ ॥

अकः प्रथमद्वितीययोरपि परे पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ एकादिनाः स्यान् । इति प्राप्ति ॥

164. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the

Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अकः and दीर्घः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case of the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्ववत् or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. But this rule does not apply in the case of शिव उ + अर्च्यः because of the following *apavāda* rule.

१६५ । नादिचि । ६ । १ । १०४ ॥

अवर्णादिचि परे न पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । आहुणः । एङः पदान्तादति । शिवोऽर्च्यः । अत इति तपरः किम् । देवा अत्र । अतोति तपरः किम् । अगन्ता । अप्लुतात्किम् । एहि सुस्रोत^१ अत्र आहि । प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वादतः परोऽयम् । अप्लुतादिति विशेषणे तु तत्सान्ध्यान्नासिद्धत्वम् । तपरकरणस्य तु न सामर्थ्यं दीर्घनिवृत्त्या चरितार्थत्वात् । अल्लुत इति किम् । तिष्ठतु पय अ^२ मिदन् । गुरोरनृत इति प्लुतः ॥

165. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative. •

Therefore शिव उ + अर्च्यः = शिवोऽर्च्यः । The अ उ become guṇa by the आहुणः (VI. 1. 87. S. 69) and the subsequent अ of अर्च्य is elided by एङः पदान्तादति (VI. 1. 109. S. 86). Why do we say 'after a short अ' ? Or why have we added a त् to अ ? So that the long आ may be excluded. Observe देवाः + अत्र = देवा अत्र ॥ The word अति is understood here from VI. 1. 109. S. 86. र must be followed by a short अ ; thus अर् + आगन्ता = अर्आगन्ता । Why do we say 'preceded by an a-pluta अ' ? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As एहि सुस्रोत^१ अत्र आहि । Though the word is अत् in the sūtra, and it means only short अ and neither long आ nor the pluta अइ, yet the word is repeated in the sūtra for the following reason. In the above example एहि सुस्रोत^१ अत्र आहि, the अ of सुस्रोतस् is prolated by VIII. 2. 84. This prololation being effected by a Tripādi rule, would not be perceived by VI. 1. 113, and for the purposes of this latter rule the prololation is non-existent, and the अ is still short. Therefore to make the prololation siddha or effective for the purposes of VI. 1. 113, the word "pluta" is specifically mentioned in the sūtra. The त् of अत् would not have produced this result, because that त् found its scope in preventing the application of the rule to the long आ ॥

Why do we say "when followed by an a-pluta अ ?" Observe तिष्ठतु पय अमिदन् ! "O Agnidatta ! let the milk remain." Here अइ of Agnidatta is pluta by VIII. 2. 86. and it being asiddha, the present rule would have applied.

१६६ । ह्रिश्चि च । ६ । १ । ११४ ॥

अप्लुताक्षतः परस्य रोहः स्याद्ध्रिश्चि । शिवो वन्द्यः । रोहित्युकारादुबन्धमहणाग्नेह । प्रातरण । धातर्गच्छ । देवास् इह इति स्थिते । रुत्वम् ॥

166. The उ is the substitute of ह (the इ substitute of स् VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The ह्रश् pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. * Thus शिवोवन्द्यः ।

The उ substitution takes place in the case of that र only which is called ह in this Grammar ; i. e. इ with the indicatory letter उ ; therefore not in प्रातर् + अच् = प्रातरच् or धातर् + गच्छ = धातर्गच्छ ।

Now we take up the Sandhi of देवास् + इह । Here the स् is first changed into ह by VIII. 2. 66. Then we apply the following rule :—

१६७ । भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽशि । ८ । ३ । १७ ॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य रोर्थादेशः स्यादशि परे । असन्धिः सौचः । लोपः शाकल्यस्य । देवा इह । देवायिह । अशि किञ्च । देवाः सन्ति । यद्यपीह यत्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वादिसर्गा लभ्यते तथापि विसर्गस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन रुत्वाद्यत्वं स्यात् । न ह्ययमन्विधिः । रोतिरिति सङ्गुहायरूपाभ्ययणात् । भोस् भगोस् अघोस् इति सकारान्ता निपाताः । तेषां रोर्थत्वे कृते ॥

167. य् is substituted for the ह called र , when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

In the Sūtra भगो, अघो have not been combined by the rules of Sandhi. Thus we get देवास् + इह = देवार् + इह = देवाय् + इह = देवा इह or देवा यिह । In one case we elide य् by the rule लोपः शाकल्यस्य (VIII. 3. 19. S. 67).

Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyāhāra' ? Observe देवाः सन्ति ।

Though in the Sūtra the य् being considered as *asiddha*, the ह will be changed not to उ but to *visarga* ; yet this *visarga* being considered as *sthānivat* to ह , will be changed to य् । Moreover, it should not be objected that this is an *alvidhi* and therefore, the *visarga* will not be *sthānivat* to ह , because here the whole word-form ह is taken and therefore it is not an *alvidhi*.

In the sūtra भोस्, भगोस्, अघोस् are three particles ending in स् . The स् will be changed to ह and the ह to य् and thus we have भोय्, भगोय् and अघोय्. Here applies the next sūtra :—

१६८ । व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य । ८ । ३ । १८ ॥

पदान्त्योर्धकारयकारयोर्लघुच्चारणौ वयौ वा स्तोऽशि परं । यस्योच्चारणे जिह्वापोषाममध्यमूलानां दौयित्वं जायते स लघुच्चारणः ॥

168. **व्** and **य्** (in भगोय् &c. and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākāṭāyana.

The effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. **व्** and **य्** of lighter articulation are substituted for the final **व** and **य** in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter **व्** will replace the heavy **व**, and so the lighter **य्** the heavy **य** ॥

Thus भोयव, भगोयव, अघोयव, कयास्ते, or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावादिष्यः or आसा आदिष्यः, द्वावच or द्वावानय, or द्वाभानय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu-prayatna-tara. In fact, **य्** and **व्** are to be slurred over.

१६९ । ओतो गार्ग्यस्य । ८ । ३ । २० ॥

ओकारात्परस्य पदान्तस्याऽलघुप्रयत्नस्य यकारस्य नित्यं लोपः स्यात् । गार्ग्यग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । ओ अच्युत । लघुप्रयत्नपक्षे भोयच्युत । पदान्तस्य किम् । तोयम् ॥

169. **य्** preceded by ओ and final in a Pada and when it is not pronounced with a light articulation is always elided, before an अश् letter according to the opinion of Gārgya.

There can be no **व्** preceded by ओ, so only **य्** is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus ओ अच्युत ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (nitya) rule and not a vibhāṣā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna **य्** which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that the laghu prayatnatara **य्** does come also. As भोयच्युत ॥

Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe तोयम्.

१७० । उमि च पदे । ८ । ३ । २१ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्त्योर्धवयोर्लोप उमि पदे । स उ एकाभिः । पदे किम् । तन्वयुतम् । वेप्रः आरणे रूपम् । यदि तु प्रतिपदीकौ निपात उमिति महीष्येते तर्ह्युत्तरार्थं पदमहणम् ॥

170. **व्** and **य्** (preceded by **अ**, or **आ** at the end of a pada), and followed by **उ**, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* **उ** is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word **उम्** and not the **उम्** which is a root obtained by the samprasâraṇa of **वेम्** ॥ Thus **स उ एकामिः** ॥

Why do we use the word **पदे** 'उ' when it is a pada'? So that the rule may not apply to **उम्** the form assumed by **वेम्** by samprasâraṇa, as **तन्ने उतं = तन्नुतम्** ॥ *Quere*:— **उम्**, could never have meant the form assumed by **वेम्**, for the samprasâraṇa of **वम्**, is **उ**, the **म्** is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa- pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this **उम्** resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle **उम्** ॥

The word **पदे** is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional, Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19. would have been enough.

Note :—The maxim above referred to "**लक्षण प्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम्**" means :

(Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original, and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.

१७१ । हलि सर्वेषाम् । ८ । ३ । २२ ॥

भो भगो अघो अपूर्वस्य लघ्वलघूच्चारणस्य यकारस्य लोपः स्यादहलि सर्वेषां मतेन । भो देवाः । भो लक्ष्मि । भो विद्वद्वृन् । भगो नमस्ते । अघो याहि । देवा नम्याः । देवा यान्ति । हलि किम् । देवायिह ॥

171. (The **य** whether lightly pronounced or not preceded by **भो**, **भगो**, **अघो**, or by **अ** or **आ**, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all the Âchâryas.

Thus **भो देव** ; **भो लक्ष्मि** ; **भो विद्वद्वृन्**, **भगो नमस्ते** ; **अघो याहि** ; **देवा नम्याः**, **देवा यान्ति** ॥ Why do we say followed by a consonant ? Observe **देवायिह** or **देवाइह** ॥

१७२ । रोऽसुपि । ८ । २ । ६९ ॥

अहो रेफदिशः स्यान्न तु सुपि । रो-रपवादः । अहरहः । अहर्गणः । असुपि किम् । अहोभ्याम् । अत्रा-हन्तिरुत्त्वम् ॥ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरुत्त्वं वाच्यम् ° ॥ अहोरूपम् । गतमहो रात्रिरेषा । एकदेशविकृत-
स्यानन्यत्वादहोरात्रः । अहोरथन्तरम् ॥ अहराशानां पत्यादिषु वा रेफः * ॥ विसर्गापवादः । अहरपतिः । गीर्पतिः ।
धूर्पतिः । पक्षे विसर्गोपध्मानीया ॥

172. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

This debars रु. Thus अहरहः । अहर्गणः ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, Here रु-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् by VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The difference between this रु-called र् and the ordinary र् is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called र् is changed to उ by VI. 1. 113, S. 163. the ordinary र् is not so changed.

Vart.—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to रु. As अहोरूपम् ; गतमहोरात्रिरेषा. So also अहोरात्र, though the word रात्रि is not रात्रि ॥ This is on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् which means:— That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) some thing else (than what it was before the change had taken place). अहोरथन्तरम्.

Vart.—The words अहर् &c. before पति &c. should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c. are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहर्पति or अहःपतिः ; गीर्पतिः, गीः पतिः or गीर्पतिः ; धूर्पतिः, धूर्पतिः or धूर्पतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final न् of अहर् &c. which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र्.

१७३ । रो रि । ८ । ३ । १४ ॥

रेफस्य रेफे परे लोपः स्यात् ॥

173. र् is elided before a र् ॥

Note.—The sūtra is रः रि and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, वूरक्तम् ॥

१७४ । ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः । ६ । ३ । १११ ॥

ढ्रलोपे लोपयतीति तथा तस्मिन्वर्णेऽर्थाद् ढकाररेफात्मके परे पूर्वस्थाणो दीर्घः स्यात् पुनः । रमते । रम्यः । शंभुराजत । अणः किम् । लृढः । वृढः । लृहू हिंसायम् । वृहू उद्यमने । पूर्वमहणमनुत्तरपदेऽपि । मात्रस्य दीर्घाथम् । लीढः । अजर्घाः । मनस् रथ इत्यत्र रुत्वे कृते ह्रस्वि चेत्युत्वं रोरेति लोपे च प्राप्तिः ।

174. When **इ** or **ए** is elided, for the preceding **अ**, **इ** and **उ**, a corresponding long vowel is substituted.

Thus पुनर्+रमते=पुनारमते; हरिर्+रम्यः=हरी रम्यः; बाधुर्+राजते=बाधूराजते । Why do we say अणः. Observe कृः कृवः from the roots कृह् 'to injure' and 'कृह्' 'to exert.' Here the कृ is not lengthened because it is not included in अण् pratyâhâra.

The word कृहः is thus formed, कृह्+क्त (क)=कृह+त (होहः VIII. 2. 31. S. 324)=कृह्+ध् (क्षपस्तयोद्धोऽधः VIII. 2. 40 S. 2280)=कृह्+इ (पुनाहुः VIII. 4. 41)=कृ+०+इ (होहो लोपः VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335). Here इ is elided, but as the preceding vowel कृ is not included in अण् pratyâhâra, which includes only अ, इ and उ (the ण् being the first ण्), so there is no lengthening.

The word पूर्वस्य 'for the preceding' is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that there is the lengthening of the अण् vowel, even when no other word follows it; in fact the lengthening is of the preceding vowel alone, irrespective of any other word following it or not. Thus अजर्घाः, लीढः ॥

The word अजर्घाः is thus formed. To the root गृध् "to covet" we add the intensive affix बह्लुक् and the affix लङ् and सिप् and the doubling. Thus we get the form अजर्घर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घाः ॥

Note.—The word अजर्घाः is thus formed:—

- गृध्+बह्लुक्+सिप् (the 2nd Per. Sing in लङ्)=
गृध्+०+सि (यङोऽधि च II. 4. 74. S. 2650)=
गृध् गृध्+सि (सन् यङोः VI. 1. 9. S. 2 395)=
गर्ध् गृध्+सि (गुणो यङ् लुकोः VII. 4. 82. S. 2 630)=
ग गृध्+सि (ह्लादि शेषः VII. 4. 60. S. 2179)=
गरगृध्+सि (र्गार्कौचलुकी VII. 4. 91. S. 2652)=
जर्गृध्+सि (अभ्यासे चर् च VIII. 4. 54. S. 2182)=
जर्गर्ध्+सि (पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च VII. 3. 86. S. 2189)=
जर्गर्ध्+स् (इतश्च III. 4. 100 S. 2207)=
जर्गर्ध्+० (हलङ्ग्याप्यो VI. 1. 68. S. 252)=
जर्घर्ध् (एकाचोवशोभश्च VIII. 2. 37 S. 326)=
जर्घर्ध् (झलां जघोऽन्त VIII. 2. 39 S. 84)=
जर्घर् (इश्च VIII. 2. 75 S. 2468)=
जर्घर्+०+इ (रो रि VIII. 3. 14 S. 173)=

जर्घा+इ (the present Sūtra) which with the augment अद् (लुक् लङ् लृट् लुक् VI. 4. 71 S. 2206). becomes अजर्घाः ॥

The word लीढः is formed from लिह्+त. The इ is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 31. S. 324. and the त is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, S. 2240 and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41, S. 113.

Thus we get लिङ् + इ. The first इ being elided by VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335. we get the form लीङ् by the present sūtra.

Now we take the *sandhi* of मनस् + रथः = मनर् + रथः. Here two sūtras simultaneously apply viz. हशिच VI. 1. 14. S. 166 causing the substitution of ड for र् and the sūtra शारे VIII. 3. 14. S. 173. causing the elision of र्. What sūtra are we to apply? Here comes the following Interpretation sūtra.

१७५ । विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् । १ । ४ ॥ २ ॥

तुल्यबलविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात् । इति लोपे प्राप्तिः । पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति रोरीत्यस्यासिद्धत्वादुभयम् । मनोरथः ॥

175. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.'

Thus, the *lopa* rule being the *para* rule would cause the *lopa* of र् of मनर् before रथः. But here we must remember the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), therefore, the rule of elision of र् (VIII. 3. 14. S. 173) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of ड required by VI. 1, 14. S. 166. Therefore we have ड. Thus we have मनड + रथः = मनोरथः ॥

१७६ । एतत्तदोः सुलोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि । ६ । १ । १३२ ॥

अककारयोरतेत्तदोर्यः सुस्तस्य लोपः स्याद्वलि न तु नञ्समासे । एष विष्णुः । स शंभुः । अकोः किम् ? एषको रुद्रः । अनञ्समासे किम् । असः शिवः । हलि किम् । एषोऽत्र ॥

176. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026.) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + विष्णुः = एष विष्णुः ॥ स शंभुः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'?

Observe एषको रुद्रः ॥

NOTE:—The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle would be considered just like the एतद् and तद्, without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it.'

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe असःशिवः ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽत्र ॥

१७७ । सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् । ६ । १ । १३४ ॥

स इत्यस्य सोल्लोपः स्यादचि पादभेदोपे सत्येव पूर्येत । सेनामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईशिषे । इह ऋक्पाद एव दृष्टव्य इति वामनः । भावशेषाच्छ्लोकपादोऽपीत्यपरं तेष हाशरथी रामः । लोपे चरिति किम् । स इत् शेषेति । स एवदुत्तवा । सत्येवेत्यवधारणं तु स्वच्छन्दसि बहुलमिति पूर्वमुच्चार्यदुलमहणानुवृत्त्या लभ्यत । तेनेह न । सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् ॥

177. The case-affix of सस् 'he,' is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेनामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईशिषे (Rig. II. 24. 1.) = सः इनाम् मविद्धि (प्राप्नुहि, अवतेः प्राप्स्यर्थस्य लोटि रूपं) प्रभृतिम् (प्रकर्षेण वृत्तां स्तुतिं) यः (हे बृहस्पते यस्त्वं) ईशिषे (सर्वस्य जगत ईश्वरो भवसि) " accept (O Brihaspati !) this good burden (of our praise) He who rulest. "

According to Vāmana the author of Kāśikā, this rule is confined to Vedic metres only. According to others, the rule is applied to all ślokas without any such distinction.

In explaining this sūtra we have used the word सत्येव " only then " in order to limit its scope ; and this we get by the force of the word बहुलं in the sūtra VI. 1. 133. S. 3526. which immediately precedes it in the order of Ashtādhyāyī. Therefore there is no elision here, because the verse is completed without elision.

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् (Raghuvansa) we cannot say स अहम् or साहम् &c. सेदु राजा भवति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरुह्यस (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say ' when by such elision the metre of the line is completed ' ? Observe स इत् शेषेति; स एवदुत्तवा ॥ The word अचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness : for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened ; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. According to Kāśikā the Pāda must refer to a Pāda of the Rig-Veda only. Others explain the word पाद as ' a foot of a śloka ' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have :—तेष हाशरथी रामः, तेष राजा शुधिविः, तेषकर्णो महात्यागी तेष भीमो महाबलः ॥

अथाजन्त पुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DECLENSION OF MASCULINE BASES ENDING IN VOWELS,

१७८ । अर्थवद्धातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

धातुं प्रत्ययं प्रत्ययान्तं च वर्जयित्वाऽर्थवच्छब्दस्वरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

178. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*pratyay*) or a word ending in an affix, is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form or Nominal base.

This defines the word “*prātipadika*” or crude-form. The *prātipadika* is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (*pada*), from the undifferentiated are called the *dhātu* or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थवद् means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called *prātipadika*.

१७९ । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तौ समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाः स्युः । पूर्वसूत्रेण सिद्धे समासग्रहणं नियमार्थम् । पूर्वो भागः पदं तस्य चेद्भवति तर्हि समासस्यैव । तेन वाक्यस्य न ॥

179. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* forms, or compounds are also called *Prātipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word *prātipadika*. “Suffixes for formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived from roots, Primary Suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from nouns; Secondary Suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93 S. 374) *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76 S. 530). Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the *jan* by the kṛit suffix अः but जनीन *janīna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the Taddhita affix ईन *īna*. The name *prātipadika* apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janīna*, as nominal bases, ready to receive terminations of declension” (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, there are six varieties, *viz.*, Tat-purusha, Karma-dvandva, Bahuvrihi, Avyayībhāva and Dvigu.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in *Kṛt* and *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called *prātipadika*. The word *Samāsa* is used in the sūtra to make a restrictive rule, where in a collection of words, the first part is a *pada* or a complete word, then the word *prātipadika* would apply to that collection of words only, which forms a compound and to nothing else; therefore the term *Prātipadika* would not apply to a sentence. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

१८० । प्रत्ययः । ३ । १ । १ ॥

आपञ्चमपरिसमाप्तरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

180. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix.

१८१ । परञ्च । ३ । १ । २ ॥

अयमपि तथा ॥

181. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣhā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātu' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form.

१८२ । उपाध्याप्रतिपदिकात् । ४ । १ । १ ॥

उपान्ताद्वाबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्येत्यापञ्चमपरिसमाप्तरधिकारः । प्रातिपदिकप्रकरणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणमित्येव सिद्धे उपाध्याग्रहणं उपाबन्ताच्चिद्विधेः तत्परिध्या स्यात् उपाध्यां प्राङ् मा भूदित्येवमर्थम् ॥

182. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with feminine affixes ङी or आप्, or after a crude-form.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with क् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् । The term आप् is the common name

for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and ञाप् । These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of the Fourth chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'crudeform' and has been defined in sūtra 1. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix ; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word ङाप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Paribhasha : Why have we employed the word 'ñy-āp' in the aphorism ? Is not the word prātipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhāshā :—" A prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender " ?

Ans : The words ङी and ञाप् are specifically used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the Taddhita affixes should be added, *after* the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before.

Note :—The Kāśikā gives the following answer to the above question.

Not so. The paribhāshā you quote applies to that case where there is a rule relating to an individual word-form given in the Sūtra itself. In other words, " this paribhāshā is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prātipadikas generally (as the word 'prātipadika' does in this sūtra) or denotes a particular prātipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, वलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvā, also includes the feminine : but not so everywhere. Moreover the words, ङी, ञाप् have been employed in the Sūtra, in order to make the taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (ङी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल,' and 'हरिण' is, 'काली' and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला' ॥ After these words we can apply the taddhita affix 'तरप्' : as 'कालितरा,' 'हरणितरा,' 'खट्वातरा,' and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used that word 'ñy-āp' in the Sūtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kālitarā,' we could not have got this form at all.

The word काल takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 42 ; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43 ; and we shall get the form कालितरा ॥ Why do you then say that the taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ñy-āp ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and

187. In expressing multecity, a Plural case affix is employed.

Declension of Masculines ending in अ ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word राम ending in short अ ॥ In Nom. Sing. the affix सु is added.

Thus राम + सु = राम + स् = राम + इ = रामः ॥ In forming the Dual, the following applies.

१८८ । सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ । १ । २ । ६४ ॥

एकविभक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ॥ प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ नादिष्वि ॥ वृद्धिरेषि ॥ रामौ ॥

188. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśeṣha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped.

Thus राम + राम = रामौ. The word रामौ is formed by adding the affix औ to राम and by superseding VI. 1. 102. S. 164 by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 and applying VI. 1. 88 S. 72, we get the *vridhhi*. In forming the Nom. Pl. we add जस्. Thus राम + जस् ॥ The ज् is indicatory by the following sūtra.

१८९ । चुद्ध । १ । ३ । ७ ॥

प्रत्ययाद्यौ चुद्ध इतौ स्तः । इति जस्येत्संज्ञायाम् ॥

189. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

Thus the जं of जस् would become इत्. So the affix is really अस्. But is not the final स् of जस् also इत् by the sūtra हलन्त्यश्च I. 3. 3. S. 1. ? No, because of the following exceptions :—

१९० । न विभक्तौ तुस्माः । १ । ३ । ४ ॥

विभक्तिस्थास्तवर्गसकारमकारा इतो न स्युः । इति सकारस्य नेत्त्वम् ॥

190. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and ष् are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

Therefore the स् of जस् is not इत्. Thus राम + अस्. At this stage the following rule appears which requires the अ + अ to be changed to अ by पररूपमेकादेशः :

१६१ । अतो गुणे । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपशान्तादकाराद्युणे परतः पररूपमेकादिषः स्यादिति प्राप्तिः । परत्वात्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । अतो गुणे इति हि पुरस्तादपवासा अनन्तरान्विधीन्वाधन्ते नोत्तरानिति न्यायेनाकः सवर्ण इत्यस्यैवायमपवासो ननु प्रथमयोरित्यस्यापि । रामाः ॥

191. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

But this *ekādeśa* rule is superseded by the subsequent rule प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः VI. I. 102. S. 164, which requires the lengthening of the preceding vowel ; while the present sūtra अतो गुणे debars the immediately succeeding sūtra अकःसवर्णे दीर्घः VI. I. 101. S. 85. by the maxim :—

Paribhāṣā :—*Apavādas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavāda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).

Therefore the nearest rule VI. I. 101. S. 85 is superseded by the present sūtra and not the subsequent rule VI. I. 102. S. 164. Thus राम + अस् = रामाः . The Vocative case is like the nominative ; the only difference is in the singular. The Vocative singular is called Sambuddhi by the following :—

१६२ । एकवचनं संबुद्धिः । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

संबोधने प्रथमाया एकवचनं संबुद्धिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

192. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

Thus the vocative singular of राम is राम + सु ॥ Here the following sūtra applies.

१६३ । एङ्हस्वात्संबुद्धेः । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

एङन्ताद्धस्वान्ताच्चाङ्गल्लुप्यते संबुद्धेभ्यत् । संबुद्ध्याक्षिप्तस्याङ्गस्यैङ्हस्वाभ्यां विशेषणान्नेह । हे कतरस्कुलेति । हे राम । हे रामौ । हे रामाः । एङ्महर्णे किम् । हे हरे हे विष्णो । अत्र हि परत्वान्नित्यत्वाच्च संबुद्धियुगे कृत इत्वात्परत्वं नास्ति ॥

193. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अस्) is elided in the Vocative singular, after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The elision here being taught with regard to the base which is संबुद्धि and which is qualified by having ए or ओ or a short vowel for its final, does not apply to हे कतरस्कुल !

In **हे कतरत्** ! there is not the elision of the **त्** of the affix **अत्**, the substitute of **सु** ; for the affix there is **अद्** (VII. 1. 25). This affix being **विन्** causes the elision of the final **अ** of **कतर** (VI. 4. 143), and we have **कतर + अद्**, here we have not a *prâtipadika* which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence **त्** is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word **एङ्** is used in the *sûtra* in order to indicate that the *guṇa* substitution required by **इत्स्वस्य युञः** VII. 3. 108, is stronger than *lopa*. Therefore in **हे हरि + सु**, the affix is not elided, first, and then *guṇa* substituted for **इ**, but first there is *guṇa* substitution and then the affix is elided, similarly **हे विष्णो**. For the *guṇa* substitution is stronger than elision, because it is a rule subsequent in order, the elision being VI. 1. 69, the *Guṇa* being VIII. 3. 108 ; and because *Guṇa* is a *nitya* rule. Therefore when **हरि** is *guṇated* to **हरे**, there being no short vowel, left, the elision of **सु** would not have taken place had the word **एङ्** been not used in the *sûtra*.

Now the accusative singular is formed thus : **राम + अम्**. Here applies the following *Sûtra*.

१६४ । अमि पूर्वः । ६ । १ । १०७ ॥

अकोऽन्यच्च परतः पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । रामम् । रामौ ॥

194. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the **अ** of the case ending **अम्** ॥

The word **अकः** is understood here. Thus **राम-अ-अम् = रामम्**. So also accusative dual **राम + औ = रामौ** as before. Now the accusative plural is formed thus :—**राम + षस्** ॥ Here applies the following *sûtra*.

१६५ । लशकतद्धिते । १ । ३ । ८ ॥

तद्धितवर्जप्रत्ययाद्या लशकवर्गा इतः स्युः । इति षसः शस्येत्संज्ञा ॥

195. The initial **ल** and **श**, and the gutturals of all affixes, except *Taddhita*, are indicative.

The initial **ल्**, **श्**, **क्**, **ख्**, **ग्ल**, **घ्ल**, **ङ्ल** of affixes are indicative, except in *Taddhita* affixes.

Therefore **ए** being **इत्**, the affix is **अस्**. Thus **राम + अस्**. At this stage applies the following *sûtra* :—

१६६ । तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि । १ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पूर्वसवर्णशीर्षात्परो यः षसः सकारस्तस्य नः स्यात्पुंसि ॥

196. After such a long vowel homogeneous with the first, **व** is substituted for the **स्** of the Accusative case affix **षस्** in the masculine.

Thus राम-+राम् = राम + अम् = रामाम् ॥ Now, should not the final ऋ of रामाम् be changed to ण् by the following sūtra ?

१९७ । अङ्कुत्वाङ्नुम्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

अङ्कुत्वाङ्नुम्यवायेऽपि एतैर्व्यस्तैर्यथासंभवं मिलितैश्च व्यवधानेऽपि एवाभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्था-
स्समानपदे । परव्यवायेऽपीति निषेधं बाधितुमाङ्गमहणम् । नुम्यहणमनुस्वारोपलक्षणार्थम् तच्चाकर्तुं शक्यम् ।
अयोगवाहानामदसूपदेशस्योक्तत्वात् । इति णत्वे प्राप्ते ॥

197. The substitute ण् takes the place of ऋ, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह्, or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the anusvâra नुम् intervenes, singly or conjointly, causing separation between न and the anterior र or ष, provided that these letters occur in one word.

The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अङ् pratyâhâra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

NOTE :—The pratyâhâra अङ् stands for vowels and the letters ह य व र and it includes the ayogavâha letters anusvâra and visarga. Therefore the mention of नुम् in the sūtra could well have been avoided, for नुम् here denotes anusvâra. Thus करणम् हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्गेण, अर्धेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. वर्पेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणङ्गम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणङ्गम् (of VIII. 4. 14).

So also when the anusvâra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इहित (VII. 1. 58) and ऋ changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the inter-
vention is here by Anusvâra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvâra, and must be taken co-
extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहणं from
वृह वृह हिंसार्ये ॥ Here the anusvâra is not the substitute of the augment नुम्
but an original anusvâra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it
is not changed into anusvâra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम्
from इविः प्रीणनार्थः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any pos-
sible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters
come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of ष ॥

But the present sūtra is not applicable to रामाम् because of the
following sūtra. ❖

१९८ । पदान्तस्य । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

पदान्तस्य नस्य णत्वं न स्यात् । रामान् ॥

198. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus रामान् ॥

१९९ । यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् । १ । ४ । १३ ॥

यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात्क्रियते तदादि शब्दस्वरूपं तस्मिन्प्रत्यये परेऽङ्गसंज्ञं स्यात् । भवानि भविष्यामीत्यादौ । विकरणविशिष्टस्याऽङ्गसंज्ञार्थं तदादिग्रहणम् । विधिरिति किम् । स्त्री इयती । प्रत्यये किम् वज्रम् । प्रत्यय-विशिष्टस्य ततोऽप्याधिकस्य वा ना भूत् ॥

199. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base or stem, (anga).

Note:—The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih a precept, i. e. a rule enjoining an affix; tadādi, that which begins therewith; pratyaye=in a pratyaya i. e. when a pratyaya follows; is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ+ता=कर्ता he will do, हर्ता he will lose. करिष्याति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ get the name अंग they are guṇated by (VII. 3. 84): similarly because उपयु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhi in औपगवः &c.

The word कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix त्वा &c. उपयु+अण्=औपगवः; कापटवः. Here upagu and kapatu are anga with regard to अण्. Similarly कृ + स्य+वः = करिष्य+वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short अ is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i. e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate vikaraṇas like sya &c., or दुम् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड+ दुम्+इ = कुण्डन्+इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa + num + i = kuṇḍan + i = kuṇḍāni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word “vidhi” “enjoined” in the sūtra? Observe
 की इयती ॥

Here the word इयती “this much or as much” is really an affix, as we shall show later on. But as this is not ordained after stri by any rule, the word stri does not get the designation अङ्ग before it. Not being an Anga, the ई of stri is not elided by यस्येतिच् (VI. 4. 148. S. 311.)

That the Pronoun इयती is a mere pratyaya is shown by the history of its derivation as given below :—

इदम् + वत् = इदम् + चत् (किमिदंभ्यां वो घ : VI. 2. 40. S. 1841,) the व is changed to घ ॥ The affix वत् is added to idam with the force of “measure” by V. 2. 39 read with V. 2. 40.

= इदम् + इयत् (घ changed to इय by VII. 1. 2 S. 475. भायेनयी) = ईश् + इयत् (इदम्किम् VI. 3. 90 S. 1018.)

= O + इयत् (ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्येतिच्) = इयत् + डीप् = इयती Feminine.

Thus इयती is really a Pratyaya, for the base इदम् is altogether elided.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय “when the affix follows” in the sūtra? For would not the word तदाहि limit the designation अङ्ग to that only after which there was actually an affix?

Ans. No. Because without the word प्रत्यये the sūtra would have run thus “after whatsoever is an affix enjoined, that which begins therewith is called an Anga.” In this view, we could not get the form वज्रश्च the 3rd Per. Sing in the Perfect (लिङ्) of the root भोज्रदच् ‘to cut.’

This is thus formed :—

व्रदच् + णल् = व्रश्च् + व्रश्च् + अ (VI. 1. 8, S. 2177 लिङिधातोर्नभासस्य)

= वृश्च् + व्रश्च् + अ (VI. 1. 17 S. 2408 लिङ्यभासस्योभयेषाम्)

= वरश्च् + व्रश्च् + अ (VII. 4. 66 S. 2244 उरत् and उरण् परः)

= व + व्रदच् + अ (VII. 4. 60 S. 2179 हलादिशेषः) = वज्रदच् ॥

If the word “pratyaye” did not exist, then the designation anga would be applied to the whole base plus the affix *i. e.* (व्रदच् + अ) as a whole. That being so, व + व्रश्च will assume the form of उव्रश्च for the व will be vocalised by VI. 1. 17. For the अ in the place of क् will not be sthānivat by अच्: परित्स्नत् पूर्वविधौ; because to be sthānivat there must be an efficient cause outside (पर), as अ of णल्, but this अ of णल् was, by hypothesis included in the Anga designation. So there being no पर cause, the अ substitute of क् in वृ will not be sthānivat; and not being so, it will not be considered as a samprasāraṇa vowel. The अ of व not being a Samprasāraṇa, the prohibition of न सम्प्रसारणे &c. VI. 1. 37 (when a semivowel has once been vocalised, there is

no vocalisation of the other semivowel that precedes it, will not apply, and so ढ will be vocalised to ढ.

२०० । अङ्गस्य । ६ । ४ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

200. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sūtra.

२०१ । टाडसिङ्सामिनात्स्याः । ७ । १ । १२ ॥

अकारान्तादङ्गादीनां क्रमादिनादय आवेशाः स्युः । णत्वम् । रामेण ॥

201. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन for the Instrumental ending आ; आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus रामेण the न being changed to ण ॥

२०२ । सुपि च । ७ । ३ । १०२ ॥

यञादौ सुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

202. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (literally a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो दीर्घो यञि is understood here (VII. 3. 101 S. 2170).

Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम्

२०३ । अतो भिस ऐस् । ७ । १ । ९ ॥

अकारान्तादङ्गाङ्गिस् ऐस् स्यात् । अनेकाल्त्वात्सर्वविशः । रामैः ॥

203. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

The *Adesa* ऐस् consists of more than one letter and therefore replaces the whole of this, by the rule अनेकाल्त्वात् सर्वस्य I. 1. 55. S. 45. Thus राम + ऐस् = रामैः ॥

२०४ । ऊर्यः । ७ । १ । १३ ॥

अतोऽङ्गात्परस्य ऊ इत्यस्य आवेशः स्यात् । रामाय । इह स्थानिवद्भावेन आवेशस्य सुप्त्वास्तुपि चेति दीर्घः । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरिति तं तद्विपातस्येति परिभाषा तु नेह प्रवर्तते । कदाच क्रमणे इत्यादिनिर्देशेन तस्या अनित्यत्वज्ञानात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

204. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus राम + ए = राम + य = रामाय. Here the य being taken to be sthānivat to ए gets also the designation of सुप् and therefore the अ of राम is lengthened before य by the rule VII. 3. 102. S. 202. The maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" does not apply here. Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥ The anitya nature of this maxim is indicated by Pānini himself, by forming the dative of कट् as कटाय in Sūtra III. 1. 14 &c.

The ङेः is the anomalous Genitive case of the Dative ending ङे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28 S. 382. The ङेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

So also रामाभ्याम् as before. The dative plural is formed thus राम + भ्यस्. Here applies the following Sūtra :—

२०५ । बहुवचने झल्येत् । ७ । ३ । १०३ ॥

झलारौ बहुवचने सुपि परे भतोऽङ्गस्यैकारः स्यात् । रामेभ्यः । बहुवचने किम् । रामः । रामस्य । झलि किम् । रामाणाम् । सुपि किम् । पचध्वम् । जदस्वम् ॥

205. Before a case-ending beginning with भ् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal stem.

As रामेभ्यः ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe रामः ; रामस्य ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल् consonant? Observe रामाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3. S. 300). Why a case-affix? Observe पचध्वम्, and not पचध्वम् ॥

Now, we form the Ablative Singular. राम + ङसि = राम + आत् (by VII. 1. 12. S. 201). Here the त् of the affix should be changed to द् by झलां जशोऽन्ते and द् will then optionally be changed to त् by the following Sūtra.

२०६ । वाचसाने । ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

भवसाने झलां चरो वा स्युः । रामात् । रामाद् । द्वित्वे रूपचतुष्टयम् । रामाभ्याम् । रामेभ्यः । रामस्य तस्य द्वित्वपक्षे खरि चेति चत्वेऽप्यान्तरतम्यास्तस्य स एव न तु तकारः । अल्पप्राणतया प्रयत्नमेव । अत एव सः सीति तदेषा भारभ्यते ॥

206. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words झलं चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, S. 84, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus रामात् or रामाद्. The final त् and द् may be doubled by अनचि च (VIII. 4. 47) we get four forms as रामात् or रामाच् or रामाद् or रामाद्द् ॥ *N. B.*—This is not approved by Tatvabodhini, as the meaning of the sūtra अनचि च is that after a vowel every consonant except ह may be doubled provided that a *consonant* follows; for the word अनच् 'non-vowel' does not mean absence of *all* letters, but rather the absence of vowels only. Inferentially there must be a consonant. Bhattoji has taken the negation in अनचि in the sense of Prasajya pratishedha; while the proper view is to take it as a Paryudāsa pratishedha.

So also रामाभ्याम्; रामेभ्यः; रामस्य ॥ In रामस्य when the स is doubled, this स will not be changed to त by खरिच VIII. 4. 55. S. 121. but it will remain as स only, because there is difference between स and त as regards effort, the त being अल्प प्राण. Had त and स been the same, and had त been produced by 'खरिच' then there would have been no need of teaching the substitution of स by त in Sūtras like VIII. 4. 49. S. 2342.

२०७ । ओसि च । ७ । १३ । २०४ ॥

ओसि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रामयोः ॥

207. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As रामे + ओस् = रामयोः

Now, we have to form the Genitive plural :—राम + आम्. Here comes the next Sūtra.

२०८ । ह्रस्वनद्यापो जुट् । ७ । १ । ५४ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तान्नद्यन्ताशब्न्ताषाङ्गात्परस्यानो जुडागमः स्यात् ॥

208. The augment न् is added before the Genitive Plural ending आम्, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadî (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix आ ॥

As राम + न् + आम् ॥

At this stage applies the next Sûtra.

२०९ । नामि । इ । ४ । ३ ॥

नामि परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाणाम् । सुपि चेति दीर्घो यद्यपि परस्तथापीह न प्रवर्तते ।
सन्निपातपरिभाषाविरोधात् । नामीत्यनेन स्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषा बाध्यते । रामे । रामयोः । सुपि एत्वे कृते ॥

209. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment उद्).

Thus राम + नाम् = रामाणाम् ॥

The sûtra सुपिच (VII. 3. 102. S. 202) would also have caused lengthening and being a subsequent one would also have applied, yet it does not apply here, because of the *Paribhāṣhā* संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥ '(That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).' But the very fact that this sûtra is enunciated here debars the above *Paribhāṣhā*.

Now, we have to form the Locative Singular ;—राम + इ = रामे ॥ So also रामयोः ॥ The plural will be राम + सु = रामे + सु (VII. 3. 103. S 205.) At this stage applies the following sûtra.

२१० । अपदान्तस्य मूर्धन्यः । ८ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आपादपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

210. Upto the end of the third Pâda of the VIIIth. Book, is throughout to be supplied the following : "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of——, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word."

२११ । इण्कोः । ८ । ३ । ५७ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

211. From this, upto the end of the third chapter of the VIIIth. Book, should be supplied in every sûtra, the following :—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a इ or a guttural precedes."

The word इण् is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels ए only efficient : so that only is taken in the translation. कु means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense.

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । १ । ५६ ॥

सङ्घः साङ्घः स इति सूत्रात्स इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमनुवर्तते । इणकवर्गाभ्यां परस्यापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्य-
यावयवश्च यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । विवृताद्योषस्य सस्य तादृश एव षः । रामेषु । इण्कोः किम् ।
रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । सुपीः । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । अपदान्तस्य किम् । हरिस्तच्च । एवं कृष्णपुकु-
न्दादयः ॥

212. ष is substituted for that which is a substi-
tute (of the ष of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64. S. 2264),
or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above men-
tioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58. S. 211, 424), of being
preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स
from VIII. 3. 56. Therefore, the स is replaced by ष both being *Vivrita* and
Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण् vowel or कु'?
Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute स or that which is an affix'?
Observe सुपीः ; सुपिसौ ; सुपिसः the स here is part of the Churādi root पिस "to
go," and is neither a substituted स nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we say
'not final in a Pada'? Observe हरिस्तच्च ॥ Similarly should be declined
कृष्ण, पुकुन्दा and all other words ending in ष ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम !	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ !	रामौ	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामयोः
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः !	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणाम्	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS.

२१३ । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वादीनि शब्दस्वरूपाणि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । तदन्तस्यापीयं संज्ञा । द्वन्द्वे चेति ज्ञापकान् । तेन
परमसर्वमेति ज्ञत् । परमभवकानित्यत्राकञ्च सिद्ध्यति ॥

213. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called
sarvanāma or pronouns.

The words ending in sarva &c. are also sarvanāma. This we infer
from the Sūtra द्वन्द्व च I. 1. 31. S. 224 which prohibits the application of the
term Sarvanama to Dvandva compounds. (That is in all other compounds
except Dvandva, the words ending in Sarva &c. are sarvanamas. For
some other exceptions see I 1. 29. and 30. S. 222 and 223.) Therefore, we

have the form परमसर्वञ्च with the affix चल् (V. 3. 10 S. 1957.) The word परम ending in *sarva* gets the name of *sarvanama* and therefore the affix *tral* is added to it. Similarly परमभवकान्. Here the affix भक्त् is added by V. 3. 71 S. 2026.

२१४ । जसः शी । ७ । १ । १७ ॥

अवन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य जसः शी स्यात् । अनेकाल्स्यात्सर्वादेशः । नचार्धणस्तु इत्यादायिव नाबु-
बन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वमिति वाच्यम् । सर्वादेशस्वात्प्रागित्संज्ञाया एवाभावात् । सर्वे ॥

214. After a pronominal stem ending in अ, ई (शी) is substituted for the nominative plural (जस्)

The substitute is long ई for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 19, S. 310 which gives in the dual the forms like वार्ष्णि, मधुनी. In the case of सर्व and words ending in अ, it matters little whether the substitute be short इ or long ई for their *sandhi* will always result in ए.

The substitute शी consists of more than one letter namely of श and ई, and therefore it replaces the whole of the *Sthāni* जस् (I. 1. 55 S. 45)

It is not like the substitute त् &c. of the Sūtra VI. 4. 127. S. 364 which replaces the final न् of भवन् &c, for त् is an affix of which क् is an anubandha, and the following Paribhāṣhā applies to it.

Praibhāṣhā:—(That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.

But शी like डा and षा is not put down as an affix in Pānini's Grammar and therefore their initials ड् and ष् are not Anubandhas. For the Sūtras I. 3. 7 and 8 S. 189 and 195 are applicable only to *Pratyayas*. But शी is nowhere originally taught as a *Pratyaya*. It becomes a *Pratyaya* only then when it replaces the whole of जस् and before such substitution शी not being a *pratyaya* the श् cannot be called इत्; when it is substituted for the whole of जस् then it becomes a *pratyaya* and then its श् becomes an Anubandha.

Note:—The opinion of Sekhara is that श् of शी is इत् from its very beginning; because it is liable to elision (इत्संज्ञायोगत्वननुबन्धत्वम्) and so the whole affix जस् is replaced because the substitute is शित् ॥

Thus सर्व + जस् = सर्व + शी = सर्व + ई = सर्वे.

२१५ । सर्वनाम्नः स्मै । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ङे इत्यस्य स्मै स्यात् । सर्वस्मै ॥

215. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

Thus सर्वस्मै ।

२१६ । ऊसिङ्गोः स्मात्स्मिनौ । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ऊसिङ्गोरेतौ स्तः । सर्वस्मात् ॥

216. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ; there is substituted स्मात् for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात् ।

२१७ । अमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् । ७ । १ । ५२ ॥

अवर्णान्तात्सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुडागमः स्यात् । एत्वषत्वे । सर्वेषाम् । सर्वस्मिन् । शेषं रामवत् एवं विश्वाद्योऽप्यदन्ताः ।

सर्वाद्यश्च पञ्चविंशत् । सर्वे, विश्व, उभ, उभय, उत्तर, उत्तम, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, स्वत, स्व, नेम, सम, सिम ।

पूर्वपरावरवक्षिणोत्तरापराभराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । अन्तरं बहिर्यो-
नोपसंख्यानयोः ।

एतद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अवस्, एक, द्वि, पुष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु, किम्, हाति ।

उभशब्दो द्वित्वविशिष्टस्य वाचकः । अत एव नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः । तस्यैव पाठस्तु उभकवि-
त्येकजर्थः । नच कप्रत्ययेनेष्टसिद्धिः । द्विवचनपरस्वाभाविनोभयत उभयवेत्यादाविबायचप्रसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ॥
उभयोऽन्यवेति ॥ अन्यवेति द्विवचनपरस्वाभावे ।

उभयशब्दस्य द्विवचनं नास्तीति केयटः । नास्तीति हरवन्तः । तस्माज्जस्ययजादेशस्य स्थानि-
वज्ञावेन तयप्रत्ययान्ततया प्रथमचरमंति विकल्पं प्राप्ते विभक्तिनिरपेक्षत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वान्नित्यैव संज्ञा
भवति । उभये ।

उत्तरउत्तमौ प्रत्ययौ । यद्यपि संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तग्रहणं नास्ति । सुप्तिङन्तमिति
ज्ञापकात् । तथापीह तदन्तग्रहणम् । केवलयोः संज्ञायाः प्रयोजनाभावात् ।

अन्यतरान्यतमशब्दावप्युत्पन्नौ स्वभावाद्द्विवचनविषये निर्धारणे वर्तते । तच्चान्यतमशब्दस्य गणे
पाठाभावात् संज्ञा ।

स्व स्व इति द्वावप्यदन्तावन्यपर्यायौ । एक उवाचोऽपरोऽनुवाच इत्येके । एकस्तान्त इत्यपरे ।

नेम इत्यर्थः । समः सर्वपर्यायः । तुल्यपर्यायस्तु नह गृह्यते । यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानामिति
ज्ञापकात् ॥

अन्तर बहिर्योगात् गणसूत्रेऽपुरीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अन्तरायां पुरि ॥

217. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix अम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning.

The word अम् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेषाम्.
(The अ is changed to ए by VII. 3. 103. S. 205 and the स् is changed to ष्)
सर्वस्मिन्. The rest of the declension of सर्व is like राम.

Note:—But भवताम् of भवतु ॥ The अम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural
ending अम्, and not the अम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116 S. 270 ;

for that आम्, takes the augments याद्, भाद् or स्याद् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुद् or नुद् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III. 1. 35 &c.), because that refers to verb and not to Sarvanāma; nor the आम् of V. 4. 11., for the same reason. The word आम्नि is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आम्: सर्वनाम्नः सुद्), because सर्वनाम्नः being in the Ablative case, the augment सुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

Other *Sarvanāmas* ending in अ as विद्वा &c., are similarly declined.

The *Sarvanāmas* are thirty-five in number, namely :—1 सर्व 'all,' 2 विद्वा 'all,' 3 उभ 'two,' 4 उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix 5 उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix 6 उत्तम as कतम 'which of many,' 7 अन्य 'other,' 8 अन्यतर 'either,' 9 इतर 'other,' 10 स्वत् 'other,' 11 स्व 'other,' 12 नेम 'half,' 13 सम 'all,' 14 सिम 'whole.' So also 15 पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' 16 पर 'subsequent,' 17 भवर 'west or posterior,' 18 दक्षिण 'south or right,' 19 उत्तर 'north or inferior,' 'subsequent,' 20 अपर 'other or inferior,' 21 अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also 22 स्व when it does not mean a kinsman or a treasure, but means 'own.' So also 23 अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma. 24 त्वर् 'he, she, it,' 25 त्वर् 'he, she, it,' 26 य्वर् 'who,' 27 एतद् 'this,' 28 इत् 'it,' 29 अत् 'that,' 30 एक 'one,' 31 द्वि 'two,' 32 युष्मद् 'you,' 33 अस्मद् 'I,' 34 भवतु 'you,' 35 किम् 'what.'

The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number; as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal; as उभकौ ॥

Q. But, could not the same purpose have been served by adding the affix क् by sūtra V. 3. 70. S. 2025 ?

Ans. No. For, the affix अकच् being added before the final vowel of उभ leaves the उभ always a dual word on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते i. e. "(Any term) that may be employed (in Grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) *inserted* in that (which is actually denoted by it)." Therefore, अकच् being *inserted* in उभ does not change its character of always being in the dual, while क् being added to it would have destroyed that character. Had it lost its character of being always a dual, then in the case of क् affix, it would have required the insertion of अकच् by sūtra V. 2. 44. S. 1845 as it takes it before the affixes क् and तस् in उभयतः, उभयक् ॥ Therefore Katyāyana has said.

Vārtika :—The word **उभय** is used in other places where the sense of dual is not necessary. According to Kaiyata, **उभय** has no dual number ; but according to Haradatta it has. Therefore, before the affix **जस्** (Nom. Pl.), the substitute **अयच्** (V. 2. 44. S. 1845) being considered as **स्थानिबत्** to **तयप्** which it replaces, the word **उभय** is considered as ending in **तयप्** and therefore it would have been optionally a *sarvanāma* by the sūtra I. 1. 3 3. S. 226. But the affix **अयच्** being added irrespective of any **विभक्ति**, it is an *antaranga* rule and therefore, it makes **उभय** *always* and not optionally a *sarvanāma*. Thus **उभये** but never **उभया** : ॥

The words **उत्तर** and **उत्तम** in the above list are affixes ordained by VII. 1. 25. S. 315 and V. 3. 92 S. 2047 &c. By giving these affixes in this list, it is meant that the words ending in these affixes are **सर्वनाम** ॥ This is according to the *Paribhāṣhā* :—“ An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in Grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself.”

Q. If so, then the words ending in **तरप्** and **तमप्** should also be called **च** (I. 1. 22. S. 2003).

Ans. This is not so, according to the *Paribhāṣhā* :—“ An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.”

The employment of the word **अन्त** (in **सुप्रिङ्गन्तं** ‘that which ends with ‘Sup or Tin’) in I. 4. 14. S. 29. indicates (the existence of) this *Paribhāṣhā* ; for, if the *Paribhāṣhā* did not exist, **अन्त** would be superfluous, because **सुप्रिङ्ग** alone would, in accordance with the preceding *Paribhāṣhā*, denote that which ends with ‘Sup’ or ‘Tin.’”

Q. But this is also a **संज्ञा विधि** and therefore the affixes **उत्तर**, **उत्तम** should not denote the words ending in those affixes.

Ans. In spite of the above *Paribhāṣhā*, the affixes **उत्तर**, **उत्तम** denote here the words ending in those affixes. Because giving these affixes the name of *sarva-nāma*, would be useless, because nowhere in this Grammar, these affixes by themselves have been treated as *Sarva-nāma*.

The words **अन्यतर** and **अन्यतम** are not derivative words formed by the affixes **उत्तर** and **उत्तम**, but are considered as primary words, and, therefore, they naturally denote **निर्धारण** specifying **अन्यतर** denoting, **निर्धारण** of one out of two, and **अन्यतम** denoting **निर्धारण** or determination of one out of many. In other words, they do not get the force of **निर्धारण** by virtue of sūtras V. 3. 92 and 93 S. 2047 and 2048 but by their inherent force. The word **अन्यतम**, however, not being read in the above list of *sarvanāmas* is not a *Sarvanāma*.

There are two स्व in the above list, namely स्वन् and स्व, having the same meaning namely “other,” and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udâtta, and of the other anudâtta. Some give स्वन् as a separate word ending in न् and say that both have anudâtta accent. The word नेम् means “half.” The word सम is a sarvanâma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व ‘all,’ and not when it means ‘equality.’ When it has the latter sense of ‘equality,’ it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10. S. 128. where he uses the regular Genitive plural समानाम्, meaning ‘among or of equals.’ As a pronominal the Genitive plural would have been समेषाम्॥

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि ‘a city,’ is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति ‘he lives out of the city.’

२१८। पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । १।१।३४॥

एतेषां व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणपाठात्सर्वत्र या प्राप्ता सा जसि वा स्यात् । पूर्वे पूर्वाः ॥ स्वभिधेयापेक्षावधिनिश्चयो व्यवस्था । व्यवस्थायां किम् । दक्षिणा गायकाः । कुशला इत्यर्थः । असंज्ञायां किम् । उत्तराः कुरुवाः ॥

218. The words pūrva ‘prior,’ para ‘after,’ avara ‘posterior,’ dakshina ‘south,’ uttara ‘north,’ apara ‘other,’ and adhara ‘inferior,’ when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanâma, before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of Sarvanâmas. They are always sarvanâmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, i. e., when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than vyavasthâ or the fixed limit with regards to their own meaning, limit in time and space, they are not sarvanâmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means ‘clever,’ it is not a Sarvanama, as, दक्षिणा गायकाः ‘clever minstrels,’ similarly in उत्तराः कुरुवाः ‘the Northern Kurus,’ the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a Proper Noun (like Northmen).

When these seven words are sarvanâma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural when they may be declined either as sarvanâmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prâpta-vibhâshâ.

२१९। स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । १।१।३५॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यवाचिनः स्वशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात् । स्वे । स्वाः । आत्मीया इत्यर्थः । आत्मान इति वा । ज्ञातिधनवाचिनस्तु स्वाः । ज्ञातयोऽर्था वा ।

219. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property, is optionally a *sarvanāma*, before the affix *जस्*.

The word *स्व* when it does not mean a *ज्ञाति* 'kinsman' or *धन* 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanāma*, in every number and case, as it has been enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus *स्वे पुत्राः* or *स्वाः पुत्राः* 'one's own sons,' *स्वे गावः* or *स्वा गावः* 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' *स्वाः* alone is the nom. pl. As, *स्वा ज्ञातयो* 'these kinsmen' *प्रभुनाः स्वाः* ॥

२२० । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः । १ । १ । ३६ ॥

बाह्ये परिधानीये चाधोऽन्तराशब्दस्य वा प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात् । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा गृहाः । बाह्या इत्यर्थः । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा शादकाः । परिधानीया इत्यर्थः ॥

220. The word *antara* being always a *sarvanāma*, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix *जस्*.

The word *अन्तर* when it means *बहिर्योग*, *viś.*, 'outer' is always *sarvanāma*, so also, when it means *उपसंव्यान* or 'a lower garment.' Thus *अन्तरे गृहाः* or *अन्तरा गृहाः* 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So *अन्तरे* or *अन्तराः* *शादकाः* 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word *अन्तर* when used in the above sense is always *sarvanāma*, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a *sarvanāma*, e. g. *ग्रामयोरेतरे वसति* 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is *अन्तरे* ॥

२२१ । पूर्वदिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

एभ्यो ङसिङ्भ्योः स्मास्मिनौ वा स्तः । पूर्वस्मात् । पूर्वात् । पूर्वस्मिन् । पूर्वे । एवं परादिनामपि ॥ शेषं सर्ववत् । एकशब्दः संख्यायां नित्यैकवचनान्तः ॥

221. *स्मात्* and *स्मिन्* are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings, after *पूर्व* and the eight that follow it.

Thus *पूर्वस्मात्* or *पूर्वात्*, *पूर्वस्मिन्* or *पूर्वे*, *परस्मात्* or *परात्*, *परस्मिन्* or *परे*, *अवरस्मात्* or *अवरात्*, *अवरस्मिन्* or *अवरे*, *दक्षिणस्मात्* or *दक्षिणात्*, *दक्षिणस्मिन्* or *दक्षिणे*, *उत्तरस्मात्*, or *उत्तरात्*, *उत्तरस्मिन्*, or *उत्तरे*, *अपरस्मात्*, or *अपरात्*, *अपरस्मिन्*, or *अपरे*, *अधरस्मात्*, or *अधरात्*, *अधरस्मिन्*, or *अधरे*, *स्वस्मात्*, or *स्वात्*, *स्वस्मिन्* or *स्वे*, *अन्तरस्मात्* or *अन्तरात्*, *अन्तरस्मिन्* or *अन्तरे* ॥)

The word 'एक' when denoting a numeral is always singular. But in any other meaning, it may have other numbers also, as एकै, एकेषाम् ('of some'). 'एक' has eight meanings.

२२२ । न बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २६ ॥

बहुव्रीहौ चिक्रीषिते सर्वनामसंज्ञा न स्यात् । स्वकं पिता यस्य स स्वत्कपितृकः । अहकं पिता यस्य स मत्कपितृकः । इह समासात्प्रागेव प्रक्रियावाक्ये सर्वनामसंज्ञा निषिध्यते । अन्यथा लौकिके विग्रहवाक्ये इव तत्राप्येकश्च प्रवर्तते । स च समासेऽपि भूयते । अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तमतिभक्तानितिवत् । भाष्यकारस्तु स्वकपितृकां मत्कपितृक इति रूपे इष्टापांसे कृत्यैतत्सूत्रं प्रत्याचक्ष्यौ । । यथोत्तरं दुर्नीनां प्रमाणम् । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतास्तु न सर्वावयवः । महासंज्ञाकरणेन तद्गुणानामेव गणे संनिवेशात् । अतः संज्ञाकार्यमन्तर्गणकार्ये च तेषां न भवति । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्तस्यै सर्वावयव इति । अतिक्रान्तः सर्ववतिसर्वस्तस्यै अतिसर्वावयव इति । अतिक्रान्तं कुलम् । अतितत् ॥

222. The words sarva &c., are not Sarvanāma when they are intended to be employed in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus स्वकं पिता यस्य = स्वत्कपितृकः । Similarly, अहकं पिता यस्य = मत्कपितृकः । Here the affix अकच् is added by sūtra V. 3. 71 S. 2026 in the sense of contempt or unknown relationship. Here before the taking place of the compound, the name of the *sarvanāma* is prohibited with regard to the words स्वत्कन् and अहकं other wise, in ordinary language, the word अकच् would have been used, as it is employed, in the above analytical stage. This अकच् would have been retained even in the compound, as it is retained in the compound अतिभक्तान् whose analysis is अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तम्. But the word स्वन् and मन् not being treated as a *sarvanāma* take only the ordinary affix क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and not the affix अकच्. Had they been treated as *sarvanāma* then अकच् would have been inserted before त् by V. 3. 71 S. 2026 giving the forms स्वकन् and अहकन् and these forms would have been retained in the compound.

But Patanjali has given the forms स्वत्कपितृकः and मत्कपितृकः and has shown the futility of having made this Sūtra at all. According to his opinion, this Sūtra is unnecessary. Therefore, according to the maxim, when the three sages differ, the opinion of the last one is authoritative, we should follow the opinion of Patanjali in this matter.

Vārtika.—The words सर्व &c. when employed as proper names (संज्ञा) or as a secondary member of a compound (उपसर्जन) are not to be declined as *sarvanāma*. This we infer by Panini's using such a big word as Sarvanāma, instead of making a short technical name like दि &c. Therefore सर्व &c are Sarvanamas when they have the meaning of "all &c." as given above in the list, because only those words have been included in the list

which have the appropriate meaning of "all" &c, and not words which denote something else, though their form may be "sarva &c." Because in the list such words are only included which have the attributes of the thing defined. Therefore, the rules applicable to these words by the fact of being called *sarvanāma* संज्ञाकार्यं or the rules applicable to portions of them by the fact of their being enumerated in this list अन्तरगणकार्यं do not apply. Thus the rules VII. 1. 25. S. 315, VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and VII. 2. 106. S. 381. are rules of अन्तर गण कार्यं, that is rules which have taken up particular portions of words given in this list. These rules do not apply to words when they are used as संज्ञा and उपसर्जन. Therefore if सर्व be the name of a person, the dative will be सर्वाय, as सर्वाय देहि "give to the person called Sarva" Here the dative is not सर्वस्मै. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanāma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि "give to (him who is) Above-all." Similarly अतिक्रतरं कुलम् Here there is not the substitution of अद् as required by sūtra VII. 1. 25. S. 315. For क्रतर would have formed कतरन् but अतिक्रतर does not form अतिक्रतरन् but अतिक्रतरम् because here कतर is उपसर्जन and therefore अन्तर गण कार्य rule VII. 1. 25 S. 315 does not apply. Similarly अतितन्. Here VII. 2. 102 S. 265 requiring the substitution of अ for the final of तद् and the rule VII. 2. 106. S. 381 requiring the substitution of स for the non-final त do not apply. For though the ordinary form of Nominative Singular of तन् is सः, the compound of तन् with अति will not be अतिसः in the nominative, but अतितन्.

२२३ । तृतीयासमासे । १ । १ । ३० ॥

अत्र सर्वनामता न स्यात् । मासपूर्वाय । तृतीयासमासार्थवाक्येऽपि न । मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

223. In the Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word māsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e. g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै; ॥ The same will be the case even when there is no compounding, but the sense is of the Instrumental compound; as मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

२२४ । द्वन्द्वे च । १ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वन्द्वे उक्ता संज्ञा न । वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् । समुदायस्यायं निषेधो न स्वययवानाम् । नचैवं तदन्त-विधिनामुद्गमसङ्गः सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यानः सुखिति व्याख्यातस्यात् ।

224. And in the Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva etc., are not sarvanāma.

Thus वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् ॥ This sūtra prohibits the designation Sarvanāma with regard to the whole compound, and not with regard to its various members. The word इतर therefore is already a Sarvanāma. Then there arises the following difficulty. Why should not सुद् be added to आम् in the genitive plural, giving us the form वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम् ? We reply, that आम् gets सुद् only then when it is ordained after a Sarvanāma. Here it is not ordained after a Sarvanāma, but after a Dvanda compound which is not a Sarvanāma.

This prohibition applies to the compound as a whole and not to its various members. If so, why should not the augment सुद् come before the genitive plural affix आम् (VII. 1. 52. S. 217) in the case of इतर also here, by the rule of तदन्तविधि. This is not so because in explaining that sūtra, we have used the word विहितस्य i. e. सुद् is added only to that आम् which is specifically ordained after a Sarvanāma and not to every आम् in general. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others.' The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the Genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापरणाम् of the priors and the posteriors.

२२५ । विभाषा जसि । १ । १ । ३२ ॥

असाधारं यत्कार्यं शीभावाख्यं तत्र कर्तव्ये इन्द्र उक्ता संज्ञा वा स्यात् । वर्णाश्रमेतरे । वर्णाश्रमेतराः । शीभावं प्रत्येव विभाषत्युक्तमतो नाकच् । किंतु कप्रत्यय एव । वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः ॥

225. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma, when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

It declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural and which in the pronominals is replaced by ज्ञा), the dvandva compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or वर्णाश्रमेतरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or ज्ञि. ॥

The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st. pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 224 is absolute. Thus, वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः Here अकच् is not added but क only in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

२२६ । प्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्थकतिपयनेमाश्च । १ । १ । ३३ ॥

एते जसः कार्ये प्रत्युक्तसंज्ञा वा स्युः । प्रथमं । प्रथमाः ॥ शेषं रामवत् । तयः प्रत्ययः ततस्तदन्तामाद्याः । द्विनेवे । द्वितयाः । शेषं रामवत् । नेमे । नेमाः । शेषं सर्ववत् । विभाषाप्रकरणे तीयस्य द्विस्तृपसंख्यानम् ॥ द्वितीयस्मै । द्वितीयाद्येत्यादि । एवं तृतीयः । अर्थवद्ग्रहणान्नह । षट्जालीयाव । निर्जरः ॥

226. And also the words *prathama* 'first'; *charama* 'last,' as well as words ending with the affix *taya* (V. 2. 42); *alpa* 'few', *ardha* 'half', *katipaya* 'some,' and *nema* 'half' are optionally *sarvanāma*, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्धे or अर्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix *ञ्* follows" are understood in this sūtra. By the word *तय* in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix *तय*. The rest are *pratipadikas* or crude bases. The word *नेम* has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called *prāpta-vibhāṣā*, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like *सर्व*, the rest of its declension is like *sarva*, while in the case of *prathama* &c. the nom. pl. may be like *sarva*, but the rest of their declension must be like that of *सर्व*. The word *abhaya*, has been formed by the addition of the affix *तय*, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra, its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix *kan* or *akach* must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then *akach*, otherwise *kan*.

Vart:—The words formed by the affix *तीय* such as, *द्वितीय* and *तृतीय*, are optionally declined as *sarvanāma* before the case-affixes having an indicative *ङ* (*ङिन्*), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, *द्वितीयस्मै* or *द्वितीयाय*, *तृतीय्य* or *तृतीयस्मै*.

Paribhāṣā.—(A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in Grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.

Therefore *पटुजानीयाय* and not *पटुजानीयस्मै*. Here the affix is *जानीय* and not *तीय*, and in the affix *जानीय*, the portion *तीय* has no independent meaning of its own.

Here ends the declension of *Sarvanamans*.

सर्व

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	सर्वः	हे सर्व	सर्वे	सर्वेण	सर्वस्मै	सर्वस्मान्	सर्वस्य	सर्वस्मिन्
Dual	सर्वौ	" सर्वौ	सर्वौ	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वयोः	सर्वयोः
Pl.	सर्वे	" सर्वे	सर्वान्	सर्वैः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेषाम्	सर्वेषु.

Now, we take up the declension of the word निर्जरः ॥ The Nominative Singular will be निर्जरः + सु = निजरः ॥ The nominative dual will be निर्जरः + औ ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

२२७ । जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । २ । १०१ ॥

जरायाञ्चस्य जरस् वा स्थान्जरादौ विभक्तौ । पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदन्तस्य च । अनेकास्त्वा-
स्तर्वादेशो प्राप्तः । निर्दिश्यन्मनस्यादेशा भवन्ति । एकदेशाविकृतस्यानन्यस्यात् जरयाञ्चस्य जरस् । निर्जरसौ ।
निजरसः । इनादीन् बाधित्वा परत्वाञ्जरस् । निर्जरसा । निर्जरसे । निर्जरसः । पक्षे इत्यादौ च रामवत् ।
वृत्तिकृता तु पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन इनादौः कृतयोः संनिपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वमाश्रित्य जरसि कृते निर्जरसिन
निर्जरसाविति रूपे न तु निर्जरसा निर्जरस इति केचिदित्युक्तम् । तथा भिसि निर्जरसैरिति रूपान्तरपुनरुक्तम् ॥
तदनुसारिभिश्च पष्ठ्येकवचनं निर्जरस्येव रूपं स्वीकृतम् । एतच्च भाष्यविरुद्धम् ॥

227. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

By the *Paribhāṣā* ;—(A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) **पृ** or **अङ्ग** is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base). The substitute जरस् will come in the case of निर्जर also.

The substitute जरस् consists of more than one letter and therefore by sūtra I. i. 55. S. 45, should it not replace the whole of निर्जरः ? No, because of the following

Paribhāṣā ;—Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated. Therefore जरस् will replace the जर portion of निर्जर and not the whole. But the rule is “जरा is replaced by जरस्” There is no जरा with long आ in निर्जर, then why should there be any substitution? But this substitution takes place according to the *Pari-
bhāṣā* :—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place). Therefore जर of निर्जर is considered the same as निजरा ॥

Thus निर्जरः + औ = निर्जरस् + औ = निर्जरसौ . The plural will be निर्जरसः ॥

The Instrumental singular will be formed by आ as निर्जरसा . The substitute vibhakti ending इन or आन् is debarred by जरस् and does not take place in the case of निर्जर . Thus निर्जरसा ; निर्जरसे &c.

In the other alternative and also before the case affixes beginning with consonants, the declension of निर्जर will be like राम ॥

According to the Vṛttikāra the affixes इन and आन् will come by the rule of pūrva-vipratishedha, prohibition in anticipation ; and as the संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application, the Instrumental and Ablative singular forms will

be निर्जरसिन and निर्जरसान् and not निर्जरसा and निर्जरसः. The Instrumental Plural will be निर्जरसेः। Those who follow this opinion make the Genitive singular निर्जरस्य ॥ But all this is against the opinion of the Bhāṣyakāra.

निर्जर

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरसम्	निर्जरसा	निर्जरसे	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसि
Dual	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसां	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरसां	निर्जरसोः
Pl.	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरैः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरसां	निर्जरेषु

OPTIONAL FORMS

Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरम्	निर्जरेण	निर्जराय	निर्जरान्	निर्जरस्य	निर्जरे
Dual	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जरां	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरयोः	निर्जरयोः
Pl.	निर्जराः	निर्जराः	निर्जरान्	निर्जरैः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जराणाम्	निर्जरेषु

२२८ । पद्भोमास्त्वृजिशसन्त्युपन्दोषन्यकञ्चकन्नुदञ्जासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु । ६ ।

१ । ६३ ॥

पाद्, दन्त, नासिका, मास, हृदय, निशा, असृज्, शूष, दोष, यकन्, शकन्, उदक, आस्य एषां पदादय आदेशाः स्युः सासां वा । यन्तु आसनशब्दस्य आसन्नदेश इति काशिकायाधुनं तत्पमादिकम् । पदिः । पाश । पाशः । पाशम् । पाशैः । पदः । पाशान् । पश । पादेन इत्यादि ॥

228. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are optionally substituted :—पद् for पाद्, दत् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मास, हृद् for हृदयं, निश् for निशा, असन् for असृज्, शूषन् for शूष, दोषन् for दोस्, यकन् for यकृत्, शकन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन. This is a mistake. Thus पादः, पादौ, पादाः, पादम्, पादौ, पदः or पाशान्, पश or पादेन &c.

२२९ । सुडनपुंसकस्य । १ । १ । ४३ ॥

सुड प्रत्याहारः स्वादिपञ्चदशनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि स्युस्त्रीबस्य ॥

229. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyâhâra suṭ (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanâmasthâna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

२३० । स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने । १ । ४ । १७ ॥

कम्पत्यशेषभिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वे पदसंज्ञं स्थान् ॥

230. When the affixes beginning with स (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanâma-sthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

२३१ । यचि भम् । १ । ४ । १८ ॥

अकारादिभ्यश्चादिषु च कप्प्रत्ययादिषु स्वादिभ्यस्सर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

231. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with सु and ending in क, follows, not being Sarvanâma-sthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

२३२ । आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा । १ । ४ । १ ॥

इत ऊर्ध्वं कङ्काराः 'कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्रागेकस्यैकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या पराऽनवकाशा च । तेन वासादावचि भसंज्ञैव न पदत्वम् । अतो जइत्वं न । इतः । इता । जइत्वम् । इद्भ्यामित्यादि । नासः । नासा । भ्यानि इत्ये यत्ये च यलोपः । माभ्याम् । माभिरित्यादि ॥

232. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadârâḥ Karmadhâraye (II.2. 38 S. 751.) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

Note. What is that name then ? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2. S. 175) and that which, were its claims disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, S. 31 and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11, S. 32) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name i. e., 'heavy.' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the छि is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in भिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root तञ् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its norist we have the form अततञन् . Similarly अररञन् . The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here, as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

Therefore, in the affixes beginning with the Accusative Plural and whose initial letter is a vowel, the preceding stem gets the name of *bha* only and not that of *pada*. The result of which is that the hard consonants are not changed into soft. Thus the accusative Plural of दन्त is दन्तः. The Instrumental singular is इता ॥ The त् is not changed to द् by the जङ् rule. But before the affixes beginning with consonants, the preceding stem gets the name of *Pada* and we have the softening of the consonants, as इङ्गवाम् &c. Similarly Ac. Pl. नासः, Ins. Sg. नासि. Before the affix भ्याम् the स of नास् will

be changed to ह which will be changed to व which being elided, we have the forms बाभ्याम्, बाभिः ॥

२३३ । अस्य । ६ । ४ । १२९ ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

233. Whatever will be taught in the following up to the end of the sixth Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19 S. 231 and 1896).

२३४ । अह्लोपोऽनः । ६ । ४ । १३४ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानव्यञ्जिस्त्वादिषो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

234. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

२३५ । रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । ८ । ४ । १ ॥

एकपदस्याभ्यां रक्षकाराभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । यूष्णः यूष्णा । पूर्वस्यापि विधौ स्थानिवद्भाव इति पक्षे तु अङ्गवयव इत्येवाम् ज्ञेयम् । * पूर्वचासिद्धीयेन स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य लोपः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वेऽपि निषेधात् ॥

235. After र् and ष, the णू is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

Therefore the Ac. Pl of यूषन् is formed by eliding the अ and changing the न् into ण; as यूष्णः; Ins. Sg. यूष्णा ॥

If we apply the rule of स्थानिवद्भाव by sūtra अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ (I. 1. 57 S. 50), and this we can do by explaining the compound pūrva-vidhau = purva-smād vidhau meaning "when a rule is to be applied on account of or after something which precedes the substitute" and consider the लोप to be स्थानिवद् to अ, in that case also the न् will be changed to ण by the rule VIII. 4. 2 S. 197. i. e. न् is changed to ण even when a vowel intervenes. But as a matter of fact, the लोपादेश is not स्थानिवद् according to the following vārtika.

Vārtika :—In the last three chapters of the 8th Book of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, the rule of स्थानिवद् will not apply.

२३६ । नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य । ८ । २ । ७ ॥

नेति प्रातिपदिकेति च सुप्रसङ्गीके पदे । प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञकं यत्पदे तदन्तस्य नकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वादीर्यत्वमेत्यमैस्त्वं च न । यूषभ्याम् । यूषभिः । यूषभ्य इत्यादि ॥

236. The न् at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17 S. 230.), is elided.

The words न and प्रातिपदिक in the text are to be taken in the genitive case ; the sign of the genitive being elided here.

The elision of न् by this Sūtra being considered asiddha for the purposes of the application of the previous Sūtras, there is not the lengthening

of sūtra VII. 3. 102 S. 202. or the ह् substitution of VII. 3. 103. S. 205. or the ह् substitution of VII. 1. 9. S. 203. Therefore the forms are ब्रूयाम् and not ब्रूयाम् ; ब्रूयामि and not ब्रूयैः ; ब्रूयामः and not ब्रूयैः ॥

२३७ । विभाषा डिङ्योः । ६ । ४ । १३६ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयजाविस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपो वा स्यान् डिङ्योः । ब्रूणि । ब्रूयणि । पक्षे रामवन् । पक्षत्रितिसूत्रे प्रभृतिग्रहणे प्रकारार्थम् । तथा च । औङः श्यामपि रोषत्रादेशो भाष्ये ककुद्दोषणी इत्युदाहृतः । तेन 'पक्ष्त्रिभरणोऽस्त्रियां, स्वान्तं हन्मानसं मन' इति च संगच्छते । आसन्त्यः । रोषशब्दस्य नपुंसकत्वमप्यत एव भाष्यात् । तेन दक्षिणे रोर्निशाचर इति संगच्छते । भुजबाहू प्रवष्टौ चारिति साहचर्यात्पुंस्त्वमपि । दोषं तस्य तथाविधस्य भजत इति । द्वयोरङ्गोर्भवो ब्रूहः ॥

237. In a Bha-stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As ब्रूणि or ब्रूयणि. In all other cases the word ब्रूयन् is declined like राम. The word डिङ्योः is a compound of ङि and ङी and not ङि for the stem is not Bha there.

The word प्रभृति in the sūtra VI. 1. 63 S. 228 is used in the sense of प्रकार i.e. the affixes therein taught, are illustrative only ; the substitution will take place even when a Sarvanāmasthāna affix follows. Therefore, where the dual affix औ is replaced by शी, and it is a Sarvanāmasthāna affix there also that rule VI. 1. 63 applies, for we have in the Bhāṣya the example of ककुद्दोषणी. Similarly also the following are valid : "पक्ष्त्रिभरणोऽस्त्रियाम्" here पाक्ष् is changed before the Nom. Sg सु ; which is not a weak affix, "स्वान्तं हन्मानसं मनः" here हृदय is changed to हृद in the Nom. Sg. These are from Amara-Kośha, and आसन्त्यं प्राणमूत्रुः "They (the Devas) said to the Prāṇa in the mouth" (Bṛhadāraṇyaka I. 3. 7). Here आस्य is changed to आसन् before the affix य । आसन्त्यं means that which is born in the mouth. The word दोष (hand) is used in the neuter gender in the Bhāṣya of Pāṇjali. Therefore the following usage is correct :—तमुपाद्रवदुष्यं दक्षिणे रोर्निशाचरम्, । रो is also masculine gender because it is used along with भुज बाहू प्रवष्टौः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word

२३८ । संख्याविंशत्यपूर्वस्याहस्याहनन्यतरस्यां ङौ । ६ । ३ । ११० ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्याहस्याऽहन्नादेशो वा स्यान् ङौ । ब्रूहि । ब्रूहिनि । ब्रूहे । विगतमहर्च्यहः । व्यहि । व्यहिनि । व्यहे । अहः सायः सायाहः । सायाह्नि । सायाह्नि । सायाह्ने ॥

238. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus द्वयोरहोर्भवः = ब्रह्मः, ॥ The Locative singular of this is ब्रह्मि or ब्रह्मनि, ॥ So also ब्रह्मे, ॥ With वि—व्यहि, व्यहनि, व्यहे with साय—सायाहि सायाहनि, सायाहे ॥ These are एकदेशेसमासः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने or मध्यम हनि, (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वाह्ने and अपराह्ने only.

Note.—The compounding in the above examples takes place by the rule II. 1. 51. S. 728., with the force of भव IV. 3. 11. S. 1381. Thus द्वि + अहन्. Here we add the Samāsanta affix टच् by the rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 and the अहन् is replaced by अह् by V. 4. 88. S. 790. While the तद्धितार्थ affix ठञ् which was ordained by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080.

Here ends the declension of masculine words ending in अ.

पाद

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	पादः	पादम्	पादेन or पदे	पादाय or पदे ।	पादान् or पदः	पादस्य or पदः	पादे or पदे
Dual	पादौ	पादौ	पादाभ्यां or पङ्क्त्याम्	पादाभ्यां or पङ्क्त्याम् ।	पादाभ्याम् पङ्क्त्यां	पादयोः or पदोः	पादयोः or पदोः
Plural	पादाः	पादान्	पादैः पङ्क्तिः	पादेभ्यः	पादेभ्यः	पादानां	पादेषु
		पदः		पङ्क्त्यः ।	पङ्क्त्यः	पदान्	पदेषु

दन्त (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS ARE SHOWN BELOW)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	दन्ता	दन्ते	दन्तः	दन्तः	दन्ति
Dual	...	दन्द्भ्याम्	दङ्क्त्याम्	दङ्क्त्याम्	दन्तोः	दन्तोः
Plural	दन्तः	दन्भिः	दन्भ्यः	दङ्क्त्यः	दन्ताम्	दन्तु

मास (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	मासा	मासे	मासः	मासः	मासि
Dual	...	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	मासोः	मासोः
Plural	मासः	माभिः	माभ्यः	माभ्यः	मासाश्च	मासु

यूष (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	यूष्णा	यूष्णे	यूष्णः	यूष्णः	यूष्णि
Dual	...	यूषभ्याम्	यूषभ्याम्	यूषभ्याम्	यूष्णोः	यूष्णोः
Plural	यूष्णः	यूषाभिः	यूषभ्यः	यूषभ्यः	यूष्णाम्	यूष्णु

Now, we take up the declension of the masculine words ending in आ such as विश्वपा.

२३६ । दीर्घाज्जसि च । ६ । १ । १०५ ॥

दीर्घाज्जसि इचि च परे प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णशीर्षो न स्यात् । वृद्धिः । विश्वपौ । सवर्णशीर्षः । विश्वपाः यद्यपीह षोडशि नादिष्वीत्येव सिद्धं जसि तु सत्यपि पूर्वसवर्णशीर्षे क्षतिर्नास्ति तथापि गौर्यौ गौर्य इत्याद्यर्थे सूत्रमिहापि न्याय्यत्वादुपन्यस्तम् ॥

239. The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

The long vowel required by VI. 1. 102, S. 164. does not take place in the case of words ending in long vowels. Thus Nominative Singular of विश्वपा is विश्वपाः ; Nom. Dual विश्वपा + औ = विश्वपौ by the general rule of Vṛddhi and Nom. Pl. is विश्वपाः by lengthening the homogeneous letters अ and आ.

In the declension of विश्वपा the above forms are regularly obtained. In the case of Nom. Dual, the lengthening required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is debarred by VI. 1. 104 S. 165. as well. In the case of Nom. Pl. विश्वपा + अस् (अस) there will be no harm if VI. 1. 102 S. 164 be applied, for even that rule will give the form विश्वपाः. Therefore in the case of विश्वपा the present Sūtra is not absolutely necessary. But we have given it here for the sake of logical consistency, for this Sūtra applies to stems ending in long vowels like गौरी, the Nom. Dual and Pl. of which will be गौर्यौ and गौर्यः respectively.

२४० । आतो धातोः । ६ । ४ । १४० ॥

आकारान्तो यो धातुस्तदन्त्यस्य भस्याऽङ्गस्य लोपः स्यात् । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । विश्वपः । विश्वपा । विश्वपाभ्यामित्यादि । एवं शङ्खध्मादयः । धातोः किम् । हाहान् । दा सवर्णशीर्षः । हाहा । डे वृद्धिः । हाहे । डसिङ्सोऽशीर्षः । हाहा । ओसि वृद्धिः । हाहोः । डो आद्गुणः । हाहि । शेषे विश्वपावत् । आत इति योगविभागादधातोरेष्याकारलोपः क्वचित् । क्तवः अः ॥

240. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

The *lopa* will be of the final vowel by I. 1. 52 S. 42. Therefore Accu. Pl. will be विश्वपः ; Inst. Sing. विश्वपा ; विश्वपाभ्याम् &c.

Like विश्वपा should be declined, शङ्खध्मा &c. Why do we say the आ of a root? Observe हाहान् (the accusative Pl. of हाहा). Its Instr. Sing. will be हाहा + दा = हाहा by lengthening of homogeneous vowels. Its Dat. Sing. will be हाहा + डे = हाहे by Vṛddhi. Its Abl. and Geni. Sing. will be हाहा + ङसि or ङस् = हाहाः by lengthening. Its Gen. and Loc. dual will be हाहा + ओस् = हाहौः

by Vṛiddhi. Its Loc. Sing. will be हाहा + ङि = हांह by guṇa. The rest are like विश्वपा.

By the rule of *yoga vibhaga* (योगविभागविट् सिद्धिः) i. e. "From a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we may derive such results as may be desirable," the present Sūtra may be divided into two Sūtras eg. (1.) आतः, the final आ of a Bha stem is always elided; (2) धातोः, the final आ of a Bha Stem when it ends in a root is always elided. Thus are formed क्तवः and इनः the Genitive Singulars of Ktvā and śnā. For Pāṇini himself has declined क्त्वा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37. S. 3332 (समासेऽनञ्पूर्वेक्तोत्थप्) and III. 1. 83. S. 2557. (हलः इनः शानञ्ज्ञौ)

Here ends the declension of words ending in long आ.

विश्वपा

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	विश्वपाः	हे विश्वपाः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपा	विश्वपे	विश्वपाः	विश्वपः	विश्वपि
Dual	विश्वपौ	„ विश्वपौ	विश्वपौ	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाः	विश्वपोः
Plural	विश्वपाः	„ विश्वपाः	विश्वपः	विश्वपाभिः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपास्तु

हाहा

Singular	हाहाः	हे हाहाः	हाहाम्	हाहा	हाहै	हाहाः	हाहाः	हाहे
Dual	हाहौ	„ हाहौ	हाहौ	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहौः	हाहौः
Plural	हाहाः	„ हाहाः	हाहान्	हाहाभिः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाम्	हाहास्तु

Now we take up the declension of the word हरि. The Nom. sing. will be हरिः. Nom. Dual will be हरि + औ = हरी by lengthening the preceding vowel VI. 1. 102. S. 164. The Pl. is हरि + अस् ॥ Here applies the following.

२४१ । जसि च । ७ । ३ । १०९ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः स्याज्जसि परं । हरयः ॥

241. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

Therefore the इ of हरि is *gunated* to ए. Thus हरि + अस् = हरे + अस् = हरयः । The Vocative Sing. will be हरि + सु Here the following rule applies.

२४२ । ह्रस्वस्य गुणः । ७ । ३ । १०८ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः स्यात्संबुद्धौ । एङ् ह्रस्वाविति संबुद्धिलोपः । हे हरे । हरिम् । हरी । हरीन् ॥

242. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

Therefore the इ of हरि is changed to ए and the affix is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus we get हे हरे.

The Acc. forms are हरिम्, हरी, हरीन्.

The Instr : sing is हरी + दा. Here the following two rules apply.

२४३। शेषो घ्यसखि । १। ४। ७ ॥

अनदीसंज्ञौ ह्रस्वौ याविदुतौ तदन्तं सखिवर्जं घिसंज्ञं स्यात्। शेषः किम्। मत्त्ये। एकसंज्ञाधिका शास्त्रिणे शेषग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम्। ह्रस्वौ किम्। वातप्रम्ये। इदुतौ किम्। मात्रे ॥

243. The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

Thus हरि is a ghi word. Why do we say 'the rest of the words'? Observe मत्त्ये, for मति being a feminine noun does not get the name of ghi but retains its name of *nadi*; for otherwise its declension will be मतये, formed by applying the rule VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VII. 3. 111 S. 245 But, मतये is of course a wrong form. Though by the rule I. 4. 1. S. 232 if the word gets its designation ghi, it can never get the designation nadi and *vice versa*, and मति which is a nadi word can never be called *ghi*, and so even if the word शेष had not been used in the sūtra, there would not have been any fear of मति being confounded with a *ghi* word, still शेष is used in the sūtra for the sake of precision and clearness. Why do we say short इ and उ? Observe वातप्रम्ये ॥ Why do we say इ and उ? Observe मात्रे ॥

Note:—This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word shesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory न, the ghi nouns guṇate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + डे = अग्ने + ए = अग्नये "to the fire." So also वायु + डे = वायवे "to the wind." But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ.

२४४। आडो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ७। ३। १२० ॥

धेः परस्याडो ना स्यादस्त्रियाम्। आडिति दासंज्ञा प्राचाम्। हरिणा। अस्त्रियां किम्। मत्या ॥

244. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

The word आङ् is the ancient name of the affix दा. Thus हरि + दा = हरि + ना = हरिणा. Why do we say when they are not feminine? Observe मति + दा = मत्या.

Now we form the Dat: Sing. हरि+ङे. Here applies the following Sūtra.

२४५। घेङिति। ७। ३। १११॥

घिसंज्ञकस्य ङिति सुपि गुणः स्यात्। हरये। घेः किम्। सख्ये। ङिति किम्। हरिभ्याम्। सुपि किम्। पट्ठी। घेङितीति गुणे कृते ॥

245. For the ह् and उ of the stems called घि (I. 4. 7.) Guṇa is substituted in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular.

Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये. Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. only? Observe हरिभ्याम् ॥ The word case-ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्ठी &c. ॥

The word पट्ठी is formed by adding डीष् to पट् (IV. 1. 44 S. 502). डीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङिन् and is added to पट् which is घि ॥

Thus हरि+ङे=हरं+ए=हरये.

Now we form the Ablative singular, हरि+ङसि=हरे+अस् (the ह् of हरि is *guṇated* by the present Sūtra). At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

२४६। ङसिङसोश्च। ६। १। ११०॥

एङो ङसिङसोरति परे पूर्वपक्षेकादेशः स्यात्। हरेः। हयोः। हरीणाम् ॥

246. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word), +अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Therefore हरे+अस्=हरेः The genitive dual will be हयोः The pl. हरीणाम् ॥

Now, we form the Loc. Sing. हरे+ङि=हरे+इ ॥ (The ह् is *guṇated* by the preceding sūtra). At this stage applies the following rule.

२४७। अच्घेः। ७। ३। ११९॥

इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य डेरौत्स्याद् घेरन्तादेशश्चाकारः। हरो। हयोः। हरिषु। एवं श्रीपत्यग्निरविकृत्या-
हयः ॥

247. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short ह् or उ, औ is substituted for the ह् of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

Therefore हरि+इ=हरं+औ=हरौ ॥ The Loc. du. and pl. will be हयोः and हरिषु respectively.

श्रीपति, अग्नि, रावि, कवि &c. are declined like हरि ॥

DECLENSION OF हरि

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Sing.	हरिः	हे हरे	हरिम्	हरिणा	हरये	हरेः	हरेः	हरो
Dual.	हरी	„ हरी	हरी	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हयोः	हयोः
Plural.	हरयः	„ हरवः	हरीन्	हरिभिः	हरिभ्यः	हरिभ्यः	हरीणाम्	हरिषु

—:O:—

Now we decline the word सखि ॥ There applies the following rule.

२४८ । अनङ् सौ । ७ । १ । ६३ ॥

सख्युरङ्गस्याऽनङादेशः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे । डिच्चेत्यन्तदेशः ॥

248. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

Thus सखि + सु = सखन् + सु ॥ The अनङ् being a डिन् augment, replaces the final only, and not the whole (I. I. 53 S.43). Now apply the following rules.

२४९ । अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्वं उपधा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

अन्त्यादलः पूर्वो वर्ण उपधासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

249. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

Therefore in सखन्, the अ of ख is penultimate or उपधा. Being उपधा, the following rule applies to this अ.

२५० । सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ । ६ । ४ । ८ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया वीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

250. In a stem ending in न् the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

Therefore, the अ is lengthened and we have सखान् + स्. Now the affix स् consists of a single letter and is called अपृक्त by the following rule.

२५१ । अपृक्त एकाक्षप्रत्ययः । १ । २ । ४१ ॥

एकाक्षप्रत्ययो यः सोऽपृक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

251. An affix consisting of a single letter is called [an *Aprikta*.

The result of this सू being called अपृक्त is that it is elided by the following rule.

२५२ । ह्रस्व्याब्ज्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् । इ । १ । ६८ ॥

हलन्तात्परं दीर्घौ यौ ह्यापौ तदन्ताच्च परं सुतिसीत्येतदपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते । ह्रस्व्याब्ज्यः किम् । घामणीः । दीर्घात्किम् । निष्क्रौशाब्ज्यः । अतिखट्वः । सुतिसीति किम् । अभिस्सीन् तिपा सहचरितस्य सिपा ग्रहणात्सिचो ग्रहणं नास्ति । अपृक्तमिति किम् । विभर्ति । हल् किम् । विभेदः । प्रथमहल् किम् । राजा । नलोपो न स्यात् संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सखा । हे सखे ॥

252. After a consonant, there is the elision of the nominative-affix सू, and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix सू ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्त हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after consonant and hence we have translated it as above.

Why do we say “after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ”? Observe घामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say “after a long-vowelled feminine affix”? Observe निष्क्रौशाब्ज्यः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say “when followed by सु ति, and सि”? Observe अभिस्सीन् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say ‘when reduced to a single letter’? Observe विभर्ति । Why do we say ‘the consonant is elided’? Observe विभेदः ॥ Here the aprikta affix अ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why do we say ‘first consonant’? Observe राजा.

Why has the elision of सू (सु), त् (तिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, तक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन् + सू = राजान् + सू (VI. 4. 8. S. 250) = राजान्सु and by eliding स by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान् and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope,

since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्,) is considered as if it had not taken effect.

Thus Nom. Sg सखा Voc Sg. हे सखे In forming the Dual सखि + औ the following rules apply.

२५३। सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ। ७। १। ६२॥

सख्युरङ्गात्परं संबुद्धिवर्जं सर्वनामस्थानं निष्कार्यकृत् स्यात् ॥

253. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vriddhi according to the following rule:—

२५४। अचो ङिति। ७। १। ११५॥

अिति णिति च परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य वृद्धिः स्यात्। सखायौ। सखायः। सखायम्। सखायौ। विसंज्ञाऽभावात् तत्कार्यम्। सख्या। सख्ये ॥

254. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ or ण्, Vriddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus सखि + औ = सखे + औ = सखायौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. सखायः, Acc. Sing. सखायम्, Acc. dual सखायौ. ॥

Instrumental Sing. will be formed by the affix दा; and as the word सखि is not a चि word (See I. 4. 7. S. 243) it does not take न or गुण as required by VII. 3. 120. S. 244 or VII. 3. 1. S. 245. Thus we have सखि + षा = सख्या.

Dative Sing. will be सखि + ए = सख्ये.

In forming the Ablative and Genitive, the following rule applies:—

२५५। ख्यत्यात्परस्य। ६। १। ११२॥

खितिषाब्दाभ्यां खीतीषाब्दाभ्यां कृतयणवैशाभ्यां परस्य ङसिङ्सोरत उत्स्यात्। सख्युः ॥

255. There is the substitution of उ for अ of अस्र of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङ्सोः and उत् are understood here also. The ख्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and ख्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि + अस्र = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: सख्येन वर्तते = सख्यः, सख्यामच्छति = सख + क्यच् (III. 1. 8.) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्विप् to the Denominative root सखीय we get सखी: 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी + अस्र = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्विप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive

singular of which is also लुङ्, the न् of लुङ् being the substitute of न् of Nishṭhā is considered like न् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of सख्य and सखि in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c: where we have अतिसखः, केनापते: ॥ The word अतिसखि is चि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim महणवत्ता प्रतिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ “That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself”. According to some this rule applies to all स्त्री and त्री, such as सुखी: one who loves pleasure’ (सुखं निच्छति = सुखाय + क्विप्). and सुती: ‘one who wishes a son’ (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय + क्विप्) Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

२५६ । औत् । ७ । ३ । ११८ ॥

इदुद्भ्यां परस्य डेरौत्स्यात् । उकारानुवृत्तिरुत्तरार्था । सख्यौ । कोषं हरिवत् । शोभनः सखा सुसखा । सुसखायौ । सुसखायः । अनङ्गिद्वक्त्रावयोरङ्गत्वात्तदन्तेऽपि प्रवृत्तिः । समुदायस्य सखिरूपत्वाभावादसखीति निषेधप्रवृत्तेरिदंज्ञा । सुसखिना । सुसख्ये । ङसिङ्सोर्युगे कृते कृत्यणादेशत्वाभावात् ख्यत्वादिष्युत्वं न । सुसखेः । सुसखौ इत्यादि । एवमतिशयितः सखा अतिसखा । परमः सखा यस्येति विभक्तेः । परमसखा । परमसखायावित्यादि । गौणत्वेऽप्यनङ्गित्वे प्रवर्तते सखीमतिक्रान्तोऽतिसखिः । निङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्न ढष् । हरिवत् । इहानङ्गित्वे न भवतः । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वेन सौख्यशब्दस्य लाक्षणिकत्वात् । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव महणात् ॥

256 After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Locative Singular.

As सख्यौ the rest of the declension of this word is like हरि.

But the declension of this word, when it forms the final member of a compound, is somewhat different. Thus the word सुसखा meaning a good friend, is declined as सुसखा, सुसखायौ, सुसखायः. Here the adding of the affix अनङ् (VIII. 1. 93. S. 248.) and treating the case affixes as णिन् as required by VII. 1. 92. S. 253. are operations which relate to the अङ्ग. or base and therefore those rules apply not only to the single word सखि but to a compound word also that ends in सखि. But the compound word सुसखि has not exactly the same form as सखि, therefore the rule I. 4. 7. S. 243 which makes the specific mention of the word सखि does not apply to सुसखि. Therefore the word सुसखि is चि and its Instrumental and Dative will be सुसखिना and सुसख्ये ॥ Similarly in Ablative and Genitive singulars the इ being *gunated* by VII. 3. 111 S. 245 the last rule will not apply, because here the bases are सुसखे + अस् and सुसखे + ङसि and सुसखे + ङि. The last and the present rules apply only to that form of सखि where the खि is changed to ख्य.

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of चि words औ preceded by अ substitution of चि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadi and ghi.

Therefore the Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular of सुसखा will be सुसखेः, सुसखेः and सुसखौ respectively.

Similarly the compound word अतिसखि meaning 'one who has thrown away his friend' (सखा masculine) is declined like सुसखा ॥

But the word परमसखा when treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, meaning 'he whose friend is the Supreme' may give rise to a difficulty. For, here सखि is merely a secondary word, the real word being the object denoted by the word परमसखि. We therefore cannot treat सखि to be the अङ्ग or base, as we treated it in the case of the word सुसखा. How is this word परमसखि to be declined? It is declined like सुसखा, for though the word सखि here is merely a secondary word and not the base or अङ्ग, yet the rules of अनङ् and णिन् apply to this case also. Thus परमसखा and परमसखायौ &c.

Now in the declension of the word अतिसखि when it is a compound meaning 'he who has thrown away his friend' (सखी feminine) the affix टच् does not apply, because the rule which says that the Masculine includes the feminine is not universal. That rule is thus enunciated : प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् *i. e.* 'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived from it by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.' Now applying this Paribhāṣha to rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 which declares that the affix टच् is added to the words rājan, ahan, and sakhi when at the end of a compound, the Masculine word सखि would include the feminine word सखी also and therefore the form ought to be अतिसख and not अतिसखि. This anomaly, however, is prevented by the fact that the above Paribhāṣha is not universal. The word अतिसखि is declined like हरि and not like the word सखि; and therefore अनङ् and णिन् do not apply. Because, the word सखी has been shortened to सखि by the rule I. 2. 48, S. 656 and this सखि is, therefore, merely a secondary word and not an original word like the सखि in सुसखि &c, above given. Therefore, the following Paribhāṣha applies to this word :—लक्षणप्रतिपक्षोक्तयोः &c. *i. e.* "Whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar,—or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed."

२५७ । पतिः समास एव । १ । ४ । ८ ॥

पतिशब्दः समास एव घिसंज्ञः स्यात् । पत्यां । पत्ये । पत्युः । पत्यौ । षोर्षं हरिवत् । समासे तु भूपतिना । भूपतये । कतिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः ॥

257. The word pati is called ghi, only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the sūtra I. 4. 7. S. 243; the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या 'by the lord' but 'भूपतिना by the lord of the worlds.' So also पत्ये and भूपतये; पत्युः and भूपते; पत्यौ and भूपतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four ङिन् affixes by VII. 3. III.

Now we take up the declension of the word कति which is always plural. This word is called संख्या or a numeral as well as षट् by the following two rules, and therefore, there is some peculiarity in its declension.

२५८ । बहुगणवतुडति संख्या । १ । १ । २३ ।

एते संख्यासंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

258. The words bahu 'many,' gaṇa 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and ḍati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyā).

The word कति is formed by the affix डति therefore it is a Sankhyā.

२५९ । डति च । १ । १ । २५ ॥

इत्यन्ता संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

259. And the sankhyās ending with the affix ḍati are called śaṭ.

Because the word कति is formed by the affix डति, therefore it is called षट्. The result of being called षट् is that the declensional affixes are elided. The elision of an affix generally takes place by using one of the three words as given in the following Sūtra.

२६० । प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः । १ । १ । ६१ ॥

लुक्श्लुलुपाद्यैः कृतं प्रत्ययादर्शनं क्रमात्तन्मसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

260. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term *luk*, that disappearance gets the appellation of *luk*, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms *ślu* or *lup*, the disappearance gets the name of *ślu* or *lup*.

The nominative and accusative affixes after the word कति are elided by using the term लुक्, as is shown in the following Sūtra.

२६१ । षड्भ्यो लुक् । ७ । १ । २२ ॥

षड्भ्यः परयोर्जडशसोर्लुक् स्यात् ॥

261. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24 S. 369).

Therefore कति + जस् or कति + शस् = कति + O or कति + O. Now, what is the effect of this zero, does it produce its action on the stem or does it not? Naturally one would have thought, that when an affix is elided, with it must also vanish all the operations that that affix would have caused on the base. But this is not the case by the following Sūtra.

२६२ । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । १ । १ । ६२ ॥

प्रत्यये लुप्तेऽपि तदाश्रितं कार्यं स्यात् । इति जसि चेति गुणे प्राप्ते ॥

262. When elision of an affix has taken place (*lopa*), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependent upon it, take place as if it were present.

Therefore though जस् is elided after कति, yet it would cause the *guṇa* of the इ of कति, by VII. 3. 109 S. 241. Therefore the इ of कति requires to be *guṇated*; but this contingency is prevented by the following Sūtra.

२६३ । न लुमताङ्गस्य । १ । १ । ६३ ॥

लुक् इलु लृप् एते लुमन्तः । लुमन्ता षड्भ्येन लुप्ते तन्निमित्तमङ्गकार्यं न स्यात् । कति । कतिभिः कतिभ्यः । कतिभ्यः । कतीनाम् । कतिषु । अस्मद्युष्मत्पदसंज्ञकास्त्रिषु सरूपाः । त्रिषड्भ्यो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । वयः । धीन् । त्रिभिः त्रिभ्यः ॥

263. Of the base (*anga*), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, लृप्, or लृप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix

by force of the words लुक् &c. ; and by the word लोपः ॥ In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not. Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base ; such as *guṇa* &c.

Thus we have कति (Nom Pl) कति (Acc. Pl); कतिभिः (Instr, Pl); कतिभ्यः (Dat. Pl); कतिभ्यः (Abl. Pl); कतिनाम् (Gen. Pl) कतिषु (Loc. Pl).

The word अस्मद् (I,) युष्मद् (Thou), and the words called षद् as defined above are alike in the three genders. Therefore the word कति is masculine, feminine and neuter.

The word त्रि is always used in the Plural. Thus त्रयः, (Nom. Pl.); त्रीन् (Acc. Pl.); त्रिभिः (Instr. Pl.) त्रिभ्यः (Dat. Pl.) त्रिभ्यः (Abl. Pl.) But the Genitive Plural is formed in accordance with the following sūtra.

२६४। त्रैस्त्रयः। ७। १। ५३ ॥

त्रिष्वदस्य त्रयदेशः स्यादिति ॥ त्रयाणाम्। परमत्रयाणाम्। गौणत्वे तु नेति केचित्। प्रियत्रीणाम्। वस्तुतस्तु प्रियत्रयाणाम्। त्रिषु। द्विशब्दो नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः ॥

264. त्रय is substituted for त्रि before the Genitive Plural affix आम् ॥

As त्रयाणाम् (त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda ; as त्रीणामपि सप्तद्विषाणाम् ॥) When the word त्रि forms the last member of a compound, even then also its declension is as above ; as परमत्रयाणाम्. But some say that in those compounds where त्रि is not a principal word, but only a secondary member of a compound, there this substitution will not take place. According to them the form would be प्रियत्रीणाम्. But the proper form is प्रियत्रयाणाम् here also.

The Locative Plural will be त्रिषु.

Now we take up the declension of the word द्वि which is always used in the Dual Number.

The first rule that applies to it is the following.

२६५। त्यदादीनामः। ७। २। १०२ ॥

एषामकारोऽन्तरेषाः स्याद्विभक्तौ। द्विपर्यन्तानामेवेष्टिः। द्वौ २ द्वाभ्याम् ३। द्वयोः २। द्विपर्यन्तानां किम्। भवान्। भवन्तौ। भवन्तः॥ संज्ञायाद्युपसर्जनत्वे च नास्त्वम्। सर्वाद्यन्तर्गणकार्यत्वात्। द्विनाम कश्चित्। द्विः। द्वौ। द्वावतिक्रान्तोऽतिद्विः। हरिवत्। प्राधान्ये तु परमद्वौ इत्यादि। औदुलोमिः। औदुलोमी। बहुवचने तु उदुलोमाः। लोमोऽपत्येषु बहुवचनकारा वक्तव्यः। बाह्वादीमोऽपवादः। औदुलोमिम्। औदुलोमी उदुलोमान्।

265. For the final of त्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Now the question is what are the त्यदादि words. त्यदादि words belong to the class of सर्वनाम and form a sub-division of it and would have been the

following, viz :—*स्यद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अदम्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु* and *किम्* but the *ishti* given below excludes the last four words from the list of *स्यदादि*.

Ishti :—The *स्यदादि* sub-division begins with the word *स्यद्* and ends with the word *द्वि* (inclusive).

The word *द्वि* belongs to the class of *स्यदादि* and therefore its final *इ* is changed to *अं* before the affixes, that is the base assumes the form of *द्व*.

Thus *द्वौ* (Nom. Dual); *द्वौ* (Acc. Dual); *द्वाम्भ्याम्* (Instru, Dative and Ablative Duals) *द्वयोः* (Genitive and Locative Duals). Why have we said that the *स्यदादि* words do not include the last four words? Observe the declension of *भवतु* which is declined as *भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः* (Nom. Sing.; Dual and Plural).

When *स्यदादि* words are used as *संज्ञा* (appellative), or, *उपसर्जन* (secondary members of a compound), then their final is not replaced by *अं*. Suppose the word *द्वि* is the name of a person, then it will be declined as *द्विः* (Nom, Sing.) *द्वौ* (Nom. Dual); *द्वयः* (Nom. Pl.)

Similarly, when the word *द्वि* is an *उपसर्जन* as *अतिद्वि* (he who excels *द्वि*), it will be declined as *अतिद्विः* (Nom. Sing.), that is like *हरि*.

But when *द्वि* is the principal member of a compound, the *अं* substitution will take place; thus *परमद्वौ* &c.

The word *औडुलोमि* is thus declined :—*औडुलोमिः* (Nom. Sing.) *औडुलोमी* (Nom. Dual), but the Nom. Pl. will be *उडुलोमाः* by the following *Vartika*.

Vartika :—After the word *लोमन्* the affix *अ* comes in the Plural number denoting the descendant. This *Vartika* debarb the *इञ्* affix of IV. 1. 96. S. 1096.

The Accusatives will be *औडुलोमिम्* (Sing.); *औडुलोमी* (Dual); *उडुलोमान्* (Plural).

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short *इ*

Masculine long ई

वातप्रमीर्गिष्ठादिसूत्रेण भाङ् ईप्रत्ययः स च किन् । वातं प्रमिमीते वातप्रमीः । ईर्षाज्जासि च । वातप्रम्यौ । हे वातप्रमीः ॥ आम पूर्वः ॥ वातप्रमीम् । वातप्रम्यो । वातप्रमीन् । वातप्रम्या । वातप्रमीभ्याम् ३ । वातप्रम्यं । वायप्रम्य २ । वातप्रम्योः २ । वातप्रम्यम् । ईर्षित्वात्र जुद् । डौं तु सवर्णईर्षः । वातप्रमी । वावप्रमीषु । एवं यथापप्यायः । यान्त्यनेनेति यथीमार्गः । पाति लोकमिनि पपीः सूर्यः । यापोः किद् चेति ईप्रत्ययः । क्रिवन्तवातप्रमीशब्दस्य तु अमि शसि डौ च विशेषः । वातप्रम्यम् । वातप्रम्यः । वातप्रम्यि । एरनेकाच्च इति वक्ष्यमाणो यण् प्रधीवन् । बह्वचः भ्रयस्योयस्य स बहुप्रयसी । ईर्षक्यन्त्वाङ्गलङ्कारिणं सुलांषः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word *वातप्रमी*. This word is

formed by the Uṇādi affix long ई (See Uṇādi Sūtras Chapter III. 158 and Chapter IV. 1.) added to the root मा to measure, 'The word literally means 'wind measurer' or 'moving swift as the wind'. It is the name of a kind of an antelope. The affix ई of वातप्रमी is कित् (Uṇādi Chapter III. 159.) Therefore वातप्रमा + ई = वातप्रमी. The long मा being elided by the rule VI. 4. 64 S. 2372.

The Nom. Sing. is वातप्रमी : ॥ The dual is formed thus :—वातप्रमी + औ. Here the rule VI. 1. 102 S. 164. required the substitution of a single long ई in the place of ई + औ. But this is prevented by the rule VI. 1. 105. S. 239. and we get the regular form वातप्रम्यौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. वातप्रम्यः । The Voc. Sing. हे वातप्रमीः. The Acc. Sing. is thus formed :—वातप्रमी + म्. The single substitution required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is set aside by VI. 1. 105. S. 239. But this latter rule is set aside by the Apavāda rule VI. 1. 107. (भानि पूर्वः) S. 194. by which there is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the म् of the case ending म्. Therefore the Acc. Sing. is वातप्रमीम्. The Acc. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रम्यौ and वातप्रमीन्. The Inst. Sing. is वातप्रम्या. The Ins. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रमाभ्याम् and वातप्रमीभिः. The Dat. forms are वातप्रम्ये वातप्रमीभ्याम् वातप्रमीभ्यः. The Abl. Sing. is वातप्रम्यः. The Genitive Sing. and Dual are वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्योः. The Genitive Pl. is वातप्रम्याम्. The augment नुट is not added, because the word ends in a long vowel.

The Loc. Sing. is thus formed वातप्रमी + इ, = वातप्रमी. The Loc. Pl. is वातप्रमीषु ॥

So the words वशी (literally that which goes or carries one, that is "a horse" or "a road;") and षशी (that which protects or drinks or the sun and moon) are declined like वातप्रमी. These words are also formed by the affix ई (Uṇādi III. 159).

If the word वातप्रमी be derived by क्तिप् and not कित् ई then in the Acc. Sing. and Pl., and Loc. Sing. the forms will be वातप्रम्यम्, वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्यि respectively. वातप्रमी may be derived by क्तिप् in this way. वातप्रमी निव आचरति इति वातप्रमी. Here it is a Denominative verb in the sense of āchāra, formed by the affix क्तिप् (III. 1. 10 and II S. 2664 and 2665) and to this Denominative root, क्तिप् is added again in the sense of agent (III. 2. 76 S. 2983). The Acc. S. therefore is, वातप्रमी + म् = वातप्रम् + य + म्. Here य is substituted by VI. 4. 82. S. 272 and the word is declined like प्रशी.

Now we take up the declension of the word बहुश्रेयसी (one possessed of many admirable qualities). The word श्रेयस् is formed by the affix ईयसुन् added to श् the substitute of प्रशस्त्र (V. 3. 60. S. 2009). To this is added the affix ङीप् by IV. 1. 6. S. 455 to form the feminine श्रेयसी.

The Nom. Sing. of बहुभ्रयसी is बहुभ्रयसी + सु = बहुभ्रयसी + o (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 282).

The Nom. Dual and Pl : are बहुभ्रयस्यौ, बहुभ्रयस्यः .

The formation of Voc. Sing. is peculiar and the following rules apply.

*Note :—*The word बहुभ्रयसी is a Bahu-vrihi compound. There is पुंवशाच by the rule VI. 3. 34. S. 831. The Samāsanta affix कप् is not added because of the rule V. 4. 156. S. 894. The long ई required to be shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656 is prohibited by the Vārtika under V. 4. 156. S. 894.

‘ २६६ । यू स्याख्यौ नदी । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

इवून्तौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गौ नदीसंज्ञौ स्तः । प्रथमलिङ्गग्रहणं च । पूर्वं स्याख्यस्योपसर्जनत्वेऽपि नदीत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

266. Word-forms ending in long î and û, being names of females which are always feminine are called Nadi.

The word यू is a compound of ई + ऊ. The word sryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇi has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī ‘a virgin’ यवागू yavāgūḥ ‘rice gruel.’

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the Dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the Dative of दुहितृ will be दुहिते .

Why do we say ‘which are feminine’ ? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणीः ‘leader of a village’; सेनानीः ‘leader of an army’; खलपूः ‘a sweeper’; their Dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये खलप्ये.

Why have we used the word ākhyā ‘name’ in the text? Because the feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै, and खलप्ये स्त्रियै .

*Vartika :—*The gender of the word as originally used should be taken and not the gender of the Compound word. Here the original word रयसी is feminine and though the Compound word बहुभ्रयसी is Masculine still for the purposes of getting the designation of Nadi the whole word बहुभ्रयसी will be treated as Nadi, though भ्रयसी in this Compound word is merely secondary member (upasarjana).

Therefore बहुभ्रयसी getting the designation of Nadi is affected by the following rule in forming its Vocative.

२६७ । अम्भार्यनद्योर्ह्रस्वः । ७ । ३ । १६७ ॥

अम्भार्यानां नद्यन्तानां च ह्रस्वः स्यात् संकुटौ । हे बहुभ्येयसि । शसि बहुभ्येयसीन् ।

267. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the words called Nadi.

Thus हे बहुभ्येयसि.

The Acc. Sing and Dual are बहुभ्येयसीन्, बहुभ्येयस्यौ respectively.

The Acc. Pl. is बहुभ्येयसीन्

There is no peculiarity in the Instrumental forms.

In forming the Dative forms, the following rules apply.

२६८ । आण नद्याः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

नद्यन्तात्परेषां ङितामाङगमः स्यात् ।

268. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. after the stem called Nadi.

When this आद् is added, there is the single substitution of a Vṛiddhi Vowel by the following rule.

२६९ । आटश्च । ६ । १ । ६० ॥

आटोऽपि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । बहुभ्येयस्यै । बहुभ्येयस्याः । नद्यन्तात्परस्वाम्नुद् । बहुभ्येयसीनाम् ।

269. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आद् is followed by any vowel.

The आद् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadi*-words (VII. 3. 112). बहुभ्येयसी + आद् + डे = बहुभ्येयस्यै (Dative Singular). (The आद् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेट्), similarly, बहुभ्येयस्याः

The augment नुद् is added to the Genitive Plural by VII. 1. 54. S. 208. As बहुभ्येयसीनाम्.

For the formation of the Loc. Sing. the following rule applies.

Note.—The anuvritti of एषि ceases: that of अषि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आद्, and the आद् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आद् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आद् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत् औद्भीति, औद्भीत् from roots ईक्षर्षने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ हज आर्जवे (Tud. 20).

Note—The च् 'and' in the sūtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. i. 95, 96 when उद्, ओँ and आह् follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आद् ॥ Thus औसीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ + ऊढा = ओढा, तामैच्छत् = औढायत् ॥

२७० । डेराम् नद्यास्त्रीभ्यः । ७ । ३ । ११६ ।

नद्यन्तादाबन्तास्त्रीषाञ्च डेराम् स्यात् । इह परस्वादादा नुङ् बाध्यते । बहुभ्येयस्याम् । षोषमीप्रत्ययान्तवातप्रमीयत् । अङ्बन्तस्यान् पुलोपः । अतिलक्ष्मीः । षोषं बहुभ्येयसीयत् । कुमारीमिच्छन् कुमारीवाचरन्वा ब्राह्मणः कुमारी । वयजन्तादाचारकिवबन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्विप् । इलङ्याविति पुलोपः ।

270. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadi, after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

The augment नुद् is not added to this आम् but only to the आम् of Genitive Plural; because नुद् of the Sūtra VII. 154, S. 208 is superseded by the subsequently taught augment आद् of the VII. 3. 112. S. 268.

Thus बहुभ्येयसी + ङि = बहुभ्येयसी + आद् + ङि (VII, 3. 112. S. 268) = बहुभ्येयसी + आद् + आम् = बहुभ्येयस्याम् ॥

The rest of the declensions of बहुभ्येयसी are like those of वातप्रमी ॥

The declension of the word अतिलक्ष्मी is as follows :—

Nom. Sing. is अतिलक्ष्मीः ॥ Here the affix सु is not elided as in the last case, because ई of लक्ष्मी is part of the word लक्ष्मी and is not a feminine affix and therefore the rule 'इलङ्याप्' (VI. 1. 68. S. 252) does not apply. The rest of the declensions are like those of बहुभ्येयसी ॥

Note.—The word लक्ष्मी is formed by the Unadi affix ई (Unadi Sūtras III. 160 लक्षेर्मुद्च, as लक्ष् + मुद् + ई = लक्ष्मी) ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Masculine word कुमारी ॥ This word, though ordinarily feminine, when it is derived from the Denominative root कुमारी meaning a Brahman who desires a कुमारी or acts like a कुमारी (III. 2. 76. S. 2983) is Masculine, namely, the Denominative Verb कुमारी considered to be formed by the affix क्यच् (III. 1. 8 or III. 1. 10 S. 2657 or 2664). with the affix क्विप् of III. 2. 76.

Note.—As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खट्वायाम्, बहुरात्रायाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-भ्रामण्यम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word ग्रामजी is formed by क्विप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न् is changed to ण by अग्र ग्रामाभ्याम्; and the यण् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

Thus कुमारी + सु = कुमारी ॥ सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252.

In forming the Dual, the following rules apply.

२७१ । अचि श्रुधातुभ्रुवां च्वोरियङ्वङौ । ६ । ४ । ७७ ॥

सुप्रत्ययान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधातोर्भ्रुइत्यस्य चाङ्गस्येयङ्वङौ स्तोऽजासौ प्रत्यये परे । ङिभेल्यन्ता-
रेषाः । आन्तरन्त्याहोरियङ् ओरुवङ् इतीयङि प्राप्त ॥

271. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of उ, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भ्रू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

The substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् have indicatory ङ and therefore they are applied at the end and by the rule of nearness of substitutes इयङ् replaces इ and उवङ् replaces उ (whether long or short). Thus कुमारि + औ = कुमारि + इय + औ . But this is prevented by the next Sūtra.

Note:—Similarly आप्नुवन्ति, राप्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from the roots of the 5th class. चिभियतुः लुलुवतुः, लुलुबुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भ्रुवौ and भ्रुवः ॥

२७२ । एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य । ६ । ४ । ८२ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इवर्णस्तदन्ता यो धातुस्ततन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजासौ प्रत्यये परे । इति यण् । कुमार्यौ । कुमार्यः । हे कुमारि । अमि शसि च । कुमार्यम् । कुमार्यः । कुमार्यै । कुमार्-
र्याः २ । कुमारीणाम् । कुमार्थाम् । प्रधीः । प्रध्यौ । प्रध्यः । प्रध्यम् । प्रध्यः । उन्नयतीत्युन्नीः । धातुना संयो-
गस्य विशेषणादिह स्यादेव यण् । उन्न्यौ । उन्न्यः । हे उन्नीः । उन्न्यम् । डेराम् । उन्न्याम् । एवं भ्रामणीः ।
अनेकाचः किम् । नीः । नियौ । नियः । अमि शसि च परस्वारियङ् । नियम् । नियः । डेराम् । नियाम् ।
असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । सुभ्रियौ । यवक्रियौ । गतिकारकतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नश्यते । शुद्धधियौ । परमधियौ
कथं तर्हि दुर्धियो वृश्चिकभियेत्यादि । उच्यते । दुःस्थिता धीर्येषामिति विग्रहे दुरित्यस्य धीशब्दं प्रति गतित्व-
मेव नास्ति । यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस्तं प्रत्येव गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाः । वृश्चिकशब्दस्य बुद्धिकृतमपादानत्वं नेह विव-
क्षितम् । वृश्चिकसंबन्धिनी भीर्वृश्चिकभीरित्युत्तरपदलोपो वा ॥

272. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

Thus instead of इयङ् we get यण् Aḍeśa, therefore कुमारि + औ = कुमार्यौ; कुमारि + जस् = कुमार्यः ।

The Voc. Sing is हे कुमारि ॥ The Acc. Sing, Dual and Pl. are कुमार्यम्, कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः There are no peculiarities in the Instrumental forms.

The Dative Sing is कुमार्यै. The Ablative and Genitive Singulars are कुमार्याः ॥ The Genitive Pl. is कुमारीणाम् ॥ The Loc. Sing. is कुमार्थाम् ॥

The word प्रधी is thus declined :—प्रधाः, प्रध्यौ, प्रध्यः, प्रध्यम्, प्रध्यः &c. This word is derived from the root ध्या with the prefix प्र. The य is changed to इ by Unādi IV. 115. Thus प्रध्य + क्तिप् = प्रधि. The short इ is lengthend by VI. 4. 2. S. 2559. So we have प्रधा.

The declension of the word उन्नी । It is formed by adding the prefix उत् to the verb नी. Therefore this long ई cannot be said to be preceded by a conjunct consonant, for the conjunct consonant of the Sûtra means the conjunct consonant of the verbal root and not the conjunct consonant obtained by adding a prefix to the simple root like नी. Therefore, the present Sûtra applies to उन्नी which is declined as उन्नीः, उन्न्यौ; उन्न्यः; हे उन्नीः; Acc. Sing उन्न्यम्, Loc. Sing उन्न्याम् ॥

In the same way should be declined the word ग्रामणी, the Nom. Sing of which is ग्रामणीः ॥

How do you explain the forms बुधियः where there is not यण though दुर is a Gati, and the word वृश्चिकभयः where the word वृश्चिक is a Kâraka ? We reply that the preposition दुर is not a Gati with regard to the word धी, because we analyse the word as दुःस्थिता धीर्येषां, a Bahuvrihi compound, in which दुर is Gati with regard to the word स्थित understood. This compound is formed by the Vârtika प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्य &c. (II. 2. 24. S. 830.) by which the subsequent term स्थित is elided after the Gati word दुर. In fact, the word Gati is a relative term with regard to the verb which a preposition immediately qualifies, and not with regard to any other verb with which it may be accidentally in contact. Similarly वृश्चिकभीः should not be analysed as an Ablative compound (पञ्चमी तत्पुरुष समासः) formed by 1. 4. 25. S. 588., as वृश्चिका द्विभति = वृश्चिकभीः, but as वृश्चिक-सम्बन्धिनीः भीः ॥ In the first case the compound would mean 'a person afraid of a scorpion'; in the other case, which is applicable here, the fear arising from a scorpion. In the second case वृश्चिक is not a Kâraka with regard to भी. Therefore the vârtika applies to it.

२७३ । न भूसुधियोः । ६ । ४ । ८५ ॥

एतयोर्यण् न स्यादचि सुपि । सुधियौ । सुधिय इत्यादि । सखायमिच्छति । सखीयति । ततः क्विप् । अल्लोपयलोपौ । अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवच्चाद्याणि प्राप्ते । क्वौ लुप् न स्थानिवन् । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्गित्वे । सखा । सखायौ । सखायः । हे सखीः । अग्नि पूर्वरूपात्परत्वाद्याणि प्राप्ते ततोऽपि परत्वात्सख्युरसंबुद्धाविति प्रवर्तते । सखायम् । सखायौ । शसि यण् । सख्यः । सह खेन वर्तते इति सखः । तमिच्छतीति सखीः । सुखमिच्छतीति सुखीः । सुतमिच्छतीति सुतीः । सख्यौ । सुख्यौ । सुयौ । ख्यत्यादिति दीर्घस्यापि ग्रहणादुकारः । सख्युः । सुख्युः । सुत्युः । लूनमिच्छतीति लूनीः । क्षाममिच्छतीति क्षामीः । प्रस्तीमिच्छतीति प्रस्तीमीः । एषां ङसिङ्सोर्यण् । नत्वमत्वयोरसिद्धत्वात् ख्यत्यादिभ्युत्वम् । लून्युः । क्षाम्युः प्रस्तीम्युः । शुष्की-यतेः क्विप् । शुष्कीः । इयङ् । शुष्कियौ । शुष्कियः । ङसिङ्सोः शुष्किय इत्यादि ॥

273. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभु-प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी-सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥

Now, we take up the example of a word formed from a Denominative root, namely, the word सखी which is thus formed सखायं इच्छति = सखीयात् (i.e. he who desires a friend). Thus the root सखीय is a Denominative root, to this is added the affix क्तिप् and the letters ख and य are both elided. Here the elision of य being considered as स्थानिवत्, there would be यणादेश under the previous Sûtra in declining the word सखी. This is prevented by the following.

Vârtika:—when there is elision before the affix क्तिप् the elision is not considered as *sthânavat*.

The rules by which the word सखी is formed are the same which have been already referred to in forming the word कुमारी as explained under VII. 3. 116. S. 270. In declining this word सखी which means "he who desires a friend" the same rules are to be applied which were applied to the word सखि meaning a friend (see VI. 1. 68 and VII. 2. 115. S. 252, 254), because of the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्गत्वे ॥ Therefore we get the Nominative forms सखा; सखायौ; सखायः, Voc. हे सखीः. The Acc. Sing is सखायम्. It is thus formed सखी + अम्. Here VI. 1. 107. S. 194 requires Pûrva-rûpa, that is सखीम्. But that rule is set aside by the subsequent rule VI. 4. 82. S. 272. requiring यण् which would have given the form सख्यम्. Both these forms are wrong, for the last rule even is set aside by the subsequent rule VII. 1. 92. S. 253. Hence the form सखे + अम् = सखायम् ॥

The Acc. Dual is सखायौ. The Acc. Pl. is सख्यः for the Acc. Pl. not being a Sarvanâmasthâna, there is regular Sandhi. There is no peculiarity in other cases of this word सखी, meaning 'one who desires a friend'.

There is another word सखी which is thus formed सह खेन वर्तते इति सखः. It is a Bahu-vrîhi compound formed by II. 2. 28. S. 848. The सह is changed to स by VI. 3. 82 S. 849. In forming the Denominative verb from this सख, we add the affix क्यच् by III. 1. 8. S. 2657. Then, we add long ई by VII. 4. 33 S. 2658. and thus we get the Denominative root सखीय. From this root, we get the masculine noun सखी with the affix क्तिप् on the analogy of the previous word.

Similarly are also formed the words सुखी meaning 'one who desires happiness'; and सुती meaning 'one who desires a son'. The declension of these words is as follows :—Nom. Sing. सखीः ; सुखीः ; सुतीः. The dual is सख्यौ ; सुख्यौ ; सुतौ, The Abl. and Gen. Singular forms are सख्युः ; सुख्युः ; सुत्युः ; by applying the sutra VI. 1. 112. S. 255.

Similarly the words ह्वीः ; शमीः ; प्रस्तीमीः meaning respectively 'one who desires cut off things' e. g. flowers &c; 'one who desires Vishnu'; and 'one who desires crowd' &c. are to be declined.

Note.—The word लून is the past participle of the root लृ to cut; the *nishthā* त is changed to न by VIII. 2. 44. S. 3018. क्षाम is the past participle of the root क्षे to wane, the त is changed to म by VIII. 2. 53. S. 3032. Similarly प्रस्तीम is the past participle of the root स्त्रे to make noise, preceded by the preposition प्र. The *nishthā* त is changed to न by VIII. 2. 54. S. 3034. The *Samprasāraṇa* takes place by VI 1. 23.

The Nom. Sing forms are लूनाः; क्षामीः; प्रस्तीनीः. In other cases their declension is like the word सुती &c., except the Abl. and Gen; Sing. Here in these cases the words do not really end in स्त्री and ती and therefore the rule VI. I. 112 S. 255. is not strictly applicable to them, but as the न of लून and the म of क्षाम and प्रस्तीम are substitutes of त and as these are taught in the *Tripādi*, namely the last three chapters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, therefore the न and म substitutions are considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the rule contained in the 7¼ adhyāyas. In other words these words are considered as लूती; क्षाती; प्रस्तीनी; and the rule VI. I. 112. S. 255 applying to them; we have the Abl; and Genitive Sing forms as लून्युः; क्षाम्युः; प्रस्तीम्युः ॥

But the declension of the similarly formed word शुष्की, derived from the noun शुष्क through the derivative verb शुष्कीय with the affix क्तिप् is different. शुष्क is the past participle of the root शुष् where the *nishthā* त is changed to क by VIII. 2. 51. S. 3030. Thus the Nom. Sing. is शुष्कीः. The Nom. Dual and Pl are शुष्कियौ; and शुष्कियः with the affix इयङ् by VI. 4. 77. S. 271 and not with यङ् because the long ई is preceded by a conjunct consonant. The Abl and Geni; singular is शुष्कियः &c.,

Similarly पक्की is formed from the past participle पक्क where the *Nishthā* त is changed to क VIII. 2. 52. S. 3031 after the root पच् 'to cook.'

Here ends the declension of the masculine words ending in long ई ॥

—:o:—

शंभुर्हरिवन् । एवं विष्णु वायु भान्वादयः ॥

Declension of Masculine words ending in उ ॥ The declension of the word शम्भु is like that of हरि ॥ So also of विष्णु; वायु, भानु ॥

The declension of the word क्रौष्टु is somewhat different in the first five cases, where the following rules apply.

२७४ । तृज्वत्क्रौष्टुः । ७ । १ । ६५ ॥

क्रौष्टुशब्दस्त्वृजन्तेन तुल्ये वर्तते असंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । क्रौष्टुशब्दस्य स्थाने क्रौष्टुशब्दः प्रयोक्तव्य इत्यर्थः ॥

274. The word क्रौष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तृच् (तृ) ॥

Note:—The word कौष्टु is declined like कौष्ट in the strong cases. As कौष्टौ, कौष्टौरे, कौष्टौरः, कौष्टौरम्, कौष्टौरी ॥ But कौष्टून् in weak cases, and हे कौष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तुच् affix, i. e. acute on the final. The word कौष्टु is formed by the affix तुन् (Un सितनिगमि &c, 1. 69).

The word कौष्टु is treated as कौष्ट and therefore the rules applicable to the words ending in क् apply to it, viz, the following Sūtras.

२७५ । ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोः । ७ । ३ । ११० ॥

ङौ सर्वनामस्थाने च परे ऋन्ताङ्गस्य गुणः स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

275. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

This rule requires कौष्टु to be changed to कौष्टर्, but this is prevented by the following.

२७६ । ऋदुशानस्पुरुदंसोऽनेहसां च । ७ । १ । ९४ ॥

ऋन्तानामुशानसादीनां चानङ् स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे ॥

276. Anaṅ (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ as well as for the final of uśanas, puru-danśas, and anehas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

२७७ । अण्त्तुच्स्वसृनप्तनेष्ट्वष्टृक्षत्तुहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तृणाम् । ६ । ४ । ११ ॥

अबादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । नप्त्रादिग्रहणं व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । तेन पितृभ्रातृपृथ्वीनां न उद्गातृशास्त्रस्य तु भवत्येव । समर्थसूत्रे उद्गातार इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । कौष्टा । कौष्टौरे । कौष्टारः । कौष्टारम् । कौष्टौरी । कौष्टून् ॥

277. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अण्, in stems formed by तुन् and तुच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्तृ ॥

The words नप्तृ &c., in this sūtra are taken to denote *Niyama*, for if नप्तृ &c. be taken as derivative words formed with the affix तुन् or तुच्, there was no necessity of their separate mention in this sūtra, because the word तुन् and तुच् of the sūtra would have included them. Therefore we say the inclusion of these words shows *Niyama*, or restriction, namely, other derivative words formed by the Unādi affixes तुन् and तुच् are not governed by this rule, such as the words पितृ भ्रातृ &c. But the word उद्गातृ is governed by this rule, because we find the उद्गातारः in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus we get the forms कौष्टा ; कौष्टारः ; कौष्टारम् ; कौष्टौरी ; कौष्टून् ॥

In the Instrumental and other cases, there are double forms and the following rules apply:—

२७८ । विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि । ७ । १ । ९७ ॥

अजादिषु तृतीयादिषु क्रोष्टुर्वा तृज्वन् । क्रोष्टा । क्रोष्ट्रे ॥

278. क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshtṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्ट्रौ or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टो, क्रोष्टैरि or क्रोष्टो, क्रोष्ट्रौः or क्रोष्ट्रोः ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टूभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes.

In forming the Abl. and Genitive, the following rules apply.

२७९ । ऋत उत् । ६ । १ । १११ ॥

ऋतान् ङसिङ्सोरति परे उकार एकादेशः स्यात् । स्परस्वम् ॥

279. In the room of ऋ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

*Note:—*Thus होतृ+अस्=होतुस् (The उ must always be followed by † I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ+अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces two, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतृ=होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

१८० । रात्सस्य । ८ । २ । २४ ॥

रेफात्संयोगान्तस्य सस्यैव लोपो नान्यस्य । रेफस्य विसर्गः । क्रोष्टुः । आमि परत्वान्त्वज्ज्वावे प्राप्ते ।

* नुमच्चिरतृज्वज्ज्वाभ्यो नुद पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । क्रोष्टूनाम् । क्रोष्टरि । क्रोष्ट्रौः । पक्षे हलासौ च संभुवन् ॥

280. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus क्रोष्टृ+अस्=क्रोष्टुर्स् ॥ Here the final स् is elided and the र is changed to visarga. Thus we get क्रोष्टुः. Before the Gen: Pl: आम्, क्रोष्टु requires to be treated as क्रोष्टृ by VII. 1. 97. S. 278 but this is prevented by the following *Vārt:*—नुम् and नुद augments come in supersession of the Trich-vadbhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun

प्रियक्रोष्टु will be प्रियक्रोष्टुने ऽण्मात्र. हिनक्रोष्टुने वृषलकुलाय, and not 'क्रोष्ट्रे ॥ Similarly with नुद्, as क्रोष्टुनाम् ॥

The Loc. forms are क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टा; क्रोष्ट्रा; &c.

Before affixes beginning with consonants there is only one form.

Note:—The word क्रोष्टु is formed from the root क्रुष् to cry' or 'to cail' with the affix तुन् by the Unādi I. 69. Similarly the word क्रोष्ट्र is formed from the same root with the affix तृच् ॥ Both words denote the same object, i. e. 'a jackal'. But the word क्रोष्टु is defective in the first five cases, where क्रोष्ट्र supplies the want.

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short उ ॥

—:O:—

हूहूः हूहौ । हूहः । हूहम् । हूहौ । हूहूनित्यादि । अतिचमृशब्दे तु नशीकार्ये विशेषः । हे अतिचमृ । अतिचम्वै । अतिचम्व्याः २ । आतचमृनाम् । अतिचम्व्याम् । खलपूः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of Masculine words ending in long ऊ ॥ As हूहू (name of a celestial songster). The Nom : and Acc : forms are हूहूः ; हूहौ ; हूहः । हूहम् ; हूहौ ; हूहून् &c.

In declining the word अतिचमृ', the *Nadi* rules will apply, i. e. I. 4. 3. S, 266, 267, 268 &c. The Voc. Sing. is therefore. हे अतिचमृ ॥ The Dat : Sing is अतिचम्वै ; Abl : and Gen. singular अतिचम्व्याः ; Gens ; Pl : अतिचमृनाम् ; Loc. Sing अतिचम्व्याम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of the Noun खलपू ॥ The Nom. Sing : is खलपूः ॥

In forming the Nom ; Dual the following rule applies :

२८१ । ओः सुपि । इ । उ । ८३ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य उवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजादौ सुपि । गतिकारकेतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नेष्यते । खलप्वौ । खलप्व इत्यादि । एवं सुल्वावयवः । अनेकाचः किम् । हूः । लुवौ । लुवः ॥ धात्ववयवेति किम् । उल्लूः । उल्लूः । उल्लूः । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । कटपुवौ । कटपुवः । गतीत्यादि किम् । परमलुवौ । सुपि किम् । लुलुवतुः । स्रभूः । न भूसूधियाः ॥ स्वभुवौ । स्रभूः ॥

281. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded if by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper' :—d. खलप्वौ, pl. खलप्वः ; so also शतस्रौ and शतस्रः, and सकल्लूः dual सकल्लवौ and सकल्लवः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes (non—सुप्) ; लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only). Why do we say forming part of the root? Observe, उल्लूः ; उल्लवौ ; ल्वः ॥ Here the conjunct consonant is not part of the root but is

part of the preposition उत् + लृ = उल्लृ ॥ Why do we say when not preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe कट्भूः, कट्भुवौ, कट्भुवः । Why do we say that the first member must be a Gati or a Kāraka? Observe. परमलृ, परम लुवां ; परमलुवः ॥ Why do we say when a *case-affix* follows? Observe लुलुवतुः ॥

But the declension of the word स्वभू is not governed by this rule but by VI. 4 85. S. 273. Thus Nom: forms are स्वभूः ; स्वभुवौ ; स्वभुवः ॥ So also स्वयंभूः ॥

But the declension of the Noun वर्षाभू (the frog) is different and is governed by the following rule.

२८२ । वर्षाभूश्च । ६ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अस्यावर्णस्य यण स्यादचि सुपि । वर्षाभूवौ । वर्षाभूवः । हम्भवतीति हम्भूः । अन्तुहम्भूजम्भूकफेलक-
कन्धूविधिषूरिस्थुणाविसूत्रेण व्युत्पादितः । हम्भूवौ । हम्भवः । हम्भूभू । हम्भवौ । हम्भून् । शेषं हूहवन् । हन्नि-
नान्तं हिंसार्थेऽव्यये भुवः क्तिप् । हन्भूः । हन्कारपुनःपूर्वस्य भुवो यण वक्तव्यः । हन्वौ । हन्भव इत्यादि खल-
पवन् । करभूवौ । करभूवः । वीर्यपाठे तु कर एव काः । स्वार्थिकः प्रज्ञायण् । कारभूवौ । कारभूवः । पुनर्भूयो-
गिकः पुंसि । पुनर्भूवित्यादि । हम्भूकाराभूशब्दौ स्वयंभूवन् ॥

282. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभूवौ, वर्षाभूवः ॥

This is an exception to rule S 273.

The words अन्तु, हम्भू, जम्भू, कफेल, कर्कन्धू, विधिषू are Unādi formed words under Unādi sūtras I. 96. Thus कृभूः “an author” or “a reciter”; हम्भाः ; हम्भवः ; हम्भूभू ; हम्भवौ ; हम्भून्, The rest of the declensions is like those of हृहृ ॥ The word हम्भू is formed from the root हम्भ् with the affix ऊ (technically कु) ॥ But there is another word हन्भू (meaning a kind of tree, snake or monkey) formed from the indeclinable word हन् to injure and the verb भू with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The declension of this word is governed by the following

Vārt.—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू, as हन्वौ, हम्भवः, पुनर्भूवौ, पुनर्भवः काराभूवौ (काराभूवौ). काराभवः (काराभवः) ॥

In this vārtika, one reading is कर, and another reading is कार, namely करभू or कारभू (the meaning of both is the same, because कार is formed by the affix अण् without changing the sense, under sūtra V. 4. 38, S. 2106).

The word पुनर्भू must be taken as a masculine derivative word, and not the word पुनर्भू which is always feminine.

The Nouns हम्भू and काराभू are declined like स्वयंभू ॥

Note.—According to Eastern Grammarians, these two words are declined like वर्षाभू ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculines in long ऊ ॥

Declension of masculines ending in क्.

धाता । हे धातः । धातारौ । धातारः ॥ क्ववर्णान्नस्य णत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ धातूणामित्यादि । एवं नञ्चादयः । उदातारौ । पिता । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नञ्चादिग्रहणस्य नियमार्थस्वान्न कीर्षः । पितरौ । पितरः पितरम् । पितरौ । शेषं धातुवत् : एवं जामातृभ्रात्रादयः । ना । नरौ । नरः । हे नः ॥

We take up the declension of the word धातु. It is governed by the rules already referred to before, namely VII. 3. 110. S. 275 ; VII. 1. 94. S. 276., VI. 1. 111. S. 279. and VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus धाता; धातारौ; धातारः Voc. हे धातः

Vartika :—After words ending in क्, the dental न is changed to cerebral ण.

Therefore Genitive Pl : is धातूणां ॥

The declension of नञ् &c mentioned in VI. 4. 11. S. 277. is like धातु ॥ So also that of उदातु ॥

But the declension of पितृ is not like this. पितृ is a Uṇādi formed word, about which there are two views. Some consider Uṇādi affixes as no affixes at all, and therefore Uṇādi words, as रुढि words. Others consider such words as derivative. According to the first view, the declension of पितृ is governed by VII. 3. 110. S. 275. and the क् of पितृ is guṇated. Thus Nom. Dual and Pl : are पितरौ; पितरः.

According to the second view, the word पितृ is considered to be formed with the affix तृण् and तृच् added to the root पा 'to protect' by Uṇādi sūtra II. 94. Then the sūtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277 is read in a restrictive sense, by taking the word नञ् as restricting the rule only to नञ् &c and not to पितृ. Therefore, we never have पितारौ but always पितरौ. Thus पिता, पितरौ, पितरः ; पितरम्, पितरौ. The rest of the declensions is like those of धातु. The words जामातृ, भ्रातृ &c are to be similarly declined.

	No.n	Acca.	Instr.	Dati.	Abl.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing	धाता	धातारं	धात्रा	धात्रे	धातुः	धातुः	धातरि
Dual	धातारौ	धातारौ	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धात्राः	धात्रोः
Plural	धातारः	धातून्	धातृभिः	धातृभ्यः	धातृभ्यः	धातूणाम्	धातृषु
-----:0:-----							
Sing	पिता	पितरं	पित्रा	पित्रे	पितुः	पितुः	पितरि
Dual	पितरौ	पतरौ	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पित्रोः	पित्रोः
Plural	पितरः	पितृन्	पितृभिः	पितृभ्यः	पितृभ्यः	पितृणां	पितृषु

The declension of the Noun नृ is ना, नरौ, नरः The Voc. Sing. is हे नः ॥

In the Genitive Plural there are two forms according to the following rule.

२८३ । नृ च । ६ । ४ । ६ ॥

नृ इत्येतस्य नामि वा दीर्घः स्यात् । नृणाम् । नृणाम् ।

283. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As स्वं नृणां नृप्ते, and स्वं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others it extends to secular literature also.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in short ऋ ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of masculines ending in long ऋ ॥

कृ तृ अनयोरनुकरणे प्रकृतिवदनुकरणमिति वैकल्पिकातिदेशादिस्वे रपरत्वम् । कीः । किरौ । किरः । तीः । तिरौ । तिरः । इत्यादि गीर्वत् । इत्याभावपक्षे तु ऋदुशान इति ऋतो ङीति च तपरकरणा-
दनङ्युणौ न । कृः । क्रौ । क्रः । कृम् । क्रौ । कृन् । क्रा । क्रे इत्यादि ॥

कृ and तृ are two roots, when imitative names are formed, we get the nouns कृ and तृ ॥ These nouns are treated like verbs कृ and तृ on the following maxim. *Paribhāṣā*:—"An imitative name is like original." Therefore the rule VII. 1. 100 S. 2390. read with I. 1. 51. S. 70. applies to these words. Thus we have कृर् and तृर् as bases. Therefore the Nom. forms are कीः ; किरौ, किरः ; तीः, तिरौ, तिरः ; These are, in fact, declined like the nouns ending in consonant र् as गिर् ॥

The above *Paribhāṣā* is, however, optional and the इर् substitution may not take place. In that case, the rules VII. 3. 110 S. 275 and VII. 1. 95. S. 276 requiring the guṇation and अनङ् substitution do not apply, because those rules are confined to bases ending in short ऋ as the word ऋत् in those sūtras shows, for the indicatory तृ shows that the short ऋ is to be taken (see I. 1. 70 S. 15). Therefore, the declension of these words is कृः, क्रौ, क्रः ; कृम्, क्रौ ; कृन् ; क्रा, क्रे etc.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in long ऋ ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of Nouns ending in लृ ॥

गम्ह शक्त् अनयोरनुकरणेऽनङ् । गमा । शक्ता गुणविषये तु लपरत्वम् । गमलौ । गमलः । गमलम् । गमलौ । गमलन् । गम्ला । गम्ले । ङसिङ्सोऽस्तु ऋत उदित्युस्वे लपरस्वे संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । गमुल । शकुल । इत्यादि ॥

We take the declension of nouns गम्ह and शक्त् the imitative nouns formed from the roots गम्ह 'to go' and शक्त् 'to be able'. In the Nom. Sing. we have अनङ् by VII. 1. 94. S. 276, as गमा, शक्ता ॥ In the other strong cases, we have guṇa by VII. 3. 110 S. 275, as गमलौ ; गमलः ; गमलम्, गमलौ. गमलन् ; गम्ला ; गम्ले ॥

In Abl. and Gen : singular, the sūtra VI. 1. 111. S. 279 and I. 1. 51. S. 70 will apply. Therefore, the ल् + अ of the affix will be changed to उ followed by ल् ॥ Thus we have गम्ल् + अस् = गमुल् + स् ॥ The स् itself will be elided, because it is a final consonant. Thus, we have गमुल् ॥ So also शकुल् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ल् ॥

—:O:—

सेः । सद्यै । सद्यः । स्मृतेः । स्मृत्यौ । स्मृतयः ॥

Declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word से ॥ This word is thus formed; स + इः = सेः or स + ईः = सेः ॥ The short इ is the name of Kāma (Cupid), as it may be considered to be derived from the word अ meaning Vishnu with the अपत्य affix इ meaning the son of अ ॥ Similarly ई may be considered to be the feminine of अ, namely the wife of Vishnu. से may therefore mean 'he who is accompanied by Kāma' or 'he who is accompanied by Lakshmi.' Therefore, the word से is declined as सेः, सद्यै सद्यः ॥

Similarly the word स्मृते which has also two meanings, 'he who remembers Kāma (इ)' or 'he who remembers Lakshmi'. The word स्मृत being *Nishthā* is placed first in this Bahu-vrīhi compound by II. 2. 36 S. 899. Thus we get स्मृतेः, स्मृत्यौ; स्मृतयः ॥

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

-:O:-

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

We take the word गो; to which the following rules apply:—

२८४ । गोतो णित् । ७ । १ । ६० ॥

गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णित् स्यात् । गौः । गावौ । गावः ॥

284. The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations: such as Vṛiddhi &c. As गौः, गावौ, गावः ॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form यु, as in चित्रयुः, शबलयुः ॥

Note:—How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगवः? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनरवृत्तावविधि निहितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Angādhikāra VI, 4,—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the Angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3. 108-109, the णित् operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sūtra may be construed as Sam-

bandha-lakṣhaṇā Sasthi (a Genitive denoting a general relation): and the meaning will be "that sarvanāmasthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of ओ or 'cow'" While in चित्रशु, the sarvanāmasthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another *object*, namely to a 'person' who possesses brindled cows. न् in गात् in this view is for specification only.

२८५ । औतोऽमृशसोः । ६ । १ । ६३ ॥

आ ओत इति छेदः । ओकाराद्यमृशसोरचि परे आकार एकदेशः स्यात् । शसा साहचर्योत्सुंबव भव्य गृह्यते । नेह । भचिनवम् । असुनवम् । गाम् । गावौ । गाः । गवा । गवे । गोः । इत्यादि । औतो णिहिति वाच्यम् । विहितविशेषणं च । तेन । सुद्यौः । सुद्यावौ । सुद्यावः । ओकारान्ताद्विहितं सर्वनामस्थानमिति व्याख्यानान्नह । हे भानो । हे भानवः । उः शंभुः स्मृता येन सः, स्मृतौः । स्मृतावौ । स्मृतावः । स्मृतान् । स्मृतावौ । स्मृताः । इत्यादि ॥

285. For ओ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ ॥

The word औतः is a compound of आ + ओतः ॥ Thus गा + अम्, = गाम्, गो + अस् = गाः ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्यः ॥ This debar the Vṛddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also द्यां or द्याः पश्य; as the word द्यौ is also a nominal stem ending in ओ ॥ The Sārvanāmsthāna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) which would have caused Vṛddhi, therefore, this आ debar the Vṛddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix शस् and as the word सुप् of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have भचिनवम्, असुनवम् ॥ गाम्, गावौ ; गाः ; गवा ; गवे ; गोः etc.

Vārtika:—The sūtra VII. 1. 90 S. 284 should be read as औतोऽणित् meaning the ending of strong cases are णित् after bases ending in ओ ॥

Vārtika:—And the endings are णित् after those bases only which have ओ in them. Thus, the Noun सुद्यौ is declined as सुद्यौः ; सुद्यावौ, सुद्यावः ॥

Some read the sūtra as औतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to द्यौ also: as, द्यौः, द्यावौ, द्यावः ॥ If the reading be taken गौतः, then we extend this rule to द्यौ also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in ओ ; and this is done by the letter न् in गौतः, for the तपर rule applies to *letters*, and not to *words*, so that गौतः means and includes words ending in ओ ॥

The Sarva-nāma sthāna affixes are णित् only after original bases ending in ओ and not after a derivative base ending in ओ ॥ Therefore the Sarvanama sthāna affix सु or जस् coming after the base भानो, which the Noun भानु assumes in the Vocative case is not to be treated as णित्, because the ओ here is derivative. Therefore हे भानो, हे भानवः ॥

Similarly, the word स्मृता formed from स्मृत + उ meaning 'he wh

remembers उ or संभु', is declined as स्मृतोः, स्मृतावो, स्मृतावः; स्मृताम्, स्मृतावौ; स्मृताः etc.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ओ ॥

—:O:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ऐ.

We take the word रै (wealth).

२८६ । रायौ हलि । ७ । २ । ८५ ॥

रैशब्दस्याकारान्तादेशः स्याद्वलि विभक्तौ । अचि आयादेशः । राः । रायौ । रायः । रायम् । रायौ । रायः । राया । राभ्यामित्यादि ॥

286. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रै ॥

Before affixes beginning with vowels, the ऐ of रै is changed to आय् by the ordinary rules of Sandhi. Thus राः, रायौ, रायः; रायम्, रायौ, रायः; राया, राभ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ऐ.

—:O:—

Declension of Nouns ending in औ.

ग्लौ । ग्लावौ ग्लावः । ग्लावम् । ग्लावौ । ग्लावः । इत्यादि । औतोऽम्शसोरितिह न प्रवर्तते । ऐऔजिति सूत्रेण ओदेशतोः सावर्ण्याभावज्ञापनात् ॥

We take the word ग्लौ. It is declined as ग्लौः, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः, ग्लावम्, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः etc.

The sutra VI. 1. 93 S. 285 applied only to bases ending in ओ and not to those which end in औ. Because औ and औ are not savarṇa letters, a fact which we learn from Paṇini mentioning them separately in the Maheswara sūtras ए ओङ् and ऐ औच् .

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in vowels.

—:O:—

DECLENSION OF सखि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सखा	सखायं	सख्या	सख्ये	सख्युः	सख्युः	सख्यौ	हे सखे
Dual	सखायौ	सखायौ	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सख्योः	सख्योः	सखायौ
Plural	सखायः	सखीन्	सखिभिः	सखिभ्यः	सखिभ्यः	सखीनाम्	सखिषु	सखायः

शोभनः सखा=सुसखा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सुसखा	सुसखाय	सुसखिना	सुसख्ये	सुसख्यः	सुसखेः	सुसखौ	*सुसखे
Dual	सुसखाभौ	सुसखाभौ	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसख्योः	सुसख्योः	सुसखाभौ
Plural	सुसखायः	सुसखीन्	सुसखिभिः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखीनाम्	सुसखिषु	सुसखायः

पति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	पतिः	पतिम्	पत्या	पत्ये	पत्युः	पत्युः	पत्यौ	पते
Dual	पती	पती	पतिभ्यां	पतिभ्याम्	पतिभ्यां	पत्योः	पत्योः	पता
Plural	पतयः	पतीन्	पतिभिः	पतिभ्यः	पतिभ्यः	पतीनाम्	पतिषु	पतयः

भूपति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Ab.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	भूपतिः	भूपातिम्	भूपतिना	भूपतये	भूपतेः	भूपतेः	भूपतौ	भूपते
Dual	भूपती	भूपती	भूपतिभ्याम्	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपत्योः	भूपत्योः	भूपती
Plural	भूपतयः	भूपतीन्	भूपतिभिः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतीनाम्	भूपतिषु	भूपतयः

कति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	कति	कति	कतिभिः	कतिभ्यः	कतिभ्यः	कतीनाम्	कतिषु ॥

त्रि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	त्रयः	त्रीन्	त्रिभिः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रयाणाम्	त्रिषु

द्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Dual	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वभ्याम्	द्वो	द्वो	द्वयोः	द्वयोः

अतिद्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिद्विः	अतिद्विम्	अतिद्विना	अतिद्वये	अतिद्विः	अतिद्विः	अतिद्वौ
Dual	अतिद्वी	अतिद्वी	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्वयोः	अतिद्वयोः
Plural	अतिद्वयः	अतिद्वीन्	अतिद्विभिः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्वीनाम्	अतिद्विषु

औडुलोमिः

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
S.	औडुलोमिः	औडुलोमिम्	औडुलोमिना	औडुलोमये	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमे
D.	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोम्याः	औडुलोम्योः	औडुलोमी
P.	औडुलोमाः	औडुलोमान्	औडुलोमैः	औडुलोमेभ्यः	औडुलोमेभ्यः	औडुलोमानां	औडुलोमेषु	औडुलोमाः

वातप्रमी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	वातप्रमी	वातप्रमीम्	वातप्रमिना	वातप्रमये	वातप्रमेः	वातप्रमेः	वातप्रमे	हे वातप्रमी
							or वातप्रमिन् ;	
Dual	वातप्रमी	वातप्रमी	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रम्योः	वातप्रम्योः	"
Plural	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रमिन्	वातप्रमीभिः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रम्यान्	वातप्रमीषु	"
							or वातप्रम्यः,	

बहुश्रेयसी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	बहुश्रेयसी	हे बहुश्रेयसी	बहुश्रेयसीम्	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्यै
D.	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यां	"	"	बहुश्रेयस्योः	"
P.	बहुश्रेयस्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीन्	बहुश्रेयसीभिः	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीनाम्	बहुश्रेयसीषु

अतिलक्ष्मी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	अतिलक्ष्मी	हे अतिलक्ष्मी	अतिलक्ष्मीम्	अतिलक्ष्म्यै	अतिलक्ष्म्यै	अतिलक्ष्म्यै	अतिलक्ष्म्यै	अतिलक्ष्म्यै
D.	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यां	"	"	अतिलक्ष्म्योः	अतिलक्ष्म्योः
P.	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्मीन्	अतिलक्ष्मीभिः	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यः	"	अतिलक्ष्मीनाम्	अतिलक्ष्मीषु

कुमारी

	Nomi	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	कुमारी	कुमार्यम्	कुमार्या	कुमार्यै	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याम्	हे कुमारी
Dual	कुमार्यौ	"	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमार्योः	"	"
Plural	कुमार्यः	"	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीणां	कुमारीषु	"	"

प्रथी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing.	प्रथी	प्रथम्	प्रथ्या	प्रथ्यै	प्रथ्यै	प्रथ्यै	प्रथ्याम्	प्रथीः
Dual	प्रथ्यौ	प्रथ्यौ	प्रथीभ्यां	प्रथीभ्यां	प्रथीभ्याम्	प्रथ्योः	प्रथ्या	प्रथ्यौ
Plural	प्रथ्यः	प्रथ्यः	प्रथीभिः	प्रथीभ्यः	प्रथीभ्यः	प्रथ्याम्	प्रथीषु	प्रथ्यः

उन्नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	उन्नीः	उन्न्यम्	उन्न्या	उन्न्ये	उन्न्यः	उन्न्यः	उन्न्याम्	उन्न्नीः
Dual	उन्न्यो	उन्न्यो	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्न्योः	उन्न्योः	उन्न्यो
Plural	उन्न्यः	उन्न्यः	उन्नीभिः	उन्नीभ्यः	उन्नीभ्यः	उन्न्याम्	उन्नीषु	उन्न्यः

ग्रामणी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	ग्रामणीः	ग्रामण्यम्	ग्रामण्या	ग्रामण्ये	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यां	ग्रामणीः
Dual	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामण्याः	ग्रामण्याः	ग्रामण्या
Plural	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामणीभिः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामण्यां	ग्रामणीषु	ग्रामण्यः

नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	नीः	नियम्	निया	निये	नियः	नियः	नियाम्	नीः
Dual	नियौ	नियौ	नीभ्यां	नीभ्याम्	नीभ्याम्	नियोः	नियोः	नियौ
Plural	नियः	नियः	नीभिः	नीभ्यः	नीभ्यः	नियाम्	नीषु	नियः

Sing	सुत्नीः	सुत्न्यम्	सुत्न्या					
Dual	सुत्न्यौ	सुत्न्यौ						
Plural	सुत्न्यः	सुत्न्यः	like	प्रधीः				

शंभु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	शंभुः	शंभुम्	शंभुना	शंभवे	शंभोः	शंभोः	शंभौ	शंभो
Dual	शंभू	शंभू	शंभुभ्याम्	शंभुभ्यां	शंभुभ्यां	शंभोः	शंभोः	शंभू
Plural	शंभवः	शंभून्	शंभुभिः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभुनाम्	शंभुषु	शंभवः

क्रोष्टु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	क्रोष्टा	क्रोष्टाम्	क्रोष्टा क्रोष्टुना	क्रोष्टे क्रोष्टवे	क्रोष्टुः क्रोष्टोः	क्रोष्टुः क्रोष्टोः	क्रोष्टि क्रोष्टेष्ट
Dual	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टाः	क्रोष्टोः
Plural	क्रोष्टारः	क्रोष्टून्	क्रोष्टुभिः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टूनां	क्रोष्टुषु

हृहृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	हृहृः	हृहृम्	हृह्रा	हृह्रे	हृह्रः	हृह्रः	हृह्रां
Dual	हृह्रौ	हृह्रौ	हृहृभ्याम्	हृहृभ्यां	हृहृभ्यां	हृह्रोः	हृह्रौ
Plural	हृह्रः	हृह्रः	हृहृभिः	हृहृभ्यः	हृहृभ्यः	हृह्राम्	हृह्रषु

खलपू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Singular	खलपूः	खलपूम्	खलपूना	खलपूने	खलपूना	खलपूः	खलपूनि
Dual	खलपूवौ	खलपूवौ	खलपूभ्यां	खलपूभ्यां	खलपूभ्याम्	खलपूवोः	खलपूवौ
Plural	खलपूः	खलपूः	खलपूभिः	खलपूभ्यः	खलपूभ्यः	खलपूः	खलपूषुः

स्वभू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	स्वभूः	स्वभूम्	स्वभूना	स्वभूने	स्वभूना	स्वभूः	स्वभूनि
Dual	स्वभूवौ	स्वभूवौ	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभूभ्याम्	स्वभूवोः	स्वभूवौ
Plural	स्वभूः	स्वभूः	स्वभूभिः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभूः	स्वभूषुः
Singular	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूम्	वर्षाभूना	वर्षाभूने	वर्षाभूना	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूनि
Dual	वर्षाभूवौ	वर्षाभूवौ	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूवोः	वर्षाभूवौ
Plural	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूभिः	वर्षाभूभ्यः	वर्षाभूभ्यः	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूषुः

नृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	नृ	नरम्	नृ	नृ	नृः	नृः	नरि
Dual	नरौ	नरौ	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	नृभ्याम्	नृवोः	नरौ
Plural	नरः	नृन्	नृभिः	नृभ्यः	नृभ्यः	"	नृषु

कृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कीः	किरम्	किरा	किरे	किरः	किरः	किरि
Dual	किरौ	किरौ	कीभ्याम्	कीभ्याम्	कीभ्याम्	किरौः	किरौ
Plural	किरः	किरः	कीभिः	कीभ्यः	कीभ्यः	किरा	कीर्षु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कृः	कृम्	का	के	कः	कः	क्रि
Dual	क्रौ	क्रौ	कृभ्यां	कृभ्यां	कृभ्याम्	क्रौः	क्रौ
Plural	क्रः	कृन्	कृभिः	कृभ्यः	कृभ्यः	का	कृषु

गम्लृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गमा	गमलम्	गम्ला	गम्ले	गम्लृ	गम्लृ	गमालि
Dual	गमलौ	गमलौ	गम्लृभ्याम्	"	गम्लोः	गम्लोः	गम्लोः
Plural	गमलः	गम्लृ	गम्लृभिः	गम्लृभ्यः	"	गम्लृणां or गम्लृणां	गम्लृषु

से

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	सेः	सद्यम्	सद्या	सद्ये	सद्यः	सद्यः	सद्यि
Dual	सद्यौ	सद्यौ	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सद्योः	सद्योः
Plural	सद्यः	सद्यः	सेभिः	सेभ्यः	सेभ्यः	सद्याम्	सेषु

गो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गोः	गाम्	गवा	गवे	गोः	गोः	गवि
Dual	गावौ	गावौ	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गवोः	गवोः
Plural	गावः	गाः	गोभिः	गोभ्यः	गोभ्यः	ग	गावु व म्

स्मृतो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	स्मृतोः	स्मृतान्	स्मृतवा	स्मृतवे	स्मृतोः	स्मृतोः	स्मृतवि
Dual	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतावौ	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतावोः	स्मृतवोः
Plural	स्मृतावः	स्मृताः	स्मृताभिः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतवाम्	स्मृतोषु

रे

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	राः	रायम्	राया	राये	रायः	रायः	रायि
Dual	रायौ	रायौ	राभ्याम्	राभ्यां	राभ्यां	रायोः	रायोः
Plural	रायः	रायः	राभिः	राभ्यः	राभ्यः	रायाम्	रायु

ग्लौ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	ग्लोः	ग्लावम्	ग्लावा	ग्लावे	ग्लावः	ग्लायः	ग्लावि
Dual	ग्लावौ	ग्लावौ	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लावोः	ग्लावोः
Plural	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लौभिः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लावाम्	ग्लौषु

अथाजन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER IX.

DECLENSION OF FEMININES ENDING IN VOWELS.

Now we take up the declension of the word रमा. (This word is formed from the root रम् 'to play' with the affix अच् and the feminine affix वाच्). The Nom. Sing is रमा. The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In forming the Nom : and Acc : Dual the following rule applies:—

२८७ । औङ् आपः । ७ । १ । १८ ॥

भावन्तादङ्गात्परस्यौङः स्त्री स्यात् । औङित्यौकारविभक्तेः संज्ञा । रमे । रमाः ॥

287. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

The इ in औङ् is for the purpose of including औङ् also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औङ् taught by Pāṇini any where. Thus रमा + औ = रमा + स्त्री = रमे ॥

The Pl : will be रमाः ॥

The Vocative Sing is formed according to the following Sūtra.

२८८ । संबुद्धौ च । ७ । ३ । १०६ ।

आप एकारः स्वास्तंबुद्धौ । एङ्स्त्वाहिति संबुद्धिलोपः । हे रमे । हे रमे । हे रमाः । रमाच् । रमे । रमाः । स्त्रीत्वात्स्वाभावः ॥

288. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

Thus रमा + सु = रमे + सु = रमे ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus Voc : Sing. Dual and Pl : are हे रमे, हे रमे, हे रमाः respectively.

The Acc : forms are रमाच् ; रमे ; रमाः ॥ The न् is not added in the Acc : Pl : because it is feminine. The rule VI. 1. 193. S. 196 applies only to the Masculine nouns.

In forming the Instrumental, the following applies.

२८९ । आङि चापः । ७ । ३ । १०५ ॥

आङि औसि च परे भावन्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रमया । रमाभ्याम् । रमानेः ॥

289. Before the case-endings औस् and before आ of

the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix ङ, the Ins. Sing. by the ancient grammarians.

Thus रमा + ङ = रमे + आ = रमाङ् ॥ The Instr. : dual and Pl. forms are रमाभ्याम् रमाभिः ॥

In forming the Dative, the following sūtra applies :—

२९० । याडापः । ७ । ३ । ११३ ।

भाषः परस्य डिङ्मनस्य याडागमः स्यात् । वृद्धिरेचि । रमायै । सर्वर्णक्षीयः । रमायाः । रमयोः । रमाभ्यु । एव दुर्गादयः ॥

290. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. Gen and Loc. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

Thus रमा + डे = रमायाद् + डे = रमाया + ए = रमायै according to VI. 1. 88. S. 72.

The Abl. : and Gen. : Singulars are thus formed :—रमा + ऊत्ति = रमा + याद् + ऊत्ति = रमाया + अस् = रमायाः ॥

The Gen. : and Loc. : dual रमयोः is formed as follows रमा + ओस् = रमे + ओस् (VII. 3. 105 S. 289) = रमयोः ॥

The Gen. : Pl. : is रमाणाम् (न् being added by VII. 1. 54. S. 208).

The Loc. Sing. रमायाम् is formed according to VII. 3. 116. S. 270. Thus रमा + याद् + डि = रमा + याद् + आम् = रमायाम् ॥

The Loc. dual and Pl. : are रमयोः and रमाभ्यु ॥ The Feminine Nouns हुंसा &c. are to be similarly declined.

—————:o:—————

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Pronoun सर्वा ॥ In the first three cases, it is declined like रमा ॥ In forming the Dative and other cases the following rules apply :—

२९१ । सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्द्वस्वश्च । ७ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आबन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य ङितः स्याद् स्यादापञ्च ह्रस्वः । यादोऽपवादः । सर्वस्यै । सर्वस्याः । ३ । एकादेशस्य पूर्वान्तत्वेन मङ्गाशामि सर्वनाम्न इति सुट् । सर्वास्ताम् । सर्वस्याम् । सर्वयोः । सर्वाभ्यु । एवं विश्वाद्य आदन्ताः ॥

291. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै विश्वस्यै ग्रस्यै तस्यै कस्यै भवत्यै भवत्याः, सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, ग्रस्याः तस्याः, कस्याः, भव्यस्यै भव्यस्याः ॥

But बहुव्ये where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine

This debars the augment दाद् Thus Dat: Sing is formed as follows.

सर्वा + स्याद् + डे = सर्व + स्या + इ = सर्वस्ये ॥

Similarly the Abl: and Gen: Singular सर्वस्याः is formed.

In Gen: Pl: सुद् is added by VII. 8. 52 S. 217. Though the Feminine pronoun सर्वा is not mentioned in the सर्वादि class, yet the word सर्वा is called सर्वानाम्, for the ekâdes'a आ of सर्वा (सर्व + आ = सर्वा) is considered as the final of the first, and hence the rule VII. 1. 52. S. 217 will apply to it. Thus we get the Gen: Pl: सर्वासाम् ॥

The Loc: Sing is thus formed सर्वा + डि = सर्व + स्या + आम् = सर्वस्याम् ॥ The Loc: Dual and Pl: forms are सर्वयोः and सर्वासु ॥

So also other Feminine Pronouns ending in आ like विश्वा &c. are to be declined.

२९२ । विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २८ ॥

अत्र सर्वानामता वा स्यात् । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । उत्तरपूर्वार्थे । विद्वामान्यन्तराले इति प्रतिपक्षोक्तस्य दिक्समासस्य ग्रहणात्नेह । योत्तरा सा पूर्वा यस्या उन्मुग्धायास्तस्य उत्तरपूर्वार्थे । बहुव्रीहिग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अन्तरस्यै शालाये । बाह्याये इत्यर्थः । अपुरीक्षुक्तेर्नेह । अन्तरार्थे नगर्थे ॥

292. The Sarvanâma words are optionally declined as such when they occur in a Bahuvrîhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26. S. 845).

Thus उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वार्थे ॥ The Bahuvrîhi compound specifically taught in II. 2. 26. S. 845 and not every other bahuvrîhi. Therefore when the word उत्तरा or पूर्वा are so compounded as to denote a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East, there the word उत्तरपूर्वा (a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East) though a bahuvrîhi compound, formed of pronouns denoting points of compass, but as the whole compound does not denote the intermediate points of the compass but is the Name of a person, it is not treated as a Sarvanâma. Therefore its Dative Sing will be उत्तरपूर्वार्थे and not उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥

The word बहुव्रीहि is used in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra would have referred to Bahuvrîhi compound even without employing the word bahuvrîhi in it.

The word अन्तरा is a Sarvanâma denoting 'outer' and so it is declined as अन्तरस्यै शालाये meaning the outer court, but when the word अन्तरा denotes a city' it is not a sarvanâma and therefore its declension will be अन्तरार्थे नगर्थे (See Vārtika under sūtra VII. 1. 52 S. 217).

The word द्वितीया and तृतीया are similarly declined except in the डित् affixes to which the following rule applies.

२९३ । विभाषा द्वितीया तृतीयाभ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां डित् स्याद् स्यादापश्च ह्रस्वः । इत् सूत्रं त्यक्तुं वाक्यम् । तीयस्य डित्सूपसंख्यानाद् । द्वितीयस्यै । द्वितीयायै । द्वितीयस्याः । द्वितीयायाः । द्वितीयस्याम् । द्वितीयायाम् शेषं समावन् । एवं तृतीया ॥ अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः । हे अम्ब । हे अक् । हे भल्ल । असंयुक्ता ये डलकास्तद्वन्तं ह्रस्वो न ॥ हे अम्बाङ् । हे अम्बाले । हे अम्बिके । जरा । जरसौ । शीभावात्परस्वाज्जरस् । आमि नुदः परस्वाज्जरस् । जरसामित्यादि । पक्षे हलादेशे च समावन् । इह पूर्वप्रतिषेधेन शीभावं कृत्वा संनिपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यतां चाश्रित्य जरसौ इति केचिदाहुस्तान्नमूलम् । यद्यपि जरसविशस्य स्थानिवद्भाविनाबन्ततामाश्रित्य । ओङ् आपः । आङि चापः । याडापः । ह्रस्वनत्यापः । डेरान् । इति पञ्चापि विधयः प्राप्ताः । एवं अतिङ्पृष्ठसु । तथाप्यनन्विधाविशुक्तं भवन्ति । आ आङिति प्रथितस्य आकाररूपस्येवाऽऽपः सर्वत्र ग्रहणात् । एवं उल्ङ्गाविसूत्रेऽपि आ आप् टी ई इति प्रथित्यावतिलङ्घः निष्क्रौशाश्रित्याविसूत्रेऽपि ग्रहणं प्रत्याख्येयम् । नचैवमप्यतिलङ्घावत्यत्र स्वाश्रयमाकारत्वं स्थानिवद्भावनापत्वं चाश्रित्य याद् स्यादिति वाच्यम् । आबन्ते यदङ्गं ततः परस्य याङ् विधानात् । उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्यये तदादिनियमान् । पदत्र इति नासिकाया नस् । नसः । नसा । नोभ्यामित्यादि । पक्षे सुदि च समावन् । निशाया निष् । निशः । निशा ॥

293. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः द्वितीयस्याम् or द्वितीयायाम्; तृतीयस्याम्; or तृतीयायाम् ॥

The remaining forms are like those of रमा ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word अम्बा ॥

According to VII, 3. 103, S. 267, the Voc. Sing is हे अम्ब ॥ So also हे भल्ल ॥

The final आ of the word ending in simple ड, ल and क is not shortened. Thus हे अम्बाङ्; हे अम्बाले; हे अम्बिके ॥

The declension of जरा is somewhat peculiar. Thus Nom. Sg. जरा + सु = जरा; Nom. Dual. जरा + औ = जरसौ; जरा is replaced by जरस् (VII. 2. 101 S. 227) before the sūtra शी (VII. 1. 18. S. 287) could be applied. In Gen. Pl. जरा substitution takes place before the augment नुद् could be added; hence जराम् ॥ But the जरस् substitution is optional, so when there is no जरस् substitution and before consonantal affixes जरा is declined like रमा ॥

Some form the Nom. Dual as जरसौ; their reason is that शी will replace औ even where जरस् substitution takes place and संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application. The Paribhāshā is as follows :—

सनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य i. e. "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." This

argument however is incorrect for the form जरसी is nowhere to be found. Ques. जरस् replacing जरा may be considered as like जरा by the rule of स्थानिवशेन (I. 1. 56. S. 49), therefore the five rules mentioned above, namely, VII. 1. 18. S. 287. VII. 3. 105. S. 289. VII. 3. 113. S. 290; VII. S. 208; VII. 3. 116 S. 270. apply to जरा ॥ Similarly those rules would apply also to नस् the substitute of नासिका; निश् the substitute of निशा, पृत् the substitute of पृतना 'an army'. (See VI. 1. 64 S. 2264).

Answer. No, for the स्थानिवत् rule does not apply in cases of भाल्विधि ॥ For the five rules mentioned above apply only to those Feminine forms which end in long आ and not to those forms which are substitutes of such long आ ending word. In fact, in the above rules the word आप्, डी should be construed as compounded of आ + आप् = आप् and डी + ई = डी; that is those Feminine words in आप् and डी which retain their आ and ई in this state before the affixes are added and not those words which do not end in आ and ई ॥ For the same reason, the forms अतिखट्ठः and निष्कौशान्त्रि are not to be governed by these rules for they end in short अ and short इ ॥ Similarly the Dative of अतिखट्ठ will be अतिखट्ठाय ॥ Here also the augment याद् will not apply.

नस् is substituted for नासिका in weak cases and is then declined as नसः; Instr. Sg. नसा &c. when this substitution does not take place नासिका is declined like रमा ॥ Similarly निश् is declined. But before the affixes भ्याम् &c. the ई is changed to इ by the following rule.

२९४ । ब्रश्चभ्रस्जसृजमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छशां षः । ८ । २ । ३६ ॥

ब्रश्चादीनां सप्तानां छान्तयोश्च षकारोऽन्तादेशः स्थान्ताल पदान्ते च । षस्य जदत्वेन डकारः । निङ्भ्याम् । निङ्भिः । सुप् ङः सीति पक्षे धुद् । चर्त्तम् । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चया द्वितीया इति दत्तयाष्ठथौ न । न पदान्तादोरिति दुस्त्वं न । निङ्सु । निङ्सु ॥

294. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij, mrij, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष before jhal letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus ब्रश्चः—ब्रष्टा, ब्रष्टुम्, ब्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृद् ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रष्टुम् । भ्रष्टव्यम् । धानाभृद् । सृज् । सृष्टा । सृष्टुम् । रज्जुसृद् । सृज् । सार्ष्टा । सार्ष्टुम् सार्ष्टव्यम् । कंसवरिष्टुद् । यज् । यष्टा । यष्टुम् । यष्टव्यम् । उपयद् । राश् । सभाई । स्वराद्, विराद्, विभ्राद् ॥

Thus निश् + भ्याम् = निश् + भ्याम् = निङ्भ्याम्; निङ्भिः ॥ By VIII. 3. 29. S. 131, there is an optional augment इ before the Loc. Pl: सुप्; then this इ is changed to इ and धु to ह ॥ This last substitution being considered as असिद्धा because it is a विपादि rule, the इ and ह are not changed to इ and य as will be required by Vārtika under VIII. 3. 28, S. 131. Nor will the rule VIII. 4. 42. S. 114. apply. Thus we get. निङ्सु or निङ्सु ॥

Now appears the following rule also for application.

२९५। षढोः कः सि। ८। २। ४१॥

षस्य ङस्य च कः स्यात्सकारे परे। इति तु न भवति। जडस्वं प्रत्यसिद्धत्वात्। केचित्तु प्रत्या-
हिसुत्रे शब्दार्थान्तरितं सूत्राद्धातोरेत्यनुवर्तयन्ति। तन्मते जडस्वेन जकारे। निञ्भ्याम्। निञ्भिः। जडस्व-
म्। इञ्चुत्वम्। चर्त्त्वम्। निञ्चु। चाः कुरिति कुत्वं तु न भवति। जडस्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्॥ मांसपृतनासागूना
मांसपृक्त्वो वाच्याः शसांश्च वा *॥ पृतः। पृता। पृङ्ग्याम्। पक्षे मुदि च रमावत्। गोपा विश्वपावत्।
मतिः प्रायण हरिवत्। स्त्रीत्वान्नत्वाभावः। मतीः॥ नात्वं न मत्या॥

295. क is substituted for ष or ङ before स॥

Therefore निञ्+सु (Loc. Pl.)=निष्+सु=निङ्+सु=निक्+सु=But the application of this rule would be wrong, for the जश् rule is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes this rule.

Some explain the last Sūtra by confining it to roots only, they read the anuvritti of धातोः in that Sūtra from the previous Sūtra, VIII. 2. 32 S. 325. According to them, there will be ज when जश् rule is applied. Thus निञ्भ्याम्; निञ्भिः। In fact, according to this opinion, there is no substitution of ष and so निञ्+भ्याम् is changed to निञ्+भ्याम्, Therefore, according to them, the Loc. Pl. will be निष्+सु=निङ्+सु=निञ्+सु=निच्+सु, The च् is not changed to क् by VIII. 2. 30 S. 378, because the जश् substitution is considered as *asiddha*.

Vārtika. Before the affixes of the Acc. Pl. and the rest the words मांस, पृतना and सागू are optionally replaced by मांस, पृत and स्तु.

Therefore Acc. Pl. of पृत will be पृतः; Instr. Sg. पृता; Instr. Dual पृङ्भ्याम्। In the other alternative and in the strong cases, namely the first five inflectional cases पृतना is declined like रमा. The Feminine गोपा is declined like विश्वपा॥

The Feminine मतिः is declined like हरि except in the following cases:— The Acc. Pl. is मतीः; there is no न because it is Feminine. Similarly the Instr. Sg. is मत्या and not मतिना because VII. 3 120. S. 244. does not apply to Feminine nouns.

Before the ङिन् affixes, मात is governed by the following rule.

२९६। ङिति ह्रस्वश्च। १। ४। ६॥

इयङुवह्रस्थानौ स्त्रीशब्दभिन्नौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गावीवृत्तौ ह्रस्वौ च इउवर्णौ स्त्रियां वा नरी संज्ञौ स्त्रीः ङिति परे॥ भाण् नद्याः॥ मत्यै। मतये। मत्याः। मतेः। नरीत्वपक्षे औशिति डेरीत्ये प्राप्ते॥

296. When a case-affix having an indicatory ñ (ñit) follows, then feminine words ending in short इ and उ are optionally termed Nadî, as well as feminine nouns in long î and û which admit of iyañ and uvañ; but not so the word stri, which is always Nadî.

Feminine words in long î and û have been defined as nadî, words in

short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition, if they take iyañ and uvañ. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ङ are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have :—

Dative मतये or मत्स्यै, धनवे or धेन्यै, श्रिये or श्रियै : Ablative and Genitive मते or मत्स्याः, धेनो, or धेन्याः, श्रियः or श्रियाः ; Locative मतौ or मत्स्याम्, धेनौ or धेन्याम्, श्रिये or श्रियाम् ॥ So also भुवे or भुवै &c. But stri is always स्त्रियै &c.

When the word मति is treated as a Nadi word, then the Loc. Sg. requires औ by VII. 3. 118, S. 256. But this is prevented by the following rule,

२६७ । इदुद्भ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११७ ॥

नदीसंज्ञकाभ्यामिदुद्भ्यां परस्य ङेनाम् स्यात् । पक्षे अद्य घेः । मत्स्याम् । मतौ । एवं श्रुतिस्मृत्यादयः ॥

297. After the Feminine nadi words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

When this rule does not apply, then it is treated as a णि word and rule VII. 3. 19 S. 247 applies. Thus Loc. Sg. is मत्स्याम् or मतौ.

The words श्रुति, स्मृति &c. are declined like मति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of feminine nouns ending in क् like तिसृ, and चतसृ the feminine of त्रि and चतुर् which are formed by the following Sūtra.

२६८ । त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ । ७ । २ । ६६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गयोरेतयोरेतावादेशौ स्तो विभक्तौ परतः ॥

298. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

२६९ । अचि र ऋतः । ७ । २ । १०० ॥

तिसृचतसृ एतयोर्ककारस्य रेकारदेशः स्यादचि । गुणशीघ्रोत्त्वानामपवादः । तिस्रः २ । आमि शुभचिरेति नुद् ॥

299. र् is substituted for the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

In the Genitive there is the augment नुद् under Vārtika VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus तिसृ + नुद् + आम् = तिसृ + नाम्. Here the Sūtra VI. 4. 3. S. 209. requires the lengthening of the क् but it is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३०० । न तिसृचतसृ । ६ । ४ । ४ ॥

एतयानामि त्रीणो न स्यान् । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु । स्त्रियामिति त्रिचतुराविशेषणान्नह । प्रियास्त्र-
यस्त्रीणि वा यस्याः सा प्रियत्रिः मतिवन् । आमि तु प्रियत्रयाणामिति विशेषः । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य स इति
विग्रहे तु प्रियतिसा । प्रियतिसौ । प्रियतिस्रः । प्रियतिस्रमित्यादि । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य तत्कुल प्रियत्रि । स्वमा-
लुका लुप्तत्वेन प्रत्ययलक्षणभावात् तिरुः १ । न लुप्तनेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे प्रियतिसृ । * रादेशान्
पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुम् । प्रियानसृणी प्रियतिसृणि । तृतीयादिषु वक्ष्यमाणपुंवङ्गाविकल्पात्पर्यायेण नुम्भावाः ।
प्रियतिस्रा । प्रियतिसृणा । इत्यादि । द्वरत्वे सत्याप द्व २ । द्वाभ्याम् ३ । द्वयोः २ । गौरी । गौर्यौ । गौर्यः ।
नशीकार्थम् । हे गौरि । गौर्य इत्यादि । एव वाणीनद्यादयः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणादनङ्गि
णिङ्गङ्गो च प्राप्तः ॥ विभक्ता लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणम् ॥ सखी । सख्यौ । सख्यः इत्यादि गौरिवन् । अङ्ग्यन्तत्वात्
सुलोपः । लक्ष्मीः । शेषं गौरिवन् । एवं त्रीर्नन्त्यादयः ॥ स्त्री । हे स्त्रि ॥

300. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

The Loc. Pl. is तिसृषु.

The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, though the anga may be feminine, yet if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्रयाऽस्याः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brāhmaṇi to whom three are beloved.' dual. प्रियत्राः, Pl. प्रियत्रयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वारः प्रियचत्वारो, प्रियचत्वारः ॥ The word प्रियत्रि will be declined like मति. The only distinction being that the genitive Pl. will प्रियत्रियाणाम्.

Similarly the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्याऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 91) प्रियतिसौ, प्रियतिस्रः ॥

If the compound is analysed as प्रिया तिस्रो यस्य तत्कुलं, namely, if the compound refers to a neuter word, then the form will be प्रियत्रि. Here the Nom. and Acc. case endings सु and अम् are elided by VII. 1. 23 S. 319 by using the word लुक्. Therefore, there being no प्रत्यय लक्षणं (See I. 1. 63. S. 263), there will be no तिसृ substitution. But if the Sūtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 be considered as not of universal application, then the तिसृ substitution will take place and the Nom. and Acc. Singular will be प्रियतिसृ. The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Plural will be formed by the following Vārtika:—

Vārtika:—The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 S. 275 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 S. 299 and therefore there will be the augment नुम् by VII. 1. 73 S. 320. Thus the forms are प्रियतिसृणी and प्रियतिसृणि.

Before the Instrumental and other case-endings there will be optionally नुम् or the र् substitution, because the word may be treated optionally as Neuter or Masculine. Thus प्रियतिस्रा or प्रियतिसृणा &c.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **हि**. The **इ** of **हि** is replaced by **अ** according to Sūtra VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it assumes the form **ह**. To this is added the Feminine affix **आप्** and thus we get the form **हा**. It is always Dual and is declined as **हे**; **हे**; **ह्याभ्याम्**; **ह्याभ्याम्**; **ह्याभ्याम्**; **ह्योः**; **ह्योः** ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **गौरी**. Its Nominative : forms are **गौरी**; **गौर्यै**; **गौर्यै** । Its Voc. is **हे गौरि** according to VII. 3. 107 S. 267. Its Dat. : will be **गौर्यै** by VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VI. 1. 90 S. 269.

The Feminine Nouns **वाणी** and **नदी** &c. are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of the Fem : Noun **सखी**. There arises the doubt as to whether this word should take the affix **अनङ्** under Sūtra VII. 1. 93 S. 248 and the affix should be treated as **णिन्** by VII. 1. 92. S. 253 on the maxim that "A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." For the above rules only use the Prātipadika form **सखी**, and so according to this maxim, they may apply to the Noun **सखी** when it is Feminine. But this is not the case, however, when a *Vibhakti* is to be added, because then the above maxim is set aside by the following.

Paribhāṣā :—"A Prātipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prātipadika before a case-termination after the Prātipadika, does not denote a crude form derived from the Prātipadika by the addition of an affix denoting gender."

Thus Nom. forms of **सखी** are **सखी**; **सख्यौ**; **सख्यः**. The rest of the declensions are like those of **गौरी**.

—o—

Now we take up the declension of **लक्ष्मी**. As this word is not formed by the Feminine affix **ई**, therefore the Nom : Singular affix **सु** will not be elided, because the rule of elision taught in VI. 1. 68 S. 252 applies only to those Feminine words which are formed by the Feminine affix **ई**. The word **लक्ष्मी** is an Unādi formed word. The long **ई** is not a Feminine affix. Thus Nom. Sing. is **लक्ष्मीः** ॥ The rest of the declensions are like those of **गौरी**.

So are the words **सती**, **तन्त्री** &c. declined.

Note :—Some consider the **लक्ष्मी** to be formed by the *Vārtika* कृदिकारादन्तिनः under IV. I. 45. S. 503. the affix **ङीष्** is added to every कृदन्त word ending in **इ** or **ई** with the exception of the affix **क्ति**. According to this view, **लक्ष्मी**, **सती** &c. are **ङी** formed, and so the Nom : Sing affix will be elided after them.

—o—

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun : **स्त्री**. Its Nom : Sg. is **स्त्री**. Its Vocative Sg. is **हे स्त्री**.

In forming the Nom : Dual and Pl : the following rule applies.

३०१ । स्त्रियाः । ६ । ४ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङ् स्यादजादौ प्रत्यये परे । स्त्रियां । स्त्रियः ॥

301. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः ॥

In the Acc : Dual and Pl : the following rule gives option as regard the इयङ् *adeśa*.

३०२ । वाम्शसोः । ६ । ४ । ८० ॥

अभि शसि च स्त्रिया इयङ् वा स्यात् । स्त्रियम् । स्त्रीम् । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः । स्त्रीः । स्त्रिया । यि स्त्रा स्त्रियाः २ । स्त्रियोः । परस्वान्तुद् । स्त्रीणाम् । स्त्रियाम् । स्त्रियोः । स्त्रीषु । स्त्रियमतिक्रान्तः अतिस्त्रिः । अतिस्त्रियौ ॥

गुणनाभावौस्वनुद्भिः परस्वात्पुंसि बाध्यते । क्लीबे नुमा च स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङित्यवधार्यताम् ॥

जसि च ॥ अतिस्त्रियः । हे अतिस्त्रि । हे अतिस्त्रियौ । हे अतिस्त्रियः ॥ वाम्शसोः ॥ अतिस्त्रियम् । अतिस्त्रिम् । अतिस्त्रिया । अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रीन् । अतिस्त्रिणा ॥ घेङिति ॥ अतिस्त्रियं । अतिस्त्रिः २ । अतिस्त्रियोः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् ॥ अद्य घेः ॥ अतिस्त्री अतिस्त्रियोः ॥

ओस्यौकार च नित्यं स्यादम्शसोस्तु विभाषया । इयादौऽपि नान्यत्र स्त्रियाः पुंस्युपसर्जने ॥

क्रीबे तु नुम् । अतिस्त्रि । अतिस्त्रिणी । अतिस्त्रीणि । अतिस्त्रिणा । अतिस्त्रिणे । डेप्रभृतावजादौ वक्ष्यमाणपुंवद्भावापक्षे प्राग्वहूपम् । अतिस्त्रिये or अतिस्त्रिणे । अतिस्त्रिणः २ । अतिस्त्रिः २ । अतिस्त्रिणा २ । अतिस्त्रियारित्यादि । स्त्रियां तु प्रायेण पुंवत् । शसि अतिस्त्रीः । अतिस्त्रिया । डिति ह्रस्वश्चेति ह्रस्वान्तत्वप्रयुक्तो विकल्पः । अस्त्रीति तु इयङ्कुवङ्स्थानानित्यस्यैव पर्युदासः । तत्संबद्धम्यैवानुवृत्तेर्दीर्घस्यायं निषेधो न तु ह्रस्वस्य । अतिस्त्रियै । अतिस्त्रिये । अतिस्त्रियाः २ । अतिस्त्रिः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् । अतिस्त्रियाम् । अतिस्त्री । स्त्रीः । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

302. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of *strī* is optional before the accusative endings *अम्* and *शस्* (*अम्*) ॥

Thus स्त्रियम् or स्त्रीम् ; स्त्रियः or स्त्रीः

The Instr : Sing is स्त्रिया ; Dat : Sing स्त्रियै. Abl : and Gen : Sing : स्त्रियाः ; Gen : Dual स्त्रियोः Gen : Pl. is formed by the addition of नुद् to the exclusion of इयङ्, because नुद् is taught subsequently. Thus स्त्रीणाम्. The Loc. forms are स्त्रियाम् ; स्त्रियोः ; स्त्रीषु.

Now, we take up the declension of अतिस्त्रि, which means "one who has surpassed the woman." Its Nom. Sing. is अतिस्त्रिः ; Dual अतिस्त्रियो.

Verse :—The इयङ् substitution, being taught previously, is superseded by the following rules in the Masculine, because they are taught subsequently, viz. the rule of Guna (VII. 3. 109, S. 241; VII. 3. 111 S. 245.) ; the ना substitution in the Instr : (VII. 3. 120, S. 244) ; the औ substitution (VII. 3. 119 S. 247)

and the नुङ् augment (VII. 1. 54. S. 208). In the Neuter the नुङ् being subsequent replaces the इयङ्.

Thus the rule 'जसिच' gives us the form अतिस्त्रियः. The Voc forms are हे अतिस्त्रिये; हे अतिस्त्रिया; हे अतिस्त्रियः. The Acc. forms are अतिस्त्रियम् or अतिस्त्रियः; अतिस्त्रियौ; अतिस्त्रियः or अतिस्त्रीन्. The Instr. Sing is अतिस्त्रिणा. The Dat. Sing is अतिस्त्रिये (with the guṇa, according to VII. 3. 111. S. 245). The Abl. Sing. is अतिस्त्रिः; The genitive forms are अतिस्त्रे; अतिस्त्रियाः; अतिस्त्रिणाम्. The Loc. Sing. is अतिस्त्री formed by अच्च घे: (VII. 3. 119. S. 247) The Loc. Dual is अतिस्त्रियोः.

Verse :—The इयङ् substitution taught above, is compulsory before the affixes of the Gen. and Loc. Duals (Viz. ओस्) also the Nom. and Acc. Duals (औ) and optionally before the Acc. Sing. and Pl. अम् and णस् and nowhere else when the स्त्री becomes the secondary member of a compound which denotes a Masculine.

When the compound अतिस्त्रि denotes a Neuter, then the declension is as follows :—Nom. and Acc. forms are अतिस्त्रि; अतिस्त्रिणी; अतिस्त्रीणि. The augment नुङ् is added to the affixes of the Dual and Plural by VII. 1. 72 and 73 S. 314 and 320 The Instr. Sing : is अतिस्त्रिणा; VII. 1. 73. In the dative and the rest, the Neuter is optionally treated like the Masculine according to VII. 1. 74 S. 321. Thus the Dat : Sing : is अतिस्त्रिये or अतिस्त्रिणे. The Abl : Sing : is अतिस्त्रिः or अतिस्त्रिणः and so also is Gen : Sing. The Gen : and Loc : Dual अतिस्त्रियोः or अतिस्त्रिणोः &c.

When the word अतिस्त्रि is Feminine then it is declined almost like the Masculine अतिस्त्रि with the following exceptions :—The Acc. Pl : is अतिस्त्रीः; Instr : Sing : अतिस्त्रिया. Before the डित् case affixes, the rule of I. 4. 6 S. 296 applies and there is the option. The word अस्त्री of the Sūtra I. 4. 4. S. 303 which is read by *anuvṛitti* in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 is confined to that form of स्त्री which takes the substitution इयङ्. Therefore the prohibition regarding the non inclusion of the word स्त्री in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 refers to that form of स्त्री which ends in long ई and not to short ई as in अतिस्त्रि. The result is that the rule I. 4. 6. S. 296 will apply to the word अतिस्त्रि and it will be optionally treated as a *Nadi* word. Therefore, the Dat : Sing : is either अतिस्त्रिये (as a Nadi) or अतिस्त्रिये (as a ghi). The Abl : and Genitive Sing : forms are either अतिस्त्रियाः (as a Nadi) or अतिस्त्रिः (as a ghi). The Genitive Pl : is अतिस्त्रिणाम्. The Loc : Sing : forms are either अतिस्त्रियाम् or अतिस्त्री ॥

—:0:—

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun श्री. Its Nom ; forms are श्रीः; श्रियौ; श्रियः

The Vocative is governed by the following rule :—

३०३ । नेयडुवड्स्थानावस्त्री । १ । ४ । ४ ॥

इयडुवडोः स्थितिर्योस्तावीवूतौ नरीसंज्ञौ न स्तो नतु स्त्री । हे श्रीः । श्रिये । श्रिये । श्रियाः । श्रियः ॥

303. Feminine words ending in *î* and *û* which admit the substitute (इयड्) *iyāṇ* and (उवड्) *uvaṇ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called *Nadî* ; except the word *strî*, (which is called *nadî* notwithstanding its substituting *iyāṇ*).

The Vocative Singular is therefore हे श्रीः ॥

The Dative Sing is श्रिय or श्रिये ; Abl : Sing is श्रियाः or श्रियः by I. 4. 6. S. 296.

But in the Gen ; Pl : the following Sûtra applies:—

३०४ । वामि । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इयडुवड्स्थानौ स्त्र्याख्यौ इ वामि वा नरीसंज्ञौ स्तो नतु स्त्री । श्रीणाम् । श्रियाम् । श्रियि । श्रियाम् । प्रधीशब्दस्य तु वृत्तिकारादीनां मते लक्ष्मीवद्रूपम् । पदान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियां वर्तमानत्वं नित्यस्त्रीत्वमिति स्वीकारात् । लिङ्गान्तरानभिधायकत्वं तदिति कैयटमते तु पुंवद्रूपम् । प्रकृष्टा धीरिति विग्रहे तु लक्ष्मीवत् । अमि शसि च प्रध्यं प्रध्य इति विशेषः । सुष्ठु धीर्यस्याः सुष्ठु ध्यायति वेति विग्रहे तु वृत्तिमते सुधीः श्रियन् । मनान्तरं पुंवत् । सुष्ठु धीरिति विग्रहे तु श्रीवदेव । ग्रामणीः पुंवत् । ग्रामनयनस्योत्सर्गतः पुंघर्मतया पदान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियामप्रवृत्तेः ॥ एवं खलपवनादेरापि पुंघर्मत्वमौत्सर्गिकं बोध्यम् । धेनुर्मतिवत् ॥

304. Feminine words ending in *î* and *û*, though admitting *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ* substitutes, are optionally termed *Nadî*, when the affix *âm* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strî*, which is always *Nadî*.

श्री + आम् = अ इयड् + आम् = श्रियाम् ; or श्री + आम् = श्री + रुड् + अम् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीणाम् ;

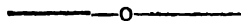
The Loc. Sing. is श्रियि or श्रियाम् ।

The word *प्रधी* is declined like *लक्ष्मी* according to the author of *वृत्तिकार* and others, because it is taken to be a word which is always Feminine ; and which by its own annotation is Feminine without the help of any other word. But according to *Kaiyata* it is to be declined as a Masculine Noun, because it does not denote any gender. When this word is analysed as *प्रकृष्टा धीः* then it is to be declined like *लक्ष्मी* The only peculiarities being in the Acc : Sing and Plural, where the forms are *प्रध्यम्* and *प्रध्यः* ।

The word *सुधी* when analysed as, *सुष्ठुधीर्यस्याः* “ that woman whose understanding is good ” or when analysed as *सुष्ठुध्यायति या* ‘ She who meditates well ’, then it is declined as *श्री* according to *वृत्ति* author. According to others it is

to be declined as a Masculine Noun. But when it is analysed as a कर्मधारय Compound सुष्ठु धीः 'Good intelligence' it is always to be declined as a Feminine Noun like श्री.

The Feminine Noun ग्रामणी 'a female head of a village' is to be declined like the Masculine Noun ग्रामणी; because leadership of a village is, as a general rule, the duty of a male person, and so the word ग्रामणी in exceptional cases only denotes a female, and then it must have some epithet used along with it to indicate that it refers to a woman. Similarly, the word खलम् 'a sweeper' applies primarily to a male person though a woman may occasionally take up that work.



Declension of Feminines ending in उ,

The Feminine Noun धेनु is declined like नति. We take up the declension of the Feminine Noun क्रोष्टु. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३०५। स्त्रियां च। ७। १। ६६॥

स्त्रीवाची क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तुजन्तवर्गं लभते ॥

305. The word क्रोष्टु is treated as if it ended in तृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

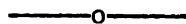
And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्टृ, the feminine will be formed by the affix डीप् by IV. 1. 5. as given below :—

३०६। ऋन्नेभ्यो डीप्। ४। १। ५॥

ऋदन्तेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । क्रोष्ट्री । क्रोष्ट्र्यौ । क्रोष्ट्र्याः । वधूगौरीवत् । भूः श्रीवत् । हे सुभूः । कथं तर्हि हापितः क्रासि हे सुभू इति भट्टिः । प्रमाद एवायमिति बहवः । खलपूः पुंवत् । पुनर्हे । हस्करेति यणा उवडौ बाधनात्रेयदुवडिति निषेधो न । हे पुनर्भू । पुनर्भवम् । पुनर्भौ । पुनर्भ्यः ॥

306. The affix डीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in नृ ।

Thus क्रोष्टु becomes क्रोष्ट्री and is declined as Nom : क्रोष्ट्री ; क्रोष्ट्र्यौ ; क्रोष्ट्र्याः ।



Declension of Feminine nouns endings in ऊ,

The Feminine Noun वधू is declined like गौरी; भू is declined like श्री. Its Voc. Sing is हे सुभूः । How then does the Bhatti use the Voc. Sing as सुभू in the following passage हा पितः क्रासि हे सुभू ? The Bhatti has misapplied Sūtra I: 2. 48 S. 656 which is not applicable because भू is not formed by any Feminine affix but by the affix ड added to the root भ्रम (See Unādi II. 68). If he has not applied that rule, he might have applied the Sūtra VII. 3. 107. S. 267

and so shortened the vowel in the Vocative. But सुष्ठू is not a Nadi word, because of the prohibition I. 4. 4. S. 303 and so the rule of shortening will not apply to it. The use by Kālidāsa of the form सुष्ठु in the sentence विमाने सुष्ठु पितृगृहे कुतः is also erroneous.

The Feminine Noun खलू is to be declined like the Masculine Noun खलू ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun पुनर्भू. By the *Vārtika*, under VI. 4. 84. S. 282, the ऊ is replaced by इ and thus the उवङ्, substitution is prevented, and therefore the prohibition of the *Sūtra* I. 4. 4. S. 303 does not apply to पुनर्भू which is declined like a Nadi word. Thus the Voc. Sing. is हे पुनर्भू. The Acc. forms are पुनर्भूमः; पुनर्भौ; पुनर्भूः.

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule will apply.

३०७ । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

एकाजुत्तरपदे यस्य तस्मिन् समासे पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य प्रातिपदिकान्तनुविवभक्तिस्थस्य नस्य नित्यं णत्वं स्यात् । आरम्भसामर्थ्यान्नित्यत्वे सिद्धे पुनर्णग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । यणे बाधित्वा परस्यानुद । पुनर्भूणाम् । वर्षाभूः । भेकजाती नित्यस्त्रीत्वाभावात् । हे वर्षाभूः केशदमन्त । मतान्तरं तु हे वर्षाभु । पुनर्नवायां तु हे वर्षाभु । भेक्यां पुनर्नवायां स्त्री वर्षाभूर्बदुरे पुमानिति यादवः । वर्षाभ्यौ । वर्षाभिः । स्वयंभूः पुंवत् ॥

307. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ए in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prātipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Text:—The ण is repeated in this sūtra merely for the sake of distinctness, (and not to make the sūtra obligatory as is the view of the author of the *Kāśikā*). Because the sūtra would be an obligatory rule even without it, because, the very fact that a separate sūtra is commenced, shows that it is not an optional rule like the sūtras VIII. 4. 10 and II. S. 1054. and 1055. The augment नुद् is added, because it is subsequently taught and supersedes the यण of the *Vārtika* under VI. 4. 84 S. 282. Thus पुनर्भूणाम् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun वर्षाभू ॥ When the word means a frog, it is both a Feminine and a Masculine and hence according to the opinion of Kaiyata, the Voc. Sing. will be हे वर्षाभूः ॥ According to others, the Voc. Sing. is हे वर्षाभु ॥

According to the Lexicographer Yādava, वर्षाभू is feminine when denoting a frog or the herb called Punarnavā; and it is masculine when meaning a frog only.

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are वर्णाभौ ; वर्णाभ्यः ॥

The declension of the Feminine Noun स्वयम्भू is like that of the Masc : Noun.

—————:O:—————

Declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in ऋ ॥

We take up the declension of the Feminine nouns स्वसृ &c. In the declension of these Nouns the following rule applies,

३०८ । न षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः । १ । १ । १० ॥

षट्संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्त्रादिभ्यश्च ङीप्दापौ न स्तः ।

स्वसा तिस्रश्चतस्रश्च ननान्ता दुहिता तथा । याता मातेति सप्तैते स्वस्त्रादय उदाहृताः ॥

अप्तृमिति दीर्घः । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । माता पितृवत् । सासि मातृः । यागावत् राः पुंवत् ॥ नौग्लौवत् ॥

308 The feminine affixes ङीप् and दाप् are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24), 'स्वसृ' &c.

The following seven words belong to the Svasrādi class:—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter' ; ननान्ता 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three', चतस्र 'four'.

There is lengthening of the perultimate Vowel by VI. 4. 11. S. 277, in the case of स्वसृ ॥ Thus the Nom : forms are स्वसा ; स्वसारौ ; स्वसारः ॥

The feminine Noun मातृ is declined like पितृ ॥ In the Acc : Pl : the form is मातृः ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ऐ ॥

The feminine Noun ऐ is declined like the Masc : Noun ऐ ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in औ ॥

The feminine Noun औ is declined like the Masculine Noun औ ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in औ ॥

The feminine Noun औ is declined like the Masculine Noun औ ॥

—————:O:—————

Here ends the declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in Vowels,

रमा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	रमा	रमाम्	रमया	रमायै	रमायाः	रमायाः	रमायाम्	हे रमे
Dual	रमे	रमे	रमाभ्याम्	॥		रमयोः		हे रमे
Plural	रमाः	रमाः	रमाभिः	रमाभ्यः		रमाणाम्	रमासु	हे रमाः

सर्वा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	सर्वा	सर्वाम्	सर्वया	सर्वस्यै	सर्वस्याः	"	सर्वस्याम्
Dual	सर्वे	सर्वे	सर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	सर्वयोः	"
Plural	सर्वाः	"	सर्वाभिः	सर्वाभ्यः	"	सर्वासाम्	सर्वासु

उत्तरपूर्वा N. E.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	उत्तरपूर्वा	उत्तरपूर्वाम्	उत्तरपूर्वया	उत्तरपूर्वस्यै	उत्तरपूर्वस्याः	"	उत्तरपूर्वस्याम्
				or	or		or
			उत्तरपूर्वायै	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्यः	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्
Dual	उत्तरपूर्वौ	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	उत्तरपूर्वयोः	"
Plural	उत्तरपूर्वाः	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभिः	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्यः	"	उत्तरपूर्वासाम्	उत्तरपूर्वासु
						or	
						उत्तरपूर्वाणाम्	

जरा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जरसम्	जराया	जरस्यै	जरसाः	"	जरसि
Dual	जरसौ	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरयोः	"
Plural	जरसः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जरसाम्	जरासु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जराया	जरायैः	जरायाः	"	जरायाम्
Dual	जरे	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरयोः	"
Plural	जराः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जराणाम्	जरासु

नासिका

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	नासिका	नासिकाम्	नासा	नास्यै	नासः	नास्यैः	नासि
Dual	नासिके	"	नासाभ्याम्	"	"	नासयोः	"
Plural	नासिकाः	नासः	नासिभिः	नास्यः	"	नासाम्	नासु

निशा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	निशा	निशाम्	निशा	निशैः	निशाः	निशाः	निशि
Dual	निशे	"	निशाभ्याम्	"	निशोः	"	"
			or				
			निशाभ्याम्				
Plural	निशाः	निशाः	निशाभिः	निश्याः	"	निशाम्	निशसु
			or	or			or
			निशभिः	निश्याः			निशसु
							or
							निशसु

अथाजन्त नपुंसक लिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER X.

DECLENSION OF NEUTER NOUNS ENDING IN VOWELS.

We take up the declension of the Neuter Noun ज्ञान ॥ In forming Nom : Sing the following rule applies.

३०६ । अतोऽम् । ७ । १ । २४ ॥

अतोऽङ्गात् क्लीवात्स्वमोरम् स्यात् ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ ज्ञानम् ॥ एङ्हस्वाङिति हल्मात्रलोपः ।
हे ज्ञान ॥

309. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

Thus ज्ञान + अम् = ज्ञानम् (See VI. I. 11 7. S. 194)

In forming the Voc. Sg. the consonant only of the Nom : Sg. is elided by VI. I. 69. S. 193. Thus हे ज्ञान ; i. e. the म् of अम् is elided and not the अ.

३१० । नपुंसकाच्च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

क्लीबात्परस्योङः स्त्री स्यात् । भसंज्ञायाम् ॥

310. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ and the base gets the designation of *Bha*.

Note :—By Sûtra I. I. 4.3. S. 229 the affixes coming after Neuter bases are not *Sarva-vâma Sthâna*, consequently the base before such affixes is *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231 if such affix begins with a Vowel. स्त्री is such an affix and therefore the base before this affix is *bha* and hence the following rule applies.

३११ । यस्येति च । ६ । ४ । १४८ ॥

भस्येवर्णावर्णयोर्लोपः स्यादिकारे तद्धिते च परे । इत्यकारलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ औङः इयां प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ ज्ञाने ॥

311. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a *bha* stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus ज्ञान + स्त्री = ज्ञान् + ई = ज्ञानी. But this is not the correct form. The elision of अ is prevented by the following *Vârtika*. :—

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter and of certain feminines in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and ए are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus ज्ञान + ई = ज्ञाने ॥ It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra.

In forming the Nom : and Acc : Plurals, the following rules apply

३१२ । जश्शसोः शिः । ७ । १ । २० ॥

क्लीबादनयोः शि स्यात् ॥

312. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus ज्ञान + जस् or शस् = ज्ञान + शि. Now, this शि gets the designation of *Sarvanāma Sthāna* as taught in the next Sūtra and being so called, the Sūtra after that applies to it ; by which a न् is inserted.

३१३ । शि सर्वनामस्थानम् । १ । १ । ४२ ॥

शि इत्येतदुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

313. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called *sarvanāma-sthāna*.

३१४ । नपुंसकस्य झलचः । ७ । १ । ७२ ॥

झलन्तस्याऽजन्तस्य च क्लीबस्य नुमागमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । ज्ञानानि । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं रामवत् । एवं धनवनफलादयः ॥

314. The augment नुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus ज्ञान + शि = ज्ञान + नुम् + शि = ज्ञान । न् + इ = ज्ञान + नि = ज्ञानानि. The penultimate vowel is lengthened by VI. 4. 8. S. 250.

The Acc : forms are similar to those of the Nominative. The rest are declined like those of राम ॥

Thus are to be declined the Neuter Nouns धन, वन, फल &c.

Now we take up the declension of the word कतर. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३१५ । अद्ङ् इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः । ७ । १ । २५ ॥

एभ्यः क्लीबेभ्यः स्वमोर्द्धादेशः स्यात् ॥

315. अद्ङ् is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and भम् after the five Pronouns इतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. इतर, and 2. इतम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

Note :—These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmans are read together (Sec I. 1. 27, S. 213)—इतर, इतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अद्ङ् = कतरत् (the अ of katarā elided by ङ्) : as कतरत् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरत् पश्य ॥

The force of this indicative letter ङ in the affix अद्ङ् is to elide the final vowel by the following Sūtra.

३१६ । टेः । ६ । ४ । १४३ ॥

इति परे भस्य टेलोपः स्यात् ॥ वावसाने ॥ कतरत् । कतरद् । कतरे । कतराणि । भस्येति किम् । पञ्चमः । टेलुप्तत्वात्प्रथमयोरिति पूर्वसवर्णवर्धः एङ्ङ्हादिति संबुद्धिलोपश्च न भवति । हे कतरत् । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं पुंवत् । कतमत् । इतरत् । अन्यत् । अन्यतरत् । अन्यतमश्चदस्य तु अन्यतममित्येव ॥ एकतरात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ एकतरम् । सोरमादेशे कृते संनिपातपरिभाषया न जरस् । भजरम् । भजरसी भ जरे । परस्वाज् जरसि कृते झलन्तत्वानुच् ॥

316. Before an affix having an indicatory ङ्, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided in the case of a *bha* Stem.

Thus कतर + सु or भम् = कतर + अद्ङ् = कतर + अद् = कतरद् or कतरत् (ङ् is optionally changed to त् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.)

The Nom : and Acc : Dual and Pl. forms are कतरे ; कतराणि.

Why have we read the anuvritti of *bha* in this Sutra ? Observe पञ्चमः

Note :—The anuvritti of *bha* is read into this Sūtra from VI. 4. 129. S. 233. the word पञ्चम is formed by adding the affix ङ्ङ् to the word पञ्चन् with the augment म् (V. 2. 48 & 49. S. 1849 and 1850) Thus पञ्चन् + ङ्ङ्. The affix ङ्ङ् does not cause the elision of the भन् of पञ्चन् but the न् is elided because it is final in a pada (See VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

Why do we make the affix have an indicatory ङ् ? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular : as कतर + भन् = कतरान् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, भन् being the substitute of भम् will be sthānivāt, and give us कतरत् by VI. 1. 107 even without

इ ॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अत् इ; it would give कतरत् &c. without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत्. The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprkta. See however VI. 1. 1. 69. S. 193.

If in the sūtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛitti of the word 'aprkta' then there is fault with regard to अत् (i. e. the vocative of members in अत् will not be elided, हे कुण्डत् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if however, the anuvṛitti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरत् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरत् but हे कतर). Therefore, by reading the affix अत् with an indicatory इ i. e. reading it as अद् इ we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अत् in कतरत् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरात्, which would have been the form had there been no इ).

Thus the Voc : Sing. is हे कतरत्.

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. In the rest the declension is like that of the Masculine.

The declension of कतम्, इतरम्, अन्यम् and अन्यतरम् is like that of कतरम्. Thus कतमत्; इतरम्, अन्यम् and अन्यतरम् ॥ The word अन्यतम् forms its Nom : and Acc : Sing अन्यतमम् and not अन्यतमत् ॥ Therefore it is a mistake to say सामान्यादि-व्यन्यतमत्तमः ॥

Vārtika :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to the word एकतरम् although it is formed with the affix इतरम्. Thus its Nom : Sing is एकतरम् and not एकतरत्.

-:0:-

Now, we take up the declension of the Neuter Noun अजरम् meaning 'one who does not decay' (अविद्यमाना जरा यस्य). The वा of जरा is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. Thus we get the form अजरम्. Thus अजर + सु = अजर + अम् (VII. 1. 24. S. 309). At this stage Sūtra VII. 2. 101. S. 227 requires the substitution of जरस् in the place of जरा, but this is prohibited by the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातव्यः that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination. For अम् is added to अजरम् as it ended in अ and since अ' has caused the production of अम्, this latter affix though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जरम् ॥

Thus Nom. Singular is अजरम् dual is अजरसी or अजरे,

In the case of Nom. Plural there is affix शि, and when जरस् is substituted, then we have the augment नुम् (VII. 1. 72. S. 314) because शि is Sarvanamasthāna. This नुम् must be added after the जरस् substitution has taken

place, because **जरस्** substitution is taught by VII. 2. 101 S. 227, which is latter in order of the Ashtādhyāyī than **नुम्** augment which is taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314.

Thus **अजर + सि = अजरस् + नुम् + इ = अजरस्नु + इ ॥** At this stage, applies the following Sūtra,

३१७। सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य । ६। ४। १० ॥

सान्तसंयोगस्य महत्तय यो नकारस्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंयुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । अजरांसि अजराणि । अमि लुकोपवादमभावं बोधित्वा परस्याऽअजरस् । ततः संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् । अजरसम् । अजरम् । अजरासी । अजरे । अजरांसि । अजराणि । शेषं पुंवत् । पद्म इति ह्रस्वोदकास्थानां ह्रद् उदन् आसन् । हन्ति । हृदा । ह्रस्वामित्यादि । उशानि । उम्ना । उद्व्यामित्यादि । आसानि । आका । आसव्यामित्यादि । मांसि । मांसा । मान्व्यामित्यादि । वस्तुतस्तु प्रश्रुतिग्रहणं प्रकारार्थमित्युक्तम् । अत एव भाष्ये मांसपञ्चन्या उखाया इत्युदाहृतम् । अयस्मयादिस्त्वेन भत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपो न । पद्म इत्यत्र हि छन्दसीत्यनुवर्तिनं वृत्तौ तथाप्यपीभौत्यत्र मासदछन्दसीति वार्तिके छन्दोग्रहणसामर्थ्याल्लोकऽपि क्वचिरिति कैयटोक्तरीत्या प्रयोगमनुसृत्य पदादयः प्रयोक्तव्या इति बोध्यम् ॥

317. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in **स्**, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of **महत्** ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant **न्स्**, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases.

Thus **अजरांसि**. When **जरस्** substitution does not take place, the Nom Pl. will be **अजराणि** In the Acc: Sing.; we have **अजर + अम्**.

Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first **luk**-elision of the affix **अम्** by VII. 1, 23, (2) then the **अम्** substitution by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, **जरस्** for **जर** by VII. 2. 101 Of these **लुक्**-elision is superseded by **अम्** of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn **अम्** is replaced by the **जरस्** of VII. 2. 101 **जरस्** being substituted for **जर**, we have **अजरस्**, now **luk** cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with **अम्** alone, and have **अजरसं** ॥

When there is no **जरस्** substitution, the Acc. Sing. will be **अजरम्** ॥

The Acc: Dual will be **अजरासी** or **अजरे** and Pl: **अजरांसि** or **अजराणि** ॥ The rest of the declensions is like those of the Masculine.

Note:—The form **अजरांसि** is thus evolved **अजर + इ ॥** Here if the **नुम्** augment be added first, it will be a portion of the anga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the anga. But this augment will be an intervention with regard to **जरा** which is but a portion of the word **अजर** ॥ So that an operation applicable to **जरा** will not take effect, because

of this लुक् intervention. And though tadantavidhi applies in these chapters (पदान्ताधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जर which forms only a portion of a full word अजर ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the लुक् would be found after the स् of जरस् ॥ Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the लुक् should be added after-wards under VII. 1. 72.

The form अजरसं is thus evolved. We have अजर + अम् ॥ Here on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वान्, we substitute जरस् for जर also, (for जर and जरा are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23. ordaining the लुक् of अम् and VII. 1. 24. teaching अम् ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

Now, we take up the declension of हृदय &c referred to in Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

The word हृदय is replaced by हृद्; उदक by उदम् and आस्य by आसम् and मांस by मांस्.

Thus in the weak cases (that is, Acc. Plural and onwards) the forms are हृदि हृदा, हृदभ्याम् &c; उदानि; उदना, उदभ्याम् &c; आसनि, आसा, आसभ्याम् &c; मांसि, मांसा, मांसभ्याम्, &c.

In fact, the word प्रभृति is used in the Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. in order to indicate method, so that not only the words mentioned in that sūtra, but other words also take such substituted forms before the weak cases. Therefore the author of *Mahābhāṣya* gives the example of 'मांसचन्या उखायाः' Here there is not the clision of the final of the conjunct consonant.

Note:—मांसचन्याः is thus formed. From the root पच we form पचन with the affix ल्युट् in the sense of instrument and location, under Sūtra, III. 3. 93. S. 3271. meaning the vessel for cooking. To पचन is added the feminine affix डीप्. मांसस्य पचनी = मांसचनी. Here in forming the compound the genitive sign is elided by लुक् and the affix so elided leaves no trace behind by the Sūtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 and therefore मांस् would not have been substituted for मांसि, but for the fact of our having explained the word प्रभृति in the sense प्रकार.

By taking this compound under I. 4. 20. S. 3390 and taking it to be a *bha*, there is not संयोगान्त लोप. Moreover, if in the Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. the anuvritti of छन्दसि be read from the Sūtra VI. 1. 60 S. 3514, yet these words are formed in secular literature also. Because, in Sūtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442, the author of *Mahābhāṣya* has read the following Vartika. मांसदछन्दसि meaning न् is substituted for the final of मांस before a *bha* affix in the Chhandas. Now अपोभि (VII. 4. 48. S. 442) is a rule of Chhandas. Therefore the repetition of

छन्स् in the *Vārtika* indicates by implication that छन्स् rules are not confined to the Vedās only but are found in secular literature also. In fact, this is the opinion of *Kaiyat* who says that the inclusion of नास् in VI. 1. 63. S. 263. is for the purposes of *Chhandas* only. The repetition of the word *Chhandas* in नास्छन्वस् *Vārtika* under Sūtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442. indicates that पद् &c substitution take place in secular literature also.

३१८ । ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य । १ । २ । ४७ ॥

ह्रीन्ने प्रातिपदिकस्याऽअन्तस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । श्रीपि । ज्ञानवत् । श्रीपाय । अत्र संनिपातपरिभाषया अतो धातोरित्याकारलोपो न ॥

318. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

Thus श्रीपा becomes श्रीप which is declined like ज्ञान ॥ The Dative Sing. is श्रीपाय ॥ Here पा is not to be elided by rule VI. 4. 140. S. 240 before the affix डे on the maxim 'संनिपात लक्षण &c. (Sec S. 316)

-:0:-

Now, we take up the declension of वारि ॥ Thus Nom : Sg. वारि + सु ॥ Here applies the following rule.

३१९ । स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् । ७ । १ । २३ ॥

ह्रीन्वारिङ्गास्वमोर्लुक् स्यात् । वारि ॥

319. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

Thus वारि + सु = वारि + O = वारि ॥

The Nom : Dual is वारि + औ ॥ At this stage, the following rule applies.

१२० । इकोऽचि निभक्तौ । ७ । १ । ७३ ॥

इगन्तस्य ह्रीन्वस्य नुमागमः स्यादचि निभक्तौ । वारिणी । वारीणि । ननुमतेति निषेधस्यानिस्वत्वा-
स्पक्षे संबुद्धिनिमित्तो गुणः । हे वारि । हे वारि । आङो न । वारिणा । घेर्ङितीतिगुणे प्राप्तिः ॥ वृद्धौस्वतृज-
ज्ञावगुणेभ्यां नुम् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन * ॥ वारिणे । वारिणः । वारिणोः । नुमच्चिरेति नृद् । नामाति क्षीर्घः ।
वारीणाम् । वारिणि । वारिणोः । ह्लादौ हरिवत् ॥

320. The augment नुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वारि + नुम् + औ = वारि + नुम् = वी (VII. 1. 19. S 310) = वारिणी ॥ The Nom : Pl : is वारिणि ॥

The Voc : Sing : has two forms हे वारे or हे वारि ॥ हे वारे is formed by the guṇa of इ under rule VII. 3. 108. S 242 and though the affix is elided, still it leaves its effect behind, in spite of the rule I. 1. 63. S. 263 which declares that when an affix is elided by छु it leaves no trace behind. In fact, the rule I. 1. 63 S. 263 is *anitya*, according to one view. But if that rule is not considered *anitya*, then we have the next form हे वारि ॥

The Inst : Sing : is वारिणा ॥

The Dat : Sing : is वारि + हे ॥ Here the rule वेडिति VII. 3. 111 S. 245 requires guṇa. But the guṇa is set aside by the following *Vārtika*.

Vārtik. The augment नुम् comes by superseding in anticipation the rules of Vriddhi, औ substitution, वृश्चद्वाव and guṇa. Thus वारिणेः ॥

The Abl : and Gen : sing is वारिणः ॥

The Gen : dual is वारिणोः ॥

The augment नुद् is added by the *Vārtika* नुमच्चिर &c. under sūtra VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. in forming the Genitive Plural ; and the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 3. S. 209. Thus we get the Gen : Plural ; वारीणाम् ॥

The Loc : Sing : and Dual are वारिणि and वारिणोः respectively. Before the consonant beginning affix सु of the Loc : Pl : it is like that of हरि (VII. 3. 119. S. 247.) i. e. वारिषु ॥

-:0:-

Now we take up the declension of अनादि ॥ • It may be a Masculine or a Neuter Noun. It is not exclusively a Neuter. Hence the following rule applies :—

३२१ । तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्भालवस्य । ७ । १ । ७४ ॥

प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तैक्ये भाषितपुंस्कमिगन्तं क्लीबं पुंवद्वा स्याद्भाषावच्चि । अनादये । अनादिने । इत्यादि ।
शेषं वारिवत् । पीलुर्वृक्षस्तत्फलं पीलु तस्मै पीलुने । अन्न न पुंवत् । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदात् ॥

321. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gâlava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

Thus the Dative Singular is either अनादये or अनादिने &c. The rest of the declensions is like those of वारि ॥

पीलु is the name of a tree and is of Masculine gender ; its fruit called पीलु is of neuter gender. This last word has only one form. Thus the Dative

Singular is वीलुने and not वीलवे ॥ This is because the word वीलु denoting 'fruit' has no corresponding Masculine word denoting fruit, for the corresponding Masculine वीलु refers to the tree, and not to the fruit ; so this word वीलु cannot be said to be वारितपुंस्कः ॥

—:O:—

Now we take up the declension of the Noun वधि ॥ In the declension of this word the following rule applies :

३२२ । अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङ्कुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ७५ ॥

एषामनङ् स्याद्वावधि स चोदात्तः ॥ अक्षोपोऽनः ॥ वध्ना । वधे । वध्नः २ । वध्नोः २ । वध्नि । वधनि शेषं वारिवत् । एवमस्थिसक्थ्यक्षीणि । तदन्तस्याप्यनङ् । अतिवध्ना । सुधि । सुधिनी । सुधीनि । हे सुधे । हे सुधि । सुधिया । सुधिना । प्रध्या । प्रधिना । मधु । मधुनी । मधूनि । हे मधो । हे मधु । एवमम्बाव्यः । सानुबाब्दस्य स्तुर्वा । स्तूनि । सानूनि । मियक्रोष्टु । मियक्रोष्टुनी । तृज्वङ्गावात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुम् । मियक्रोष्टूनि दाहा पुंवत्पक्षे मियक्रोष्ट्रा । मियक्रोष्ट्रना । मियक्रोष्ट्रे । मियक्रोष्टवे । अन्यत्र तृज्वङ्गावात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुमेव । मियक्रोष्ट्रुना । मियक्रोष्ट्रुने । नुमचिरोति । नुद् । मियक्रोष्ट्रूनाम् । सुलु । सुलुनी । सुलूनि ॥ पुनस्तद्वत् । सुल्वा । सुलुना । धातु । धातूनी । धातूषि । हे धातः । हे धातु । धात्रा । धातूणा । एवं ज्ञातृकर्षादयः ॥

322. The acutely accented अन् (अनङ्) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi, and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Note :—Thus अस्थौ, अस्थौ, वध्नौ, वध्नौ, सक्थौ, सक्थौ, अक्षौ, अक्षौ ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनङ् would have been also anudatta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation अ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udatta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudatta before, now becomes udatta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As मियास्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन, मियवध्ना ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest ? ' Observe अस्थिनी, वधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, वधिभ्याम् ॥

Thus वधि + वा (Ins-sing) = वध् + वैन + आ = वध् + न् + वा The वैन is elided by VI. 4. 134 = वध्ना, so also D. S. वध्न G. A. S. वध्नः, G. and L. D. वध्नोः L. S. वध्नि, or वधनि ॥ In the remaining cases, it is like वारि as :—

N. S. वधि, N. D. वधिनी N. P. वधीनि ॥ Before consonantal affixes the form is वधिभ्याम् &c.

The अनङ् comes even after bases that are compound but which end in अस्थि &c as अतिवध्ना ॥

The word सुधि is thus declined :—

N. A. S सुधि, N. A. D. सुधिनी ; N. Pl. सुधीनि ; Voc. हे सुधे or हे सुधि ॥ I. S. सुधिया or सुधिना (VI. 4. 85 S. 323) the Ins. S. of वधि however is प्रध्या or प्रधिना (VI. 4. 82 S. 272)

The word मधु is thus declined : as N. A. मधु, मधुनी, मधूनि, Voc. हे मध्वे or हे मधु ; D. S मधुने, never मधवे, and so on.

So also the words अम्बु &c. The word सानु optionally assumes the form स्नु by the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 41 S. 295. Thus स्नुनि or सानूनि ॥

So also प्रियक्रांष्टु, प्रियक्रांष्टुनी ॥ The plural will have तुम् by prohibiting in anticipation the तृचवङ्गाव (VII. 1. 95. S. 274), as प्रियक्रांष्टूनि । In Ins. S and other cases, when the rule VII. 1. 74 applies, we have two forms as प्रियक्रांष्ट्र or प्रियक्रांष्टुना, प्रियक्रांष्ट्रे or प्रियक्रांष्ट्वे ॥ In other cases there will be one form with तुम् alone, as प्रियक्रांष्टुना प्रियक्रांष्टुने ॥ There will be तुद् by तुवाचिर as प्रियक्रांष्टूनाम् ॥

The Noun सुलु is declined as follows: Nom : and Acc : forms are सुलु, सुलुनी, सुलूनि ॥ Instr : singular is सुलुवा or सुलुना ॥

The Noun धातृ is declined as follows :—Nom and Acc : forms are धातृ, धातृणी, धातृणि ॥ The Voc : Sing. is हे धातृ or हे धातृ ॥

The Instr : Singular is धातृवा or धातृना ॥

Similar is the declension of ज्ञात, कर्तृ &c.

—:O:-

Now we take up the declension of प्रचो ending in ओ ॥ In Neuter, the ओ is changed to उ in accordance with the following Sūtra :—

३२३ । एच इग्रस्वादेशे । १ । १ ४८ ॥

आदिभ्यमानेषु ह्रस्वेषु मध्ये एच इगेव स्यात् ॥ प्रचु । प्रचुनी । प्रचूनि । प्रचुनेत्यादि । इह न पुंवत् । यद्विगन्तं प्रचु इति तस्य भाषितपुंस्त्वभावात् । एवमप्येऽपि । प्रचि । प्रचिणी । प्रचीणि । प्रचिणा । एकदेशादि-कृतस्यानन्यत्वाद्वाच्यो हनीत्यात्वम् । प्रचाभ्याम् । प्रचाभिः तुमचिरोति नुच्चात्वे प्रचाणामिति साधवः । वस्तुतस्तु संनिपातपरिभाषया नुच्चात्वं न । नामीति दीर्घस्त्वारम्भसामर्थ्यादपरिभाषां बाधत इत्युक्तम् । प्रचीणाम् । चुतु । चुतुनी । चुतूनि । चुतुनां । चुतुने । इत्यादि ॥

323. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

Note :—This sūtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares :—“the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude from provided it ends in a vowel.” Therefore in compounding अति + ऐ, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिङि ‘extravagant’ so नौ अतिनु ‘disembarked or landed,’ गो, उपयु ‘near a cow.’ All avyay-ribhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्' ? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्, Thus the short of आ is अ. अति + खद्वा = अति खद्वाः । अति + माला = अतिमालः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted ?' \ Because when, एच् or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवेदत्त !

Thus Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रयु, प्रयुनी ; प्रयूनि. The Instr : Sing. is प्रयुना etc. This word is not treated like a Masculine one because it has no corresponding Masculine form. 'प्रि' which is derived from the root रै to give with the prefix प्र. The रै being changed to रि by the present Sūtra. we get the form प्रि. It is declined as follows :—Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रि, प्रिणी, प्रीणि. Instr : Sing. प्रिणा. By the maxim एकदेश &c, that is "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this changesomething else, than what it was before the change had taken place," the rule applying to रै will apply to रि also. Hence the rule रायो हन्ति VII.2. 85. S. 286 will apply to प्रि also. Thus forms before भ्याच् and भिः will be प्राम्भ्याच् and प्राम्भिः । According to Mādhava, the Genitive Pl : will be प्राम्भ्याच्, the augment नुद् being added by the Vārtika नुमाचिर &c. But as a matter of fact, there is not आ before नुद् in accordance with the Maxim संनिपात लक्षणे विधिरनिमित्तं, i. e. That which is taught in a rule the application of which occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." That is to say this, maxim does not apply and it is not of universal application, as we have already shown under Sūtra VI. 4. 9 S. 209. There the correct form is प्रीणाच् ॥

The word सुनु which is the shortened form of सुना meaning that which has a good boat, is declined in the Nom : and Acc : forms as सुनु, सुनुनी, सुनुनि ॥ The Instr and Dat : Singular forms are सुनुन^१ ; सुनुने^२ respectively. &c.

Here ends the declension of Neuter Nouns ending in Vowels,

अथ हलन्तपुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XI.

DECLENSION OF MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

Now, we take up the declension of the word लिङ् derived from the root लिङ् 'to taste,' 'to lick' with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The Nom : Sing : is लिङ् + सु ॥ The ङ is changed to ङ by the following rule.

३२४ । हीढः । ८ । २ । ३१ ॥

हस्य ढः स्याज्झलि पवान्ते च । हलङ्घाविति मुलोपः । पवान्तत्वाद्धस्य ढः । अइस्चत्वे । लिङ् ।
लिङ् । लिटौ । लिङ् । लिङ्म् । लिटौ । लिङ् । लिहा । लिङ्भ्याम् । लिट्सु ॥

324. ढ is substituted for ढ before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लिङ् + सु = लिङ् + ० (The सु is elided by हल्ङ्याप् VI. 1. 68 S. 252.)
 = लिङ् (The न् is changed to ङ because it is final in a pada) = लिङ् (VIII. 2. 39
 S. 84) or लिङ् (VIII. 4. 56. S. 206).

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are लिहौ ; लिहः ॥

The Acc : forms are लिहम्, लिहो ; लिहः ॥

The Instr : forms are ।लहा, लिङ्भ्याम् लिङ्भिः ॥

The Loc: Pl: is लिद्त्सु (The त् being optionally added by VIII.
3. 29. S. 131) or लिद्सु ॥

-:O:-

Now we take up the declension of **शामलिह** ॥ It is derived from the Denominative Verb **शामलिह्याति** (**शामलिहमात्मानामच्छति** one who desires a **शामलिह**) Here the following sūtra is inapplicable, though the root **शामलिह्य** begins with **ह** ॥

३२५ । दादेर्भ्रातोर्घः । ८ । २ । ३२ ।

उपदेशे दावेर्धातोर्हस्य घः स्याज्ज्ञालि पदान्ते च । उपदेशे किम् । अभोगित्यत्र यथा स्यात् । राम-
लिहमात्मानं इच्छति रामलिह्यति । ततः क्त्वापि रामलिह् । अत्र मा भूत् ॥

325. Of a root beginning with **ह**, in original enunciation, the **घ** is substituted for **ह**, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

But *रामलिह* does not become *रामलिक्* because the *anuvritti* of the word *उपदेश* is understood in the above *Sūtra* and as in the *Dhātupāṭha* there is no root like *रामलिह*, so this rule is inapplicable (See the Not given below).

Why have we used the word *upadesa* in explaining the present *sūtra* ? So that there may be *च* substitution in *अधाक्* which does not begin with *ह* in its conjugated form, but the root of which begins with *ह* ॥

Note :—For the *विनाह* of a *ह*-beginning root, *च* is substituted under similar circumstances. As *हग्धा*, *हग्धुम्*, *हग्धव्यम्*, *काष्ठधुक्*, *हग्धा*, *होग्धुम्*, *होग्धव्यम्*, *गोधुक्*, from *हन्* and *दुह* ॥ For the *तृ* of the affixes *हृ* &c. *ध* is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the *च* becomes *ग* by VIII. 4. 53. For the *च* in *काष्ठदच्* is substituted *ग* by VIII. 2. 39, or *क्* by VIII. 4. 56, and *ह* becomes *ध* by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say “of a root beginning with *ह*” ? Observe *लेह्य*, *लहुम्*, *लेहव्यम्*, *गुडलिह* ॥

The force of the genitive case in *धातोः* is not to make it in apposition with the word *होह*; but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole : so that it means “the word which begins with *ह* and forms part of a root, for the *ह* of such a part is substituted *च*.” What does follow from it ? The letter *च* is substituted in *अधेक्* also, which begins with *अ* ॥ For without the above explanation (*धातोरेवयवो यो रादिशब्दस्तदवयवस्य हकारस्य* &c.), the *च* would have come in examples like *मास्म धाक्*, without the augment *अ*, but not where there was the augment *अ* ॥ Moreover, that it is an *अव्यययोगा षष्ठी* will appear necessary in *sūtra* VIII. 2. 37.

* If it has the force of denoting a ‘portion or member’, how do you explain the forms *हग्धा*, *होग्धुम्*, for here no *portion* is taken but *whole* word? This will be explained on the maxim of *व्यपदेशिवद् भावः* : “An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach”. (*व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्*) ॥ Or we may explain the *sūtra*, by saying ‘that root which begins with *ह* in its original enunciation in *Dhātupāṭha*’ ? Thus in original enunciation the root is *लिह* not beginning with *ह* ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like *रामलिह* (*रामलिहमिच्छति = रामलिहति*), it is a root which begins with *ह*; the *ह* of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to *च*, for it is not a root of *upadesa*. Therefore, when we add *क्रिप्* to this root, we get *रामलिह्* by VIII. 2. 31, and not *रामलिक्* ॥

Now we take up the declension of ‘*दुह*’ ॥ Here the following *sūtra* applies :—

३२६ । एकाचो वशो भष् भवन्तस्य स्थोः । ८ । २ । ३७ ॥

धातोर्वयवो य एकाच् द्वापन्तस्तवयवस्य वशः स्थाने भष् स्यात्सकारि ध्रुवदे पदान्ते च । एकाचो धातोर्गिति सामानाधिकरण्यानान्वये तु इह न स्यात् । गर्भमाचष्टे गर्भयति । ततः क्विप् । जिनेपः । गर्भप । झलीति निवृत्तम् । स्थोर्महणसामर्थ्यात् । तेनेह न । दुग्धम् । वेग्धा । व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन धात्ववयवत्वाद्भू-
भावः । अस्त्वचत्वे । धुक धुग् । दुहो । दुहः । षत्वचत्वे । धुधु ॥

326. For the letters व, ग, ड or द् in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, or a portion of it and which ends in भ, म, घ, ढ or च, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or च respectively in that portion of it which begins with वश् and ends with जष् before स or च्च, or at the end of a pada (word).

In explaining this sūtra, we have used the word अवयव or a member or a portion. The root itself may be of more than one syllable, but if there is any member in it, which satisfies the requirements of this sūtra, that is to say, which begins with व, ग, ड or द् and ends with झ, भ, घ, ढ, च, in other words, which begins with the third letter of the *Varga*, except ज and ends with the fourth letter of the *Varga*, then for व is substituted भ, for ग, घ, for ड, ढ, and for द्, च ॥ But had we explained the sūtra by saying एकाचवधातोः, that is, of a root which is monosyllabic and satisfies the above qualifications then we could not have got the form गर्भप् from the denominative root गर्भयति. The word गर्भप् is derived from the root गर्भय by the affix क्तिप् to the root and the elision of णि ॥ The द् is changed to च ॥

The anuvritti of झलि ceases here and is not to be read in the sūtra. This had commenced from VIII. 2. 26 of the *Aṣṭā dhyāyī*.

By taking the letters स and च्च in the sūtra, the substitution does not take place before any other letter, such as in दुग्धम्, वेग्धा ॥ Here द् is not changed to च ॥

By applying the maxim व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्, that is "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach;" the rule will apply to simple roots like to दुह् &c. also. Therefore दुह् + सु = दुह् + ० = दुष् + ० = दुष् = धुष् or धुक् ॥ The Nom : Dual and Pl : are दुहो ; दुहः ॥

In forming the Loc : Pl : the present sūtra will apply and we get the form धुञ् ॥ (स् being changed to ञ् by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212).

In declining 'दुह' the following rule applies.

३२७ । वा द्रुहमुहण्युहणिहाम् । ८ । २ । ३३ ॥

एषां हस्य वा घः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । पक्षे ङः । ध्रक् । ध्रग् । ध्रद् । ध्रङ् । हुहो । हुहः । ध्रुग्धाम् । ध्रुङ्धाम् । ध्रुश्चु । ध्रुह्चु । ध्रुह्चु । एवं मुहण्युहणिहाम् ॥ विश्ववाद् । विश्ववाङ् । विश्ववाहो । विश्ववाहः । विश्ववाहं । विश्ववाहौ ॥

327. The ह् of druh, muh, snuh, and snih is optionally changed to घ before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

The ह् of these words is changed to घ optionally ; in the other alternative it would be changed to ङ ॥ Thus Nom : Sing is ध्रक् or ध्रग् or ध्रद् or ध्रङ् ॥

Instrumental, Dative and Ablative Dual is ध्रुग्धाम् or ध्रुङ्धाम्. Locative Pl : is ध्रुश्चु or ध्रुह्चु (VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or ध्रुह्चु ॥

Similar is the declension of हुह्, स्नुह् and जिह् ॥

—————:O:—————

Now, we take up the declension of विश्ववाह् ॥ The Nom : forms are विश्ववाद् or विश्ववाङ् ; विश्ववाहो, विश्ववाहः ; Acc : Sing and Dual are विश्ववाहम्, विश्ववाहौ ॥

In forming the Acc : Pl : the rule after the following applies, because the base gets the designation of ' bha ' before this affix ; that is the semi-vowel व् is changed to ङ् ॥ This change is called संप्रसारण (Samprasāraṇa) or vocalisation, which is defined in the following sūtra.

३२८ । इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् । १ । १ । ८ ॥

यणः स्थाने प्रयुज्यमानो य इक् स संप्रसारणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

328. The ik vowels which replace the semivowels *yaṇ* are called samprasāraṇa.

Note :—This defines the word samprasāraṇa, or vocalisation. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyāhāra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ, and their corresponding semi-vowels ए, ओ, ए, and ॠ included in the pratyāhāra yaṇ. The word samprasāraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् ' to sleep,' is formed by adding the nisithā affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + क्त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the व् of स्वप् before the क्तिन् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः ' slept ' Similarly from वद्-उवितः, यङ्-इष्टम्, व्यङ्-विद्धः, मह-गृहीतम्-प्रङ्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels as in VI. 1. 13 ; VI. 4. 131.

३२६ । बाह ऊद् । ६ । ४ । १३२ ॥

मत्व बाह- संप्रसारणमूद् स्यात् ॥

329. The व् in बाह् is vocalised to ऊ (ऊद्), when the compound stem is Bha.

३३० । संप्रसारणाच्च । ६ । १ । १०८ ॥

संप्रसारणादधि परे पूर्वरूपमकोदशः स्यात् ॥ एत्येधस्यूदसु ॥ विद्वौहः । विद्वौहेत्यादि । छन्त्येव विधिरिति पक्षे निजन्ताद्विच् ॥

330. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi-vowel and the subsequent vowel.

Thus विश्वबाह् + वास् = विश्व + ऊ + आह् + वास् = विश्व + ऊह् + वास् = विश्वौहः (The Vriddhi is according to VI. 1. 89. S. 73) The Instrumental Singular is विश्वौहा and so on.

If बाह् in विश्वबाह् be considered to have been formed by the affix विच् under sūtra III. 2. 64 S 3410, then there will be affix विच् after it by sūtra III. 2. 75. S 2980.

Note :—The word बाह् is a विच् formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada : hence we have used the word "compound." Thus विश्वौहः ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ ; and then विश्व + ऊह् = विश्वौह the Vriddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus : प्रष्ठ + वह् + वास् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + वास् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह् + वास् (the affix विच् III. 2. 64, will produce gna) = प्रष्ठौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact विच् is never added to वह् (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce ओ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊद्, indicates the existence of the following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation : therefore, we can never get the form ओह् ॥

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of अनडुह्. In its declension the following rule applies :—

३३१ । चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ६८ ॥

अनयोराध स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने स चोदात्तः ॥

331. चतुर and अनडुह् get the acutely accented augment आ (आम्) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus अनडुह् + सु = अनडुह् + सु ॥ Then applies the following rule.

३३२ । सावनडुहः । ७ । १ । ८२ ।

अस्य नुम् स्यात्सौ परे । आदिस्वधिकाराद्वर्णात्परोऽयं नुम् । अतो विज्ञेयविहितेनापि नुमा आम् न बाध्यते । अमा च नुम् न बाध्यते । खोर्ल्येवः । नुम् विधिसामर्थ्यादनुज्ञांस्त्विति इत्वं न । संयोगान्तलोप-
स्थसिद्धत्वाज्ज्ञोपो न । अनङ्गान् ॥

332. अनङ्ग gets the augment नुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By the last अनङ्ग gets the augment आ after ड in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनङ्वाह् and अनङ्वा ॥ By the present sūtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनङ्वात् Nominative Singular ; and अनङ्वान् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede नुम्, nor are they superseded by नुम् ॥

The नुम् is specifically taught by this Sūtra, the ह् is not changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 72 S 334. The final न् is not elided, because the elision of ह् by VIII. 2. 23. S 54 is not perceived by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236, requiring the elision of न् because of the rule VIII. 2. 1. S 12. So the न् is not elided. Thus the Nom: Sing is अनङ्वात्. In forming the Voc: the following rule applies.

३३३ । अम् संबुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ८२ ॥

चतुरनङ्गोऽस्य स्यात्संबुद्धौ । आमोपवादः । हे अनङ्गन् । अनङ्गाहो । अनङ्गाहः । अनङ्गा ॥

333. चतुर and अनङ्ग get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule. As, हे अनङ्गन्, हे अनङ्गाहो, अनङ्गाहः ॥

The Instr: Sing. is अनङ्गा.

Before the affixes भ्याम्, मिः &c, the ह् is changed to ह् by the following rule.

३३४ । वसुसंसुध्वंस्वनङ्गहा दः । ८ । २ । ७२ ॥

सान्तवस्वन्तस्य संसादेश्च दः स्यात्पदान्ते । अनङ्गप्रामित्यादि । सान्तेति किम् । विज्ञान् । पदान्ते इति किम् । सस्तम् । ध्वस्तम् ॥

334. द् is substituted for the final स् of a word formed with the affix वस् and ending in स and for the final of संस्, ध्वंस् and अनङ्ग at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

Thus अनङ्गभ्याम् &c.

Why do we say that the word formed with the affix वसु must end in स् ? Observe विह्वस्.

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe अस्तव ; अस्तव्.

—:O:—

Now, we take up the declension of तुरासाह्. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३५ । सहेः साडः सः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

साङ्कूपस्य सहेः सस्य मूर्धन्यादशः स्यात् । तुराषाड् । तुराषाड् । तुरासाहो । तुरासाहः । तुराषाड्-भ्यामित्यादि । तुरं सहत इत्यर्थे छन्दासि सह इति ण्विः । लोके तु साहयतः क्विप् । अन्येषामपीति पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः ॥

335. ष is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साङ् (साट्) ॥

Thus तुराषाड्, साङ् is derived from सह by the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 63 S 3409), there is vriddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ढ (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137 S. 3539).

Note :—साङः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साङ् except this derived from सहः why then the word is used in the sūtra ? There is another form साड not derived from सह् ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सडः, सडस्य अपत्यं = साडः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ढ is called सडः ; as मूड ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साङ्' ? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स्" ? So that the आ of साङ् may not be changed to cerebral : the ङ् is already cerebral.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ह् ॥

--:O:--

There is no masculine noun ending in व् though on the analogy of the Noun कमल् (See 340) we may form तोव् meaning तोवमाचक्षणेः and decline as तोव्, तोव्यौ, तोव्यः yet this व् will allways be elided by the rule VI. 1. 66 S. 873. We take up, therefore, the declension of the Masculine nouns ending in व् eg सुविन् In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३६ । दिव औत् । ७ । १ । ८४ ॥

द्विविति प्रानिपदिकस्य औत्स्यास्तौ परे । अन्विधिवेन स्थानिवत्त्वाभावाद्धल्लुप्यदिति सुलोपो न ॥ सुव्यैः । सुविद्यैः । सुविद्यः । सुविद्यम् । सुविद्यौ ॥

336. औ is substituted for the final of the prātipadika दिव् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.)

Note :—There is a nominal-stem दिव् which is taken here. It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिव् is not to be taken here, as it has the in-

dicatory letter **इ** and is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as **दिबु** ॥ The nominal-stem derived from **दिबु**, does not take **औ**, but **ऊ**, the Nom. Sg. of which is **द्युः** as **अक्षद्युः** (See VI, 4, 19, and VI. 1, 131).

The rule VI. 1. 68 S 252, required the elision of **द्युः**; but this is prevented, because **औ** is not **स्थानिवत्** to **इ** for the purposes of **अल्पिधि** rule VI. 1. 68. S 252. Thus the Nom: forms are **द्युयोः**, **द्युविशौ**, **द्युविबः**. The Acc: forms are **द्युविबम्**, **द्युविशौ** &c.

Before **भ्याम्** and **भिः** the following rule applies:—

३३७ । दिव उत । इ । १ । १३१ ॥

दिवोऽन्तरिक्ष उकारः स्यात्पदान्ते । द्युभ्याम् । द्युभिः । अत्वारः । अतुरः । अतुभिः । अतुभ्यः २॥

337. For the final of the nominal-stem **दिबु**, there is the substitution of **उ**, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

*Note:—*The portion **पद** of the word **पदान्त** must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word **दिबु** is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus **दिवि कानो यस्य = द्युकानः**, **द्युमान्**, **विमलद्यु दिनं**, **द्युभ्याम्**, **द्युभिः** ॥ We have said that **दिबु** is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter (anubandha) and should have been read as **दिबु** ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long **ऊ** for **इ** by VI. 4 19. In that case we shall have **अक्षद्युभ्याम्**, **अक्षद्युभिः** ॥ The **उत्** with a **त्** shows that short **उ** is meant, and debars **ऊत्** (VI. 4. 19). In the case of **ऊइ** substitution the forms will be **द्युभ्याम्**, **द्युभिः** ॥ The **ऊइ** also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe **दिवो**, **दिवः** ॥

Thus Instr: Dual and Pl. are **द्युभ्याम्**; **द्युभिः**.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in **इ** ॥

—————:o:—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **इ**.

We take up the declension of **अतुर** which is always Plural. Its Nom: Pl: is **अतुर + अस् = अतुर + आम् + अस्** (S. 331) = **अत्वारः** । Its Acc; Instr:, Dat. and Abl: Pl: are **अतुरः**, **अतुभिः**, **अतुभ्यः**, **अतुभ्यः** respectively.

In forming the Gen: Pl: the following rule applies:—

३३८ । षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च । ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

षट्संज्ञकैश्च अतुरश्च परस्यामो जुजागमः स्यात् । णत्वं । द्वित्वं । अतुर्णाम् ॥

338. The augment **न्** is added before the Genitive pl. ending **आम्** after the Numerals called 'shash', and after **अतुर** ॥

*Text:—*The **न्** is changed to **ण** by VIII. 4. 1. S, 235 and this **ण** is optionally doubled by VIII. 4. 46. S. 59.

As चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in र् is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

Note:—This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमषण्णाम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियषण्णाम्, प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियचतुराम्, where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

In forming the Loc. Pl, the following is held in abeyance, because the विसर्जनीय taught there applies to that र् which is derived from ह् and not to every र्.

३३६ । रोः सुपि । ८ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तमीबहुवचने परे रोरेव विसर्जनीयो नान्यरेकस्य । षत्वम् । षस्य द्वित्वे प्राप्ते ॥

339. Visarjaniya is substituted for the ह् called र् (and not any other र्), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

This rule not applying, we have चतुर्+सु=चतुर्+सु by VIII. 3. 59 S. 212. Then rule VIII. 4. 46 S. 59 requires optional doubling, but this is set-aside by the following.

३४० । शरोऽचि । ८ । ४ । ४६ ।

अचि परे शरो न द्वे स्तः । चतुर्षु । प्रियचत्वारः । हे प्रियचत्वारः । प्रियचत्वारो । प्रियचत्वारः । शीणत्वे तु नुद् नश्यते । प्रियचतुराम् । प्राधान्ये तु स्यादेव । परमचतुर्णाम् । कमले कमलां वा आचक्ष्णाणः कमल् । कमलो । कमलः । षत्वं । कमळसु ॥

340. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows,

Note:—The word न् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule VIII. 4. 46, S. 59. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्षः, अक्षर्यः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe वृद्धयते ॥

Text:—Thus चतुर्षु.

Now, we take up the declension of प्रियचतुर् which may be declined in all numbers (See Note under S. 338). प्रियचतुर्+सु=प्रियचतु+आ+र्+स् (VII. 1. 98. S. 331)=प्रियचत्वारः. In the Voc: Sing, instead of आम् there will be अम् by VII. 1. 99. S. 333. Thus हे प्रियचत्वारः । The Nom: Dual and Pl: are प्रियचत्वारो; प्रियचत्वारः. As चतुर् here is a secondary member of a Compound, the augment नुद् required by VII. 1. 55. S. 338 is not added to the formation of the Gen: Pl: Thus we have प्रियचतुराम्. But if the compound be not a Bahuvrihi, and चतुर् be a principal member, then the Genitive Pl. will be प्रियचतुर्णाम् ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in र् ॥

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

Now we take up the declension of कम्ल. This is derived from the Noun कम्लम् or कम्ला by passing through the चुरादिगण under the rule तत्करोति तदाचष्टे, that is, when the sense is कम्लं कम्लां वा अक्षानः that one speaks of Kamala or Kamalā. Thus कम्ल + णिच् (of चुरादिगण). To this we add the affix णिच्, when the णिच् is elided by VI. 4. 51. S. 2313. Thus we get कम्ल. Its declension is Nom. कम्ल, कम्लौ, कम्लः. Its Loc. Pl. is कम्लसु. (The स् being changed to ष).

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

There is no noun ending in ञ्. Therefore we take up the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्. In the declension of these nouns, the following rule applies.

३४१ । मोनो धातोः । ८ । २ । ६४ ।

धातोर्मन्त्र नः स्यात्पदान्ते । नन्वस्यासिद्धस्वान्नलोपो न । प्रशाम्यतीति प्रशान् । प्रशानौ । प्रशामः । प्रशान्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

341. न is substituted, at the end of a Pada, for the final म of a root.

As प्रशान्, this is formed by adding णिच् to the root शम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. S. 2556. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रशानौ, प्रशामः where न is not at the end of a pada.

The Nom : forms are प्रशान्, प्रशानौ प्रशामः ; The Instr : Dual is प्रशान्भ्याम् &c.

—————:0:—————

Now, we take up the declension of किम् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies ;—

३४२ । किमः कः । ७ । २ । १०३ ॥

किमः कः स्याद्विभक्तौ । अकञ्सहितस्याध्ययमादेशः । कः । कौ । के । कम् । कौ । कान् इत्यादि सर्ववत् ॥

342. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के, कम्, कौ, कान् ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकञ् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For म् of किम् being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced

by अ, had the sūtra been किनोऽन् and the forms would have been the same (क् + अ + अ = क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c. The rest of the declension is similar to that of सर्व ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies.

३४३ । इदमो मः । ७ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदमो मः स्यात्सौ परे । त्यदाद्यत्वापवादः ॥

343. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. At this stage applies the next sūtra.

३४४ । इदोऽय् पुंसि । ७ । २ । १११ ॥

इदम इदोऽय् स्यात्सौ पुंसि । सोर्लोपः । अयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

344. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sing. masculine.

As अयम् ॥

The case ending सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In other cases, sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. would apply and there will be Para-rupa (VI. 1. 97. S. 191) and so इदम् will assume the form इद् ॥

At this stage, will apply the following rule.

३४५ । इदम् । ७ । २ । १०९ ॥

इदमो इदम् मः स्याद्विभक्तौ । इमौ । इमे । त्यदादिः संबोधनं नास्तीत्युत्सर्गः ॥

345. And म् is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम् + अम् = इदम + अम् (VII. 2, 102 S. 265.) = इमम + अम् (VII. 2. 109 S. 345.) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, S. 191).

It is a general rule that there is no Vocative case of त्यदादि words.

In forming the Instrumental and other cases, the following rule applies :—

३४६ । अनाप्यकः । ७ । २ । ११२ ॥

अककारस्येदम् एदोऽन् स्यादापि विभक्तौ । आधिति टा इत्यारभ्य सुपः पकारेण प्रत्याहारः । अनेन ॥

346. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनयेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say “not when क is added by V. 3. 71”? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg), and ए of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

Before consonantal affixes, the following rule applies.

३४७ । हलि लोपः । ७ । २ । ११३ ॥

अककारस्वेवम इदो लोपः स्यादापि हलादौ ॥ नानर्थकेऽन्येन्यविधिरनभ्यासीवकारे ॥

347. The इद् of इदम् is elided before an āp case-affix beginning with a consonant, provided that the augment अकच् is not added.

Here applies the maxim—“The rule I. 1. 52. S. 42, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the genitive case, is not valid where what is exhibited in the genitive is meaningless, provided the rule teaching the substitution does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable.”

Having elided इद् of इदम्, the only portion that remains now is इ which is replaced by अ VII. 2 102 S. 265. Thus we have only अ left. Thus अ + भ्याम् ॥ Now VII. 3. 102 S. 202 declares that a final अ is lengthened before a case affix beginning with यच् ॥ But the solitary अ is initial and cannot therefore be final and so it should not be lengthened. To remove this doubt, we have the following Sūtra.

३४८ । आद्यन्तवृद्धेकस्मिन् । १ । १ । २१ ॥

एकस्मिन् क्रियमाणं कार्यमावाविवाऽन्त इव स्यात् । आभ्याम् ॥

348. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

Thus अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ॥

In forming the Instr : Pl : the following rule applies :—

३४९ । नेदमदसोरकोः । ७ । १ । ११ ॥

अककारयोरिदमदसोर्भिस ऐस् न स्यात् । एस्वम् । एभिः । अस्वम् । निस्थित्वात् डेः स्मौ ; पश्चाद्भालि-लोपः । अस्मै । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्मात् । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्य । अनयोः । एषाम् । अस्मिन् । अनयोः । एषु । ककारयोगे तु अयकम् । इमकौ । इमके । इमकम् । इमकौ, इमकान् । इमकेन । इमकाभ्याम् । इमकैः ॥

349. This substitution of ऐस् (required by VII. 1. 9 S 203) does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

Thus अ + भिः = एभिः (VII. 3. 103 S 205) The dative forms are thus

formed :—अ + क्ते = अस्मै (VII. 1. 14 S. 215) ; अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ; अ + भ्यः = एभ्यः ॥
The Abl ; Gen : and Loc : forms are as follow:—अस्मान्, (VII. 1. 15 S. 216) ;
आभ्याम् ; एभ्यः, अस्य (VII. 1. 12. S. 201) ; अनयोः (VII. 3. 104. S. 207 and
VII. 2. 112. S. 346) ; एषाम् (VII. 1 52. S. 217) ; अस्मिन् (VII. 1. 15. S. 216) ;
एषु (VIII. 3. 59 S. 212).

When अकच् is added the forms are as follows:—Nom : अयकम्, इमकौ,
इमके ; Acc : इमकम्, इमकौ, इमकान् ; Instr : इमकेन, इमकाभ्याम्, इमकैः ॥

By the following rule, when इदम् is used in the second clause of a sentence referring to a man already mentioned in the first clause, the form is different in the Instr : and other cases.

३५० । इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ । २ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अन्वादेशविषयस्येदमोऽनुदात्तोऽहो आदेशः स्यात्तृतीयादौ । अश्वाच्चनं साकष्यकार्यम् ॥

350. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvâdeśa) there is the substitution of अश् which is anudâtta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

Note :—The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (âdeśa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvâdeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by I. 1. 55 S. 45. and not only the final म्.

Text :—The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

३५१ । द्वितीयादौस्वेनः । २ । ४ । ३४ ।

द्वितीयायां दौसोऽथ परत इदमन्तरोऽन्वादेशः स्यादन्वादेशे । किञ्चित्कार्यं विधातुमुपात्तस्य कार्यान्तरं विधातुं पुनरुपादानमन्वादेशः । यथाऽनेन व्याकरणमधीतमेनं छन्दोऽध्यापयेति । अनयोः पवित्रं कुलमेनयोः प्रभूतं स्वमिति । एनम् । एनौ । एनान् । एनेन । एनयोः । गणयन्तेर्विच् । सुगण् । सुगणौ । सुगणः । सुगणहस्तु । सुगण्डस्तु । सुगणस्तु । क्विप् । अनुनासिकस्य क्विप्प्रालोपः । सुगाण् । सुगाणौ । सुगाणः । सुगाणहस्तु । सुगाण्डस्तु सुगाणस्तु । परस्वादुपधादीर्घः । हल्ङ्यादिलोपः । ततो नलोपः । राजा ॥

351. When an affix of the second case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual.) follows, एन which is anudâtta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

Anvâdeśa means the employment again of what has been employed to direct some operation, to direct another operation. Thus, " The grammar has been studied by him (*anena*), now set him (*enam*)

to read the *Vedas*." or again "of these two (*anayoh*) the family is illustrious and their (*enayoh*) wealth is great." The cases in this form are:—*Acc.* एनम्, एनौ, एनान्, Instr: Sing: एनेन; Gen: & Loc. Dual एनयोः ।

Here ends the declension of Masc: Nouns ending in न्.

—————:0:—————

There is no Masculine noun ending in इ. Now we take up the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ण् *e. g.* सुगण् which is formed by the affix क्तिच् added to गण् (III. 2. 75 S. 2980) Its Nom: forms are सुगण्, सुगणौ, सुगणः; Loc. Pl. is सुगण्डसु, सुगण्डसु, or सुगणसु.

If it be formed with the affix क्तिच् (III. 2. 76 S. 2983), then by VI. 4. 15 S. 2666, there is lengthening. Thus the forms will be. सुगाण्, सुगाणौ, सुगाणः; the Loc: Pl: is सुगाण्डसु, सुगाण्डसु, or सुगाणसु.

Here ends the declension of Mas: Nouns ending in ण्.

—0—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

Now, we take up the declension of राजन्. Its Nom: Sg. is राजन् + सु = राजान् + सु (The penultimate being lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S. 250) = राजान् + O (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.) = राजा (the न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.).

In forming the Voc: the following rule applies:—

३५२ । न ङिसंबुद्धयोः । < । २ । < ॥

नस्य लोपो न स्यात् ङौ संबुद्धौ च । राजन् । ङौ तु छन्दसुसाहरणम् । सुपां सुलुगिति हेतुर्लुक् । निषेधसामर्थ्यात्प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । परमे व्योमन् ॥ डाबुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधा वक्तव्यः * ॥ अर्माणि तिला अस्य अर्म-सिलः । ब्रह्मणि निष्ठा अस्य ब्रह्मनिष्ठः । राजानौ । राजानः, राजानम् । राजानौ ॥ अल्लोपोनः । इत्थस्वम् । न आल्लोपः स्थानिवत् । पूर्ववासिद्धे तन्निषेधात् । नापि बहिरङ्गतयाऽसिद्धः । यथादेशपक्षे षाष्ठी परिभाषां प्रति इत्थस्वस्यासिद्धतयाऽन्तरङ्गाभावेन परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्तेः । जम्बोद्वेजः । राज्ञः । राज्ञा ॥

352. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debars the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. The examples of non-elision of न्, in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39). Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39 S. 3561. In the Vocative singular the न् is not elided; as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that a word does get the designation of pada, though an affix has been elided after it by using लुक्, yet such elided affix does sometimes produce its effect inspite of I. 1. 63. S. 263.

Vart :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided : as, चर्मणि तिला भस्य = चर्म तिलः, ब्रह्मणि निष्ठाभस्य = ब्रह्म निष्ठाः ॥

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are राजानौ ; राजानः ।

The Acc. Sing and Dual are राजानम् ; राजानौ ।

The Acc : Pl. is thus formed :—राजन् + शस् . Here राजन् gets the designation of *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231. and therefore the न् of राजन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. and the न् is changed to ञ् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. The elision of न् is not *Sthānivat*, because it is so prohibited in Sūtra VII. 2. 1. S. 12. Nor can the elision be considered *asiddha* on account of its being *bahiranga*. There are two aspects under which संज्ञा or technical terms, and *Pribhāshās* may be viewed in Pāṇini's Grammar. One is यथोद्देशपक्ष and the other is कार्यकालपक्ष. The former *i. e.* यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught;" and the latter, *i. e.* कार्यकाल संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by, or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain operations, provided that Samjñās occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhāshās concern them."

Here we take the first alternative and the change of न् into ञ् being *asiddha* in the view of the rule I. 1. 94. S. 38., there is no *antaranga-hood* and so the Paribhāsha which declares that "antaranga is stronger than *bahiranga*" finds no scope for application. Therefore न् and ञ् combining form ज्ञ. Thus we get the Acc. Pl. राज्ञः Inst. Sing is राज्ञा

Similarly परमे व्योमन् ॥ Here व्योमन् is in the Locative case. व्योमन् + डि = व्योमन् + O (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) Here the affix is elided by using the word लुक्, and therefore there will be no *pratyaya-lakshana* (I. 1. 63 S. 263). The result would be that the word व्योमन् would not get the designation of पर (सुप्तिङन्तपरं) because it has no सुप् after it, so the rule न लोप (VIII. 2. 7. S. 236) will not hold good, and therefore there will be no elision of न् of व्योमन् ॥ But in that case the present Sūtra would have been useless. But the very fact that this sūtra is made, indicates that the rule न लुप्तङ्गस्य is not *nitya*, and so, there will be *pratyalakshana*. That being the case, the word व्योमन् becomes पर, and so rule VIII. 2. 7 would have applied to it, but for this Sūtra.

Although न संज्ञा excludes and debars परसंज्ञा but in this case it has been superseded by the former.

Now we take up the formation of Acc. pl. Thus राजन् + शस् = राज्ञ + O + न् + शस् (अङ्गोपोऽन) Here the zero will be *sthānivat* (by भस्यः परस्मिन् I. 1. 57 S. 50) That being the case, न् will not be changed to ञ् : and so we could not get

the form राज्ञः ॥ But the lopādeśā is not sthānivat, because of the vārtika पूर्वभासिद्धे न स्थानिवत् (See Mahābhāṣya I. 1. 58 and Siddhānta VIII. 4. 1)

If it be said that the lopa rule is Bahiranga, because it takes place on account of the affix ज्ञस् which is out side ; and the change of न् into झ is inside it, or antaranga ; and therefore the lopa will be asiddha with regard to ह्युत्त्व, then we reply that there is no relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga here. The Paribhāṣā असिद्ध बहिरङ्ग &c. is derived from the Jñāpaka of बाह ऊङ् (VI. 4. 132 S. 329.) which belongs to the VIth Adhyāya and consequently does not see the ह्युत्त्व vidhi of the VIIth Adhyāya (VIII. 4. 41 S. 111.) by the sūtra पूर्वभासिद्धं, and so there will be no antaranga Bhāva. This proceeds on the view of यथादेश Pakṣha.

३५३ । नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति । ८ । २ । २ ॥

सुविधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ कृतितुग्विधा च नलोपोऽसिद्धो नान्यत्र । राजाद्व इत्यादौ । इत्थ-
सिद्धत्वादात्त्वमेस्त्वैस्त्वं च न । राजभ्याम् । राजभिः । राज्ञे । राजभ्यः । राज्ञः । राज्ञाः । राज्ञाम् । राज्ञि ।
राजनि । प्रतिशेष्यतीति प्रतिविवा । प्रतिविवानौ । प्रतिविवानः । अस्य भविष्येऽन्नापेकृते ॥

353. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules ; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment न् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it : as सुविधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञा-विधि, तुग्विधि is that of ordaining the existence of something : e. g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when न् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुविधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुविधिः—As राजभिः, तक्षभिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस् by VII. 1. 9. S. 203. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्यां, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्यां by सुविध (VII. 3. 102 S. 202.) nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103 S. 205) : as in नराभ्यां and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 S. 236. would be asiddha by the general rule VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते (राजन् + क्यच् + ते = राज + य + ते = राजयिते III. 1. 8. S. 2657 VII.

4. 33 S. 2658). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25 S. 2298.) and राजाम् there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101 S. 85).

On the other hand, from the elision's not being regarded as having taken effect, there is neither prolongation of the vowel (VII. 3. 102 S. 202) nor the change of अ to ऐ (VII. 3. 103 S. 205), nor the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् (VII. 1. 9. S. 203).

Thus Instr : dual and Pl : are राजभ्याम् and राजभिः respectively. The Dative forms are राज्ञे, राजभ्याम्, राजभ्यः ; Abl : and Gen Sing : राज्ञः ; Gen : dual and Pl : राज्ञोः and राज्ञाम् respectively. Loc : Sg. राज्ञि or राज्ञानि ॥

—————:o:—————

Now we take up the declension of प्रतिदिवन् ॥ This word is formed by the Uṇadi affix कनिन् (Uṇadi I. 156) added to the root प्रतिदिच् ' to shine.' it is declined as follows :—Nom: forms are प्रतिदिवा, प्रतिदिवानौ, प्रतिदिवानः ॥

In the Acc : Pl :. the base being bha, the अ of दिवन् is elided (VI. 4. 134. S. 234) and then the following rule comes into operation.

३५४ । हलि च । ८ । २ । ७७ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको र्दीर्घः स्याद्वलि । न चाल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वम् । दीर्घविधौ तन्निषेधात् ।
शिरस्परिभाषा नूक्तन्यायेन न प्रवर्तते । प्रतिदीवः । प्रतिदीवेत्यादि । यज्वा । यज्वानौ । यज्वानः ॥

354. Of a root ending in इ or व्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthānivat because of the prohibition in I. 1. 58 S. 57 with regard to दीर्घविधिः and so व् becomes penultimate.

Nor is this elision by VI. 4. 134. S. 234. a bahiranga and therefore asiddha, for the purposes of this rule which is an antaranga, for the reasons already given above under VIII. 2. 8. S. 352.

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतिदीवः ॥ Instr: Sg. प्रतिदीवा &c.

—————:o:—————

Now we take up the declension of यज्वन् ॥ Its Nom : forms are यज्वा, यज्वानौ, यज्वानः ॥

But in Bha cases there will not be the elision of अ of अन् because of the following prohibition.

३५५ । न संयोगाद्धमन्तात् । ६ । ४ । १३७ ॥

यकारमकारान्तसंयोगात्परस्यानोऽकारस्य लोपो न स्यात् । यज्वनः । यज्वना । यज्वभ्यामित्यादि ।
ब्रह्मणः । ब्रह्मणा । ब्रह्मभ्यामित्यादि ॥

355. The **अ** in **अन्** is not elided when the Bha stem ends in **चन्** or **मन्** with a consonant preceding **च्** or **म्** ॥

Thus Acc : Pl : **यज्वनः** ॥ Instr : Sing and dual **यज्वना, यज्वभ्याम्** &c. Similar is the declension of **ब्रह्मन्** ॥ Nom. **ब्रह्मा, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्माणः**, Acc. **ब्रह्माणम्, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्मणः**; Ins. **ब्रह्मणा, ब्रह्मभ्याम्, ब्रह्मभिः** ॥

—————:0:—————

Now, we take up the declension of **वृचहन्** ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

३५६ । इन् हन् पूषार्थे म्यां शौ । ६ । ४ । १२ ॥

एषां शाववोपधाया शीघ्रो नाग्न्यश्च । इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ॥

356. The penultimate vowel is lengthened only before the affix **शि** (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in **इन्**, or **हन्**, or **पूषन्** or **अर्थमन्** and nowhere else.

To this prohibition is the exception contained in the following sūtra.

३५७ । सौ च । ६ । ४ । १३ ॥

इजाशीनाहुपधाया शीघ्रः स्यात्संज्ञौ सौ परे । वृचहा । हे वृचहन् । एका जुत्तरपदे इति णत्वम् । वृचहणौ । वृचहणः । वृचहणम् । वृचहणौ ॥

357. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in **इन्**, **हन्**, **पूषन्** or **अर्थमन्** are lengthened before the affix **सु** of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus **वृचहा**, ॥ The **ह** is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In the Vocative singular we have **हे वृचहन्** ॥

The **ह** is changed to **ण** by VIII. 4. 12 S. 307. Thus we get the following forms N. D. **वृचहणौ**; N. Pl : **वृचहणः**, Acc : Sg. and Dual : **वृचहणम्** and **वृचहणौ** respectively.

In Acc : Pl : the **अ** of **हन्** is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 and the **ह** is changed to guttural by the following Sūtra.

३५८ । होहन्तेर्जिणशेषु । ७ । ३ । ५४ ॥

अिति णिनि च प्रत्यये नकारे च परे हन्तेर्हकारस्य कुत्वं स्यात् ॥

358. A guttural is substituted for the **ह** in **हन्** before an affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, or **ण्** and before **न्** ॥

The next Sūtra **हन्तेरप्पूर्वस्य** is divided by the author into two parts. Viz, first, **हन्तेः** and then **अत्पूर्वस्य** ॥

३५६ । हन्तेः । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य हन्तेर्नस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रहण्यात् ॥

359. . The न्, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

As प्रहण्यात् ॥ This requires the न् of वृचहन् to be changed to ण् । But to this the second half of the above Sūtra makes an exception.

३५९ क । अतृप्तस्य । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

हन्तेरतृप्तस्यैव नस्य णत्वं नान्यस्य । प्रहणन्ति । योगविभागसामर्थ्यान्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति न्यायं बाधित्वा एकात्रुत्तरपदे इति णत्वमपि निवर्त्यते । नकारे परे कुत्वविधिसामर्थ्यावलोपो न स्थानियत् । वृचहन् । वृचहन् इत्यादि । यत्तु वृचहन् इत्यादौ वैकल्पिकं णत्वं माधवेनोक्तं तद्व्याख्यातार्थकविरुद्धम् । एवं शार्ङ्गिन् यशस्विन्नर्थमनूपन् । यशस्विन्निति विन्प्रत्यये इनोऽनर्थकत्वेऽपि इन्प्रत्ययेन ग्रहणं भवत्येव । आनिनस्मन्महणान्यर्थवता आनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्तीति वचनान् । अर्थमणि । अर्थमणि । पूषिण पूषणि॥

359 A. The न् of हन् is changed to ण when it is preceded by short अ and in no other case, that is to say, when हन् retains the form हन् and not when the अ is elided and हन् assumes the form ह्न or when the अ is lengthened.

Thus प्रहणन्तिः ॥ This interpretation is given because it is possible to divide this Sūtra into two by the maxim योगविभागाद्व्यसिद्धः i. e. "from a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we are allowed to derive only such results as may be desirable."

Paribhāṣā :—"A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything, either enjoins or forbids only that which is nearest to it in some other rule."

This maxim being set aside by the fact of the योगविभाग, the Sūtra VIII. 4. 12. S. 307. ordaining णत्व also ceases. The elision of अ is not sthānivat because otherwise the ह् will never be followed by न् and so there will be no scope for Sūtra VII. 3. 54. S. 358. Thus Acc. Pl. is वृचहन् । Instr. Sing : वृचहन्ना &c.

But the optional form वृचहृणः with a cerebral ण instead of dental न्, according to the opinion of Mādhava is a mistake, because it is opposed to Kātyāyana and Patanjali. The न् is never changed to ण.

The nouns शार्ङ्गिन्, यशस्विन्, अर्थमन्, पूषन् are similarly declined.

यशस्विन् is formed with the affix विन् and not इन्. The इन् portion in यशस्विन् has no meaning ; and so the rules VI. 4. 12. S. 356 and VI. 4. 13. S. 357. should not apply to it. However these rules are applied, in accordance with the following *Paribhāṣā*,

The form being मघवन्त्, the elision of त् takes place by the Tripāḍī rule संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and therefore this elision is not perceived by the दीर्घ rule of the Sixth Book of Pāṇini (i. e. VI. 4. 14. S. 425). The अ of वन्त् therefore not being penultimate will not be lengthened, as it is not lengthened in Verbal Nouns like कुर्वन् &c, where also the elision of त् is held to be asiddha. Why do we lengthen it in the case of मघवन्त्? Because of the word बहलं in the last Sūtra VI. 4. 128 S. 360.

As this word मघवान् requires the help of बहुल to give us the proper form, the author of Mahâbhâshya has effected the formation of मघवान् by the Unâdi I. 159, and he has also assumed that the affix मत्तुप् will effect the same form when added to मघ in secular literature, and therefore he has in his commentary stated that the Sûtra मघवा बहुलं is a redundancy. The author of Bhatti Kāvya also uses the form in secular literature as:—इविर्जाक्षति निःशङ्को मत्सेषु मघवानसौ॥ "That Maghavân eats fearlessly the sacrificial offerings in the sacrifices."

The Nom : Dual and Pl. will be मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः ॥

The Voc : Sing will be हे मघवन् ॥

The Acc. forms are मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवतः ॥

Instr : forms are मघवता, मघवद्भ्याम् &c.

When नृ is not substituted for the final न् of मघवन्, then the Nom : Sing is मघवा ॥

Vârtika :—In the Chhandas, the affixes ई and वनिप् are added to nouns in the sense of मत्तुप् (See Sûtra V. 2. 122. S. 3498.) Therefore if the word मघवन् be formed with वनिप् added to मघ then the word मघवैवन् will have acute accent on the middle in the Chhandas alone, but in the secular literature it has acute accent on the final also. This is the difference, as मघवैवन्.

The Nom : Dual and Pl. are मघवानौ, मघवानः ॥

In the Sarvanâmasthâna affixes, मघवन्, without नृ is declined like राजन्. Thus N. D. मघवानौ, N. Pl. मघवानः ; Acc. S. D. are मघवानम् and मघवानौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. the following rule applies :—

३६२ । इवयुवमघोनामतद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १३३ ॥

अत्रन्तानां भसंज्ञकानामेषामतद्धिते परे संप्रसारणे स्यात् । संप्रसारणाच्च । आहुणः । मघो न अत्रन्तानां किम् । मघवतः । मघवता । स्त्रियां मघवन्ती । अतद्धिते किम् । माघवनम् । मघोना । मघवद्भ्या-
मेत्यादि । शुनः । शुना । भ्रम्यामित्यादि । युवन्शर्हं वस्योत्वे कृते ॥

362. The व of भवन्, युवन् and मघवन् when ending in अन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus मघवन् + शस् = मघवअन् + शस् = मघवन् + शस् (उ and अ become उ by VI. 1. 108. S. 330) = मघोन् + शस् (अ and उ become ओ by VI. 1. 87. S. 69) = मघोनः ॥

Why do we say 'when ending in अन्'? Observe Acc : Pl. मघवतः when the noun is मघवन् and not मघवन् ॥ In this case the Instr: Sg. is मघवता ॥

The feminine form of मघवन् is मघवन्ती ॥ Why do we say 'not before a Taddhita affix'? Observe माघवनम् ॥

The Inst : Sg. and Dual of मघवन् are मघोना, मघवभ्यां &c. Similar is the declension of श्वन् ॥ Thus शुनः (Acc. Pl.), शुना (Instr : S.); श्वभ्याम् (Instr: Dual) &c.

Now we take up the declension of युवन् ॥

युवन्+श्च=यु+उ+न्+श्च ॥ Here the य of यु would also require to be vocalised. But this is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३६३ । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । ६ । १ । ३७ ॥

संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न स्यात् । इति यकारस्य नेत्वम् । अत एव ज्ञापकादन्तस्य यणः पूर्वं संप्रसारणम् । शूनः । शूना । युवभ्यामित्यादि । अर्वा । हे अर्वन् ॥

363. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

So य् of युवन् is not vocalised. Therefore, by the inference to be drawn from this rule, the final semivowel is vocalised.

Thus Acc : Pl: is शूनः ; Instr : Sg, and Dual are शूना, युवभ्य and so on.

Note :—Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñapaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as शूना ॥ It might be objected that when उ of यु, and उ the samprasârṇa of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthānivat to the original, the य and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good ; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels; is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58 S.51). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Now, we take up the declension of अर्वन् ॥ Its N. S. is अर्वा, Its Voc : S. is हे अर्वन्

In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies.

३६४ । अर्घर्ण स्त्रसावनजः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

नञा रहितस्यार्धव्रन्तस्याङ्गस्य तु इत्यन्तर्दिशः स्यान्न तु सौ । उगिच्चान्नुम् । अर्धन्तौ । अर्धन्तः । अर्धन्तम् । अर्धन्तौ । अर्धतः । अर्धता । अर्धद्भ्यामित्यादि । अनञः किम् । अनर्वा ; यज्यवत् ॥

364. **त्** (which is changed to **न्** in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in **ई** unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem **अर्वन्**, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is त्, the क is for the sake of making this affix an उगित्, so that in sarvanāmasthâna cases we have तुम् augment VII. 1 70, S. 361. Thus अर्वन्तो, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तो, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्ता, अर्वद्भ्याम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe अनर्वा (N. S). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यज्वन् ॥

In the declension of पथिन्, मथिन् &c. the following rules apply :—

३६५ । पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात् । ७ । १ । ८५ ॥

एषामाकारोऽन्तर्देशः स्यात्सौ परे। आ आहिति प्रदर्शनेन शुद्धाया एव व्यक्तेर्विधानात्रानुनासिकः ॥

365. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pa-
thin' 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', before the ending सु (of
the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthânin here is a nasal (i. e. ण), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (I. 1. 50. 39) but to be pronounced purely for the आत् of the sūtra is really आ + आत्, indicating that pure आ is to be taken and not the nasal आँ ॥

३६६ । इतोऽत्सर्वनामस्थाने । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

पथ्यादेरिकारस्याऽकारः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

366. ण is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and rbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Note :—Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9.S. 3541. by which in the case of कृधुक्षिन् we have two forms, कृधुक्षानम् and कृधुक्षणम् ॥

३६७ । शान्तः । ७ । १ । ८७ ॥

पथिमणोऽस्यस्य न्यावेष्टाः स्यान् सर्वनामस्थाने परे । पन्थाः । पन्थानौ । पन्थानः । पन्थानम् ।
पन्थानौ ॥

367. न् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin, in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

३६८ । भस्य ढेलोपः । ७ । १ । ८८ ॥

भसंज्ञकस्य पञ्चाङ्गेलोपः स्यात् । पथः । पथा । पथिभ्यामित्यादि । एवं मन्थाः । कमुक्षाः । स्त्रियां नान्तलक्षणे ङीप् भत्वाङ्गिलोपः । सुपथी । सुपथी नगरी । अनृमुक्षी सेना ॥ आत्वं नपुंसके न भवति । न लुप्तमन्ति प्रत्ययलक्षणनिषेधात् । सुपथि वनम् ॥ संबुद्धौ नपुंसकानां नलोपां वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे सुपथिन् । हे सुपथि । नलोपः सुप्स्वरन्ति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भस्वस्य युष्मो न । द्विवचने भत्वाङ्गिलोपः । सुपथी । शौ सर्वनामस्थानत्वात् सुपन्थानि । पुनरपि । सुपथी । सुपथी । सुपन्थानि । सुपथा । सुपथे । सुपथिभ्यामित्यादि ॥

368. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin, and pbhukshin, before an affix beginning with a vowel or य (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मथा, मथे, कमुक्षः, कमुक्षा, कमुक्षे ॥

In the Feminine the affix ङीप् will be added by IV. 1. 5. as पथिन् + ङीप्, and the इन् is elided before the affix ङीप् by the present Sûtra. Thus सुपथी नगरी, and अनृमुक्षी सेना.

In the Neuter, there is not lengthening of VII. 1. 85. S. 365. because the affix is elided by using the word लुक् (VII. 1. 43 S. 319) and therefore the affix सु leaves no trace behind by I. 1. 63. S. 263. Thus सुपथि वनम्. Thus सुपथिन् + सु = सुपथिन् + O = सुपथि (The final न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

In the Vocative Sing. of the Neuter Noun सुपथिन्, the elision of न् is optional, according to the following Vârtika :—

Vârtika :—In the Voc. Singular of the Neuter nouns, the elision of final न् is optional.

Thus हे सुपथिन् or हे सुपथि.

The short इ of सुपथि is not gunated (as it is gunated in हे हरे) because of the prohibition contained in VIII. 2. 2. S. 353 by which the elision of न् is asidha in the case of case-endings.

In the Nom : Dual, the base being bha, the ङि portion of पथिन् is elided before the Dual affix शी. Thus सुपथी ॥

In the Nom : Pl. (ङि) which is a Sarvanâmasthâna affix (I. 1. 42. S. 313) there is no elision and the rules VII. 1. 86 and 87 S. 367 and 368 apply and so we get the form सुपन्थानि ॥

The Acc : forms are the same as the Nominative ones, as सुपथि, सुपथी, सुपन्थानि ॥

The Instr : Sing : and Dual are **सुपथा, सुपथिभ्याम् ॥**

The Dative Sing : is **सुपथे &c.**

Now, we take up the declension of **पञ्चम्**. It is a **बद्** word by the following definition.

३६९ । णान्ता बद् । १ । १ । २४ ॥

षान्ता नान्ता च संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥ षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ पञ्च २ । संख्या क्रिम् । विप्रुषः ।
पामानः । शतानि सहस्राणीत्यत्र संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् ॥ सर्वनामस्थानसंनिपातेन कृतस्य तुमस्तद्व्याप्तकत्वात् । पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्भ्येति नृद् ॥

369. The Sankhyâs having **ष** or **न** as their final are called **shat**.

It is one of the peculiarities of **बद्** words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22. S. 261). Thus **पञ्च पञ्च ॥**
Why do we say **संख्या ॥** Observe **विप्रुषः** and **पामानः ॥**

*Note :—*This sūtra defines the term **बद्** which is a subdivision of the larger group **sankhyâ**. Those Sankhyâs which end in **ष** or **न** are called **बद् ॥** The word **sankhyâ** is understood in this sūtra, because the word **णान्ता** is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies **sankhyâ** which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in **ष** or **न** are six, namely **पञ्चन्** 'five,' **षष्** 'six,' **सप्तन्**, 'seven,' **अष्टन्** 'eight,' **नवन्** 'nine,' **दशन्** 'ten.'

The word **अन्त** in the sūtra shows that the letters **ष** and **न** must be *nupadesika* i. e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in **शतानि** 'hundreds,' **सहस्राणि** 'thousands,' **अष्टानाम्** 'of eights' the **न** is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not **बद्** and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided ; as **शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.**

In forming **Nom : Pl :** of **शत** we have **शत + शि** Then we add **नुम्** by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. Thus we get **शतन् + शि** Here the word is a **sankhyâ** and ends in **न् ॥** Why should not this **शि** be elided by VII. 1. 22. S. 261. This is not elided by the maxim **संनिपात परिभाषा ॥** For the maxim, see VII. 1. 13. S. 204. Because it was the presence of **शि** that caused the insertion of **न्** and now this **न्** cannot cause the destruction of its originator. Thus we get **शतानि ॥** **सहस्राणि** is also similarly formed.

The Instr, Dative and Acc : plurals are **पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः** respectively.

The augment **नृद्** is added by VII. 55. S. 338 in forming the **Gen. Pl:** Then the following sūtra comes into operation.

३७० । नोपधायाः । ६ । ४ । ७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया रीर्धः स्यान्नामि परे । नलोपः । पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चसु । परमपञ्च । परमपञ्चानाम् । गौणत्वे तु न लुग्नोदो । म्रियपञ्चा । म्रियपञ्चानौ । म्रियपञ्चानः । म्रियपञ्चानम् ॥ एवं सप्तन् नवन् दशन् ॥

370. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1. 55. S. 338) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7. S. 370.) = पञ्चानाम् (न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

The Loc. Pl. is पञ्चसु. Similar is the declension of परमपञ्च. Thus N. Pl. परमपञ्च. Gen : Pl. is परम पञ्चानाम्.

When पञ्च is a secondary member of a compound, there is neither लृक् of Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261. nor the नुद् augment of VII. 1. 55. S. 338. Thus म्रियपञ्चन् is declined as Nom : म्रियपञ्चा, म्रियपञ्चानौ, म्रियपञ्चानः ; Acc. म्रियपञ्चानम् ॥

Similar is the declension of सप्तन्, नवन् and दशन्. In the declension of अष्टन् the following rules apply.

३७१ । अष्टन आ विभक्तौ । ७ । २ । ८४ ॥

अष्टन आत्वं स्याद्वलादौ विभक्तौ ॥

371. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending beginning with a consonant.

३७२ । अष्टाभ्य औश् । ७ । १ । २१ ॥

कृताकारावृत्तः परयोऽस्तस्योरोश् स्यात् । अष्टभ्य इति वक्तव्ये कृतात्वनिर्वेशो जस्यसोर्विषये आत्वं ज्ञापयति । वैकल्पिकं चेदमष्टन आत्वम् । अष्टनो रीर्धविति सूत्रे रीर्धग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकात् । अष्टौ २ । परमाष्टौ । अष्टाभिः । अष्टाभ्यः २ । अष्टानाम् । अष्टासु । आत्वाभावे । अष्ट । अष्ट । इत्यादि पञ्चवत् । गौणत्वे स्वात्वाभावोऽजवत् । शसि म्रियाष्टः । इह पूर्वस्मादपि विधायल्लोपस्य स्थानिग्रहणान्न दुस्त्वम् । कार्यकालपक्षे बहिरङ्गस्याल्लोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा । म्रियाष्टा इत्यादि । जश्शसोरनुमीयमानमात्वं प्राधान्य एव न तु गौणतायाम् । तेन म्रियाष्टौ हलाशवेव वैकल्पिकमात्वम् । म्रियाष्टाभ्याम् । म्रियाष्टाभिः । म्रियाष्टाभ्यः २ । म्रियाष्टासु ।

म्रियाष्टौ राजवत्सर्वे हाश्ववचापरं हलि ॥

भषभावः । जइत्वचत्वे । भुन् । भुद् । बुधौ । बुधः । बुधा । भुद्गाम् । भुत्सु ॥

372. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् V11. 2. 84) औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट ? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of अष्टभ्यः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् takes place in Nom : and Acc. Plural ; and that it is also optional, which we infer from

the jñâpaka of VI. 1. 172, S. 3718. where the word दीर्घ indicates that there are two forms of अटन् ॥ This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the sūtra VII. I. 22. S. 261. by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called षट् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, S. 650, is not, however, barred by this rule ; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अटपुत्रः, अटभार्यः ॥

*Note :—*The use of दीर्घात् in sūtra VI. 1. 172. S. 3718 indicates that the word अटन् has two forms, and the substitution of long आ taught in VII. 2. 84. S. 371. thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अटन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अटान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अटान् was not to be called a षट्, like अटन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अटान् while it would be debarred in the case of अटन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

The regular declension is as follows :—

अटो, अटौ, परमाटो, अटामिः, अटाम्यः, अटाम्यः, अटानाम्, अटानु ॥

When there is not the lengthening of अ of अटन्, that is when the base is not अटान् then we have अट, अट, *i. e.* अटन् is then declined like पट्पुत्रन् ॥

When अटन् forms a secondary member in a compound, it is declined like राजन् ॥ Thus the Acc : Pl : is प्रियाटनः ॥ The न is not changed to ण because the elided अ is considered as sthânavat, because of I. 1. 57. S. 50 where the word पूर्वविधि is explained as पूर्वस्माद्धि ॥ And as here, because of the prior (पूर्व) letter ट, the subsequent letter न requires to be changed to ण, the elided अ becomes sthânavat and prevents the change.

Moreover the form may be evolved by following the maxim or कार्यकालपक्ष then the elision of अ of अटन् being considered as a bahiranga for the purposes of the antaranga rule of षट्पुत्र (VII. 4. 41. S. 113) then also there will be no change.

Because the elision rule VI. 4. 134. applies to an operation brought about by an external cause like. षट् while the change of न् to ण is internal, therefore the latter is antaranga to the former, and does not perceive it.

So also Ins. S. प्रियाट्ना &c.

The lengthening of अ in to आ which we have inferred in the case of अटन् before जस् and षस् (see above) is to take place then only when अटन् retains its primary sense and not when it is a secondary member in a Bahuvrīhi compound. As in the compound प्रियाटन् meaning "he who loves eight persons," the word अटन् is secondary, the principal word being the lover : there-

fore we do not get at all the lengthening of अ in प्रियादन् before अस् and इस् ॥ While there will be *optional* lengthening before affixes beginning with consonants. As प्रियादाभ्यान् or प्रियादभ्यां ॥

Verse :—This word प्रियादन् resembles राजन् in all the cases, except the cases beginning with a consonant where it resembles हाहा. Before consonantal cases, the base is प्रियादा ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

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Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in घ्.

Now we take up the declension of बुध्. It is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the root बुध्. The व is changed to न by VIII. 2. 37. S. 326 ; then ध is changed to द, optionally to त, by कलाञ्जशोऽन्ते (VIII. 2. 39. S. 84). Thus N. S. is बुध् or बुद्ध Nom. D. बुधौ. N. P. बुधः Ins: S. बुधा. Ins: D. बुद्भ्याम्. Loc. Pl. बुध्व्.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in घ्.

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Declension of Masculine nouns ending in ज् ॥

Now we take up the declension of बुज्. It is formed irregularly by adding the affix क्तिन् to the root बुज् by the following Sūtra.

३७३ । ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्त्रिदिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिकुञ्जां च । ३ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यः क्तिन् स्यात् । अलाक्षणिकमपि किञ्चित्कार्ये निपातनालभ्यते । निरूपपशुजोः क्तिन् । कनावितौ ॥

373. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्त्रिक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन् ; and so also after the verbs अञ्जु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and कुञ्ज 'to approach', the affix क्तिन् is employed.

The affix क्तिन् comes after the three roots बुज्, अञ्जु, and कुञ्ज ॥ Being read along with the above-mentioned five irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्तिन् to these verbs.

The affix क्तिन् comes after बुजिर् and कुञ्ज् when these are uncombined.

Note:—Otherwise in combination the affix would be क्तिप् (III. 2. 61. S. 2975). The difference between क्तिप् and क्तिन् is that the latter gives us the Nom : ऽ बुद्ध् ; while the former will give us the N. S. बुक् as in अभ्युक् ॥

Of the affix क्तिन् the क् and न् are indicatory (इत्); the affix is really त्व ॥ This is a कृन् affix or the affix from which a nominal stem is formed directly from the verb. कृन् is defined in the following sūtra.

३७४ । कृदतिङ् । ३ । १ । ६३ ॥

सनिहिते धात्वधिकारे तिङ्भिन्नः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञः स्यात् ॥

374. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत् ॥

The Kṛit affix वि is elided by the following sūtra.

३७५ । वेरपृक्तस्य । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपृक्तस्य वस्य लोपः स्यात् । कृत्तद्धितेति प्रातिपदिकत्वात्स्वादयः ॥

375. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

Note :—The affix वि includes विवप्, विवन्, विव् &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikta (I. 2. 41 S. 251), is elided. Thus ब्रह्मवा, भू णहा (III. 2. 87 S. 2998). Here the affix विवप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58. S. 432). Here the affix विवन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक्, पारभाक्, तुरीभाक् (III. 2. 62 S. 2976). Here the affix विव् is elided.

Why do we say “of an aprikta—an affix consisting of a single letter” ? Observe कृत्विः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जाणुविः formed by विवन्, see Uṇādi Sûtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely, the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus चिन् words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

The word युज् being a कृदन्त word gets the designation of Prātipadika by I. 2. 46 S. 179 and therefore we add to it the case affixes सु &c. Thus N. S. युज् + सु ॥ At this stage comes the following sūtra for application.

३७६ । युजेरसमासे । ७ । १ । ७१

युजेः सर्वनामस्थाने युज् स्यादसमासे । सुलोपः । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥

376. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus यु + न् + ज् + स् = यु + न् + ज् + O (the स् being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.) = यु + न् + O (the ज् being elided by VIII. 2 23. S. 54).

Thus we get युन् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

३७७ । किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः । ८ । २ । ६२ ॥

किन्प्रत्ययो यस्मात्तस्य कवर्गोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्पदान्ते । नस्य कुत्वेनानुनासिको ङकारः । युङ् । नञापदान्तस्थेति दुमोऽनुस्वारः परसवर्णः । तस्यासिद्धत्वाद्योः कुरिति कुत्वं न । युञ्जौ । युञ्जः । युञ्जम् । युञ्जौ । युजः । युजा । युग्भ्यामित्यादि । असमासे किम् ॥

377. A stem formed with the affix किन् under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

Note :—The word पदस्य is understood here. The word किन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrīhi meaning ' that stem which has kvin as its affix. ' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As घृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, यन्त्रस्पृक् ॥

The ञ् being changed to guttural, we get इ Thus युञ् becomes युङ् (Nominative Singular).

In forming N. Dual the ञ् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and this anusvāra is changed to ञ् being the nasal letter belonging to च varga. But the anusvāra as ordained by the subsequent Tripādi rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. is asiddha for the purposes of the application of VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 which required the anusvāra to be changed to guttural.

Thus युञ्जौ (N. D.). युञ्जः (N. Pl.) Acc : forms are युञ्जम्, युञ्जौ, युजः ; Instr: forms are युजा, युग्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say असमासे in the sūtra VII. 1. 71. S. 376. Because in compounds like सुयुज्, there is no युष् augment. In declining this word the following rule applies—

३७८ । चोः कुः । ८ । २ । ३० ॥

चवर्गस्य कवर्गः स्याङ्भानि पदान्ते च । इति कुत्वम् । किन्प्रत्ययस्येति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सुयु-
क् । सुयुष् । सुयुञ्जौ । सुयुजः । युजैरिति धातुपाठपठितेकारविशिष्टस्यानुकरणं न स्विका निर्देशः । तेनेह
न । युज्यते समाधत्ते इति युक् । युज समाधौ दैर्घ्येक आत्मनेपदी । संयोगान्तलोपः । खन् । खञ्जौ ।
खञ्जः । इत्यादि । ब्रजेति पत्वम् । जदत्वचत्वे । राद् । राङ् । राजौ । राजः । राहू । रादसु । एवं विभ्राद् ।
हेवेद् । हेवेजौ । हेवेजः । विश्वसूद् । विश्वसूङ् । विश्वसजौ । विश्वसृजः । इह मृजियज्योः कुत्वं नेति क्लीबे
ब्रज्यते । परिमृद् । पत्वविधौ राजिसाहचर्यात् दुभ्राज् वीप्ताविति कणादिरेव गृह्यते । यस्तु एजृभ्रजृभ्राजृता-
विति तस्य कुत्वमेव । विभ्राक् । विभ्राग् । विभ्राग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ परौ ब्रजोः षः पदान्ते ° ॥ परावुपपदे ब्रजोः
क्विप् स्याद्दीर्घश्च पदान्तविषये पत्वं च । परित्यज्य सर्वं ब्रजतीति परिब्राद् । परिब्राजौ । परिब्राजः ॥

378. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

This requires the change of ज् to a guttural *i. e.* of क class. The कुत्व ordained by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 is asiddha or not perceived by the present Sūtra, which is antecedent to VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 in the order of enunciation

by Pāṇini. In the case of विश्वसृज् and देवेज्, the ज् is not changed to a letter of the क् class even when we take words to be formed by the affix क्तिन् under Sūtra VIII. 2. 62 S. 377. The reason for this we shall explain under Sūtra अहन् VIII. 2. 68. S. 443 in declining the Neuter noun.

Thus Nom : forms are सुयुक् or सुयुग, सुयुजौ, सुयुजः ॥ In the Sūtra VII. I. 71, S. 376, the root is exhibited as युजेः showing that that root of the Dhātupāṭha should be taken which ends in इ, viz. the root युजि् योगे, the 7th root of the रुधादि class. Therefore it does not apply to the root युज् समाधौ the 10th root of the इवादि class and is Ātmanepadi. In the latter case, the form will be युक्

Now we take up the declension of खञ्ज्. It is derived from खजि 'to move' and 'to feel done up' by adding the affix क्तिप् ॥

The इ of खजि is elided because it is इत्, leaving behind खज् to which the augment लृप् is added by VII. 1. 58. S. 2262. Thus we get ख+लृ+ज्. Then ज् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54. Thus we get खल्. In the N. S. the affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. Thus the N. S. remains as खल्. The N. Dual and Pl. are खञ्जौ and खञ्जः &c.

Now we take up the declension of राज्. By VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. the ज् of राज् is changed to ष्. Then the ष् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56. S. 206. Then इ is changed to इ. Thus we get N. S. राइ or राइ. The N. D. and Pl. are राजौ, राजः ॥ Loc. Pl. is राइसु or राइसु. Similarly is declined विभ्राज्. So also देवेज्. Its Nom. forms are देवेइ, देवेजा, देवेजः ॥ The Nom. forms of विश्वसृज् are विश्वसृइ or विश्वसृइ, विश्वसृजौ, विश्वसृजः ॥

With regard to सृज् and यज् there is not gutturalisation as will be further explained under Sūtra VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The N. S. of परिवृज् is परिवृइ ॥

The word विभ्राज् given above is formed from that root भ्राज् which belongs to कणादि subdivision of भ्रादि gaṇa, i. e. the root डुभ्राज् 'to shine' भ्रादि 875. and not the root भ्राज् number 20 of the भ्रादि where it is exhibited भ्राजि दीप्ति. This we do, because the root भ्राज् is read along with root राज् in the कणादि subdivision; and as the VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. mentions राज् and भ्राज् together, the भ्राज् here should be taken as the भ्राज् of the कणादि class, where also both are enunciated together and not the other भ्राज् which is shown along with एज्, भेज् and भ्राज्, (Dhātupāṭha भ्रादि 193, 194 and 195). In the case of this भ्राज् there will be कृत्स्न and not षत्स्व. Thus N. S. is विभ्राक् or विभ्राइ. Instr. D. विभ्राग्भां &c.

Vārtika. When व्रज् is preceded by upapada परि there comes the affix क्तिप् and the व is lengthened and ज् is changed to ष् when it is final in a Pada. Thus N. S. of परिव्राज् is परिव्राइ which means one who has gone out leaving every thing. The N. Dual and Pl. are परिव्राजौ and परिव्राजः respectively.

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वावसु. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३७९ । विश्वस्य वसुरादोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वशब्दस्य शीर्षः स्यादसौ रादृशब्दे च परे । विश्वं वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । राडिति पदान्तोप-
लक्षणार्थम् । अर्धमविवक्षितम् । विश्वाराद् । विश्वाराड् । विश्वराजौ । विश्वराजः । विश्वाराड्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राद् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विश्वावसुः, *i. e.* one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राद् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form : as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

The राद् is taken in the Sūtra only as an illustration of its Padānta form. It does not mean that the form विश्वाराड् is not valid. Thus N. S. has both forms, *i. e.*, विश्वाराद् and विश्वाराड्.

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Now, we take up the declension of अस्ज. In its declension the following rule applies.

३८० । स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च । ८ । २ । २६ ॥

पदान्ते भक्ति च परे वः संयोगस्तथायोः संकारककारयोर्लोपः स्यात् । भृद् । भृङ् । सस्य इचुत्वेन
वः । तस्य जहत्वेन जः । भृज्जौ । भृज्जः । कृत्विगित्यादिना कृताडुपपदेः यजेः कृिन् । कृिन्तत्वाकुत्वम् ।
कृत्विक् । कृत्विग् । कृत्विजौ । कृत्विजः । रास्सस्येति नियमान्न संयोगान्तलोपः । ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग् । ऊर्जौ ।
ऊर्जः । तस्यार्धत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

380. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root अस्ज् we add the affix कृिन् and the र is vocalised into कृ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412. and then the स् being elided by the present Sūtra, कृ is changed into कृि by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. which is again changed into कृ or कृि as in the case of राद् already shown above under VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is भृद् or भृङ्.

In forming N. Dual, the स् is changed to कृि by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This कृि is again changed to कृ by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is भृङ्जौ. N. Pl. is भृङ्जः.

Now we take up the declension of कृत्विज्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix कृिन् to the root वज् with the upapada (subsidiary term) कृत्तु in combination. (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The कृिन् formed word is finally changed to guttural by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is कृत्विक् or कृत्विग्. N. D. and Plural कृत्विजौ and कृत्विजः ॥

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज्. By Sūtra VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. no consonant after इ is elided except स्. Therefore ज् is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after इ by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after इ shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after इ will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्ज् from ऊर्ज् + क्तिप् (III. 2. 177S. 3157), here ज् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206 Thus N. S. is ऊर्ज् or ऊर्ज्. N. D. and Pl. are ऊर्जो and ऊर्जः ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ज्.

-:0:-

There are no Masculine nouns ending in इ, ए or ऊ.

We take up now the declension of ल्यद्. The इ of ल्यद् is replaced by अ by VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. Thus we get the base ल्य before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom. Sing. the following rule applies :—

३८१ । तदोः सः साधनन्त्ययोः । ७ । २ । १०६ ॥

ल्यद्दीनां तकारश्चकारयोरमन्त्ययोः सः स्यात्सौ परे । ल्यः । ल्यौ । ल्ये । ल्यम् । ल्यौ । ल्याम् । सः । सौ । ने । परमसः । परमतौ । परमते । द्विपर्यन्तानामित्येव । नेह । ल्यम् । नञ् तकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्यामिति वाच्यम्, अतिस्वमिति गौणे चरितार्थत्वात् ॥ संज्ञायां गौणत्वे चास्वसत्वेन । ल्यद् । ल्यदौ । ल्यवः । अतिल्यद् । अतिल्यदौ । अतिल्यवः । यः । यौ । ये । एषः । एतौ । एते । अन्वारोक्षे तु, एनम् । एनौ । एनाम् । एनन । एनयोः २ ॥

381. For the non-final ल् and द् of ल्यद् &c. there is substituted स in the Nominative Singular.

As ल्यद् + सु = ल्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = ल्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = ल्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अस् by the sūtra, VII. 2. 107. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69. S. 193.

This rule only applies to ल्यद्दी words, which as we have already shown, begin with ल्यद् and end with द्वि in the list of sarvanāmas. Therefore this will not apply to ल्यम् which is not included in the ल्यद्दी class.

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the ल् of ल्ये, for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching ल्ये substitution in the place of ल्यम् by VII. 2. 94 S. 384. That sūtra could have been made as ल्यदौ सं instead of ल्यदौ सौ for it would have been better to say at once let ल्यम् be

the N. S. of युष्मद्, instead of first making it स्वम् and then changing the form into स्वं ॥ To this argument we reply, that the rule of स्वं substitution will find its unrestricted scope in words like अनित्यम्, where स्वम् is a secondary member only. In the case of स्वम् the present rule would have applied. When these words ई, ए, स्वद् &c. are used as proper nouns or sanjñās (संज्ञा) or when used as secondary members of a compound, the rules of अस्व VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and सस्व VII. 2. 106 S. 381. will not apply because they are sarvanāmas, for see explanation under sūtra I. 1. 29. S. 222. Thus, स्वद्, स्वहौ, स्वहः ; अतित्यद्, अतित्यहौ अतित्यहः &c.

The pronoun यद् is declined as यः, यो, ये ॥ एतद् is declined as एषः, एतौ, एते ॥

In re-employment or अन्वादेश for which, see II. 4. 34. S. 351. we have Acc. forms एनम्, एनौ, एतान्, Instr: Sg. एनेन; Genitive and Loc : Dual एनयोः ॥

—————:o:—————

Now we take up the declension of युष्मद् and अस्मद्. In its declension, the following rules apply :—

३८२ । डे प्रथमयोरम् । ७ । १ । २८ ॥

युष्मदस्मदङ्गां परस्य डे इत्येतस्य प्रथमाद्वितीययोश्चामादेशः स्यात् ॥

382. अम् is substituted for the Dative case-affix ए and for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note :—The डे the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, डेः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद् + डे = तुभ्यद् + डे (VII. 2. 95) = तुभ्य + डे (VII. 2. 90) = तुभ्य + अम् VII. 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VII. 1. 107 or 97); similarly मङ्गम् ॥

Then the rule after the following applies, to understand which the following rule is necessary.

३८३ । मपर्यन्तस्य । ७ । २ । ६१ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

383. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII. 2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म्, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra and exerts governing influence on all the seven subsequent sūtras in the order of Ashtādhyāyī.

३८४ । त्वाहौ सौ । ७ । २ । ६४ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्व अह इत्येतांवाचसौ स्तः सौ परे ॥

384. In the Nominative Singular स्व is substituted for युष्म and अह for अस्म ॥

३८५ । शेषे लोपः । ७ । २ । ६० ॥

आत्वयस्वनिमित्तेतरविभक्तौ परतो युष्मदस्मदोरन्यस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ अतो युगे ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ स्वम् । अहम् । ननु त्वं स्त्री अहं स्त्री इत्यत्र त्व अम् अह अम् इति स्थिते अमि पूर्वरूपं परमापि बाधित्वाऽन्त-
रङ्गत्वाद्वाप् प्राप्नोति । सत्यम् । अलिङ्गं युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तेन स्त्रीत्वाभावात् दाप् । यद्वा । शेष इति सप्तमी स्थानि-
नाऽधिकरणत्वविवक्षया ॥ तेन मपर्यन्ताच्छेषस्य अद् इत्यस्य लोपः । स च परोऽप्यन्तरङ्गे अतो युगे कृते
प्रवर्तते । अदन्तत्वाभावात् दाप् । परमत्वम् । परमाहम् । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् ॥

385. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted by VII. 2. 88. and 89. S. 387, 392.) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

Thus युष्मद् + सु = युष्मद् + अम् (VII. I. 28 S. 342) = स्वद् (VII. 2. 94. S. 384) + अम् = त्व + अम् (इ is elided by the present sūtra) = त्वम् (by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. and VI. 1. 107. S. 194). Similarly, the N. S. of अस्मद् is अहम् ॥

Why is not दाप् added in the feminine in 'त्वम् स्त्री' 'अहम् स्त्री' for त्व + अम् and अह + अम् the pûrvarûpa rule ordained by VI. 1. 97. S. 191 and VI. 1. 107. S. 194. though subsequent, is after all bahiranga, and would be set aside by the antaranga rule ordaining दाप् to be added to त्व and अह ?

True. But युष्मद् and अस्मद् have no genders and therefore they have no feminine forms and consequently would not give occasion to the addition of the affix दाप्.

Or, in order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or दि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the previous sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383 the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that *remains* (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

According to their view, the word शेष does not refer to the vibhakti or case affix, but the force of Locative in शेषे is that of a genitive, meaning "of the शेष (remaining)" and to point out the particular *sthāni* which is to be replaced. Therefore in युष्मद् and अस्मद्, the युष्म and अस्म portions have been already operated upon by other rules, the शेष that remains is अद् portion. In this view, the Sūtra should be translated as "in the remaining cases (*i. e.* where आ is not substituted as by VII. 2. 88. S. 387, nor य as by VII. 2. 89 S. 392. there is elision of the remaining (अद्) portion (I. 1. 64. S. 79) of these two (युष्मद् and अस्मद्)"

In the feminine, there is one more point to be considered even in the light of the second explanation. In युष्मत् + अम् = त्व + अन्त + अम् if we follow the ordinary rule of विप्रतिषेध then अन्त should be elided first by शेषे लोपः then should apply the rule of अतो युगे if at all. Then the form will be त्व + अम् ॥ Here त्व ends with अ, and so would require दाप् in the feminine, and the same difficulty

again recurs. To clear up this point, we state that the rule of elision (शेष लोपः) is bahiranga, because its efficient cause lies outside in the affix अन्, while the अतो गुणे rule is antaranga, because the occasion for its application or the efficient cause is *within* the very form स्व+अन्. Therefore अतो गुणे will apply first, we get स्वन्+अन्. Then अन् produces its effect i. e. अन् is elided, and we get स्व+अम् ॥ As there is no अ in स्व, it would not require दाप् ॥ Thus we get स्वम् in the feminine also.

So also परमस्वम्, परमाहम्, अतिस्वम् and अस्वहम्. In forming the N. Dual, the following rules apply.

३८६ । युवावौ द्विवचने । ७ । २ । ९२ ॥

इयोरुक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य युवावौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

386. युव is substituted for युष्म and आव for अस्म, when the bases themselves denote duality.

३८७ । प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् । ७ । २ । ८८ ॥

इह युष्मदस्मदोराकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात् । औडीत्येव सुवचम् । भाषायां किम् । युवं वक्ष्यामि । युवाम् । आवाम् । मपर्यन्तस्य किम् । साकच्छक्य मा भूत् । युवकाम् । आवकाम् । स्वया मयेत्यत्र स्या म्याति मा भूत् । युवकाभ्यामावकाभ्यामिति च न सिद्धयेत् ॥

387. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the spoken language.

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ It would have been better had the Sūtra been enunciated as " औडि " only. 'Why in the " spoken language " ?' Observe युवं वक्ष्यामि पविता वसाथे in the Veda, so also आवम् ॥

Why 'upto म्' ? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 S. 389. teaches that स्व and न replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by the sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383. 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus स्वया, मया the अद् portion remains for which च is substituted by VII. 2. 89. S. 392. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of स्व and न would have been replaced by च (VII. 2. 89 S. 392), and given us undesired forms like स्या and म्या ॥ Similarly the forms युवकाभ्याम् and आवकाभ्याम् would not have been evolved.

In forming the N. Pl. the following rule applies.

३८८ । यूयवयौ जासि । ७ । २ । ६३ ॥

स्वप् ॥ युयम् । वयम् । परमयूयम् । परमवयम् । अतियूयम् । अतिवयम् । इह शेषे लोपोऽन्यलोप इति पक्षः, असः शीः प्राप्तः । अङ्गकार्ये कृते पुनर्नाङ्गकार्यमिति न भवति । ऊं प्रथमयोरित्यत्र मकारान्तरं प्राप्स्यन् अन् मान्त एवावीक्ष्यते नतु विक्रियत इति व्याख्यानाद्वा ॥

388. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for युष्म, and वय for अस्म ॥

Thus हृदयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमवयम्, अतिहृदयम्, अतिवयम् ॥

Now some one may object that जस् (Nom. Pl) should be changed into ङी (VII. 1. 17. S. 214); after त् in युष्मत् has been elided by ङोष् लोपः in the first sense; for then the base is युष्म which ends in म् which is the efficient cause for the application of जस्: ङी rule. To this we reply, that the following maxim prevents this incongruity:—

Maxim:—If one sūtra of the Angādhikāra (VI. 4. 1. to VII. 4. end) has once been applied, another sūtra of the same Adhikāra is not subsequently applicable.

Therefore जस् is not replaced by ङी. Or we may say that in the sūtra ऊं प्रथमयोरम् (VII. 1. 28 S. 382) one more म् is understood, i. e. the sūtra is ऊं प्रथमयोरमम्, which म् indicates that अम् will not be changed into any other form, but will remain always as अम् ending in म्.

३८६ । त्वमावेकवचने । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

एकस्योक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्वमौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

389. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म when the bases themselves denote a singular expression.

३९० । द्वितीयायां च । ७ । २ । ८७ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरामकारः स्यात् । त्वाम् । माम् । युवाम् । आवाम् ॥

390. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम् ॥

३९१ । शसो न । ७ । १ । २६ ॥

नेत्यविभक्तिकम् । युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्य शसो नकारः स्यात् । अमोऽपवादः । आदेः परस्य । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । युष्मान् । अस्मान् ॥

391. न् is substituted for the म् of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

न् has been exhibited in the sūtra without any case affix. Thus युष्मत् + अस् = युष्म + न्स् = युष्मा + न् (the स् is elided by संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and अ is lengthened by VII. 2. 87 S. 390.) The substitute न् replaces the initial म् of अस् on the maxim आदेः परस्य I. 1. 54. S. 44. because the operation is ordained after युष्मद्. Thus युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This debars अम् (VII. 1. 28. S. 382.)

३९२ । योऽचि । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्धकारादेशः स्यादनादेशोऽजादौ परतः । स्वया । मया ॥

392. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus स्वया, मया, स्वयि, मयि, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

३९३ । युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशो । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्धकारः स्यादनादेशो हलादौ विभक्तौ । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः ॥

393. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27—33. S. 399 &c. Thus युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युष्माभिः, अस्माभिः ॥

३९४ । तुभ्यमहौ ङयि । ७ । २ । ९५ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्वन्तस्य तुभ्यमहौ स्तो ङयि । अमादेशः । शेषे लोपः । तुभ्यम् । मह्यम् । परमतुभ्यम् । परममह्यम् । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

394. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मह्य for अस्म ॥

The affix अम् is substituted for ङे by VII. 1. 28. S. 382. the तू is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385.

Thus तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥

३९५ । भ्यस्तोभ्यम् । ७ । १ । ३० ॥

भ्यस्तो भ्यम् अभ्यम् वा अदेशः स्यात् । आद्यः शेषे लोपस्यान्त्यलोपस्य एव । तच्चाङ्गवृत्तपरिभाषया द्रष्टव्यं न । अभ्यम् तु पक्षद्वयेऽपि साधुः । युष्मभ्यम् । अस्मभ्यम् ॥

395. भ्यम् or अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sūtra is constructed (भ्यस्तो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It has been already shown in S. 385 that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases, Thus we have four cases.

as (1) yushma + bhyam, (2) yushm + bhyam, (3) yushma + abhyam, (4) yushm + abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मेभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103.S. 205. This ए substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निर्दिष्टितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + भ = अभ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मेभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta भ of yushma being elided by the anudātta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudātta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 S. 3680 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We shall show in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आदि (beginning) of the anudātta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

३९६ । एकवचनस्य च । ७ । १ । ३२ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्येकवचनस्य अस्स्यात् । स्वत् । मत् । ङसेवेति सुवचम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

396. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the Ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As स्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of स्व and म see VII. 2. 97 ; S. 389. and स्व and म + अत् = स्वत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

It would have been better to have enunciated the Sutra as 'ङसेइच्च.'

Abl. Dual युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्.

३९७ । पञ्चम्या अत् । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्या भ्यसोऽस्स्यात् । युष्मत् । अस्मत् ॥

397. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The इ is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 before the case ending भ्यस and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

३९८ । तवममौ ङसि । ७ । २ । ९६ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्थन्तस्य तवममौ स्तो ङसि ॥

398. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

३६६ । युष्मदस्मदभ्यां ङसोऽय् । ७ । १ । २७ ॥

स्वप्नम् । तव । मम । युवयोः । आवयोः ॥

399. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस् after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम ; युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

The indicatory ङ of अश् shows that by I. 1. 55, S. 45 the whole of the affix अस् is to be replaced: otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix ; and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII. 2. 89 S. 392 would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII. 2. 96 S. 398 and तव + अ (अश्), and मम् + अ = तव and मम् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

४०० । साम आकम् । ७ । १ । ३३ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य साम आकं स्यात् । भाविनः सुदो निवृत्यर्थे ससुट्कनिर्देशः । युष्माकम् । अस्माकम् । त्वयि । मयि । युवयोः । आवयोः । युष्मासु । अस्मासु ॥

समस्यमाने द्व्येकत्ववाचिनी युष्मदस्मदी । समासार्योऽन्यसंख्यभेस्तो युवावौ स्वमावपि ॥ १

सुजस्ङेङस्तु परत आदेशाः स्युः सदैव ते । स्वाहौश्चयवयो तुभ्यमहौ तवममावपि ॥ २ ॥

एते परस्वाङ्गाधन्ते युवावौ विषये स्वके । स्वमावपि प्रबाधन्ते पुर्वविप्रतिषेधतः ॥ ३ ॥

द्व्येकसंख्यः समासार्यो बह्वर्थे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तयोरद्व्येकतार्यत्वात् युवावौ स्वमौ च न ॥ ४ ॥

त्वां मां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् । अतित्वाम् । अतिमाम् । अतियुवम् । अतियवम् । अतित्वान् २ । अतिमान् २ । अतित्वान् । अतिमान् । अतित्वया । अतिमया । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वाभिः । अतिमाभिः । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वभ्यम् । अतिमभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतित्वन् २ । अतिमन् २ । भ्यामि प्राग्वन् । अतितव । अतिमम । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वाकम् । अतिमाकम् । अतित्वयि । अतिमयि । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वासु । अतिमासु ।

युवाक्, आवां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्तु प्राग्वन् । औभम् औट्सु । अतियुवाक् । ३ । अत्यावाक् ३ । अतियुवान् । अत्यावान् । अतियुवया । अत्यावया । अतियुवाभ्याम् ३ । अत्यावाभ्याम् ३ । अतियुवाभिः । अत्यावाभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुवभ्यम् । अत्यावभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतियुवन् २ । अत्यावन् २ । ओसि । अतियुवयोः २ । अत्यावयोः २ । अतियुवाकम् । अत्यावाकम् । अतियुवयि । अत्यावयि । अतियुवासु । अत्यावासु ।

युष्मानस्मान्वेति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्तु प्राग्वन् । औभम् औट्सु । अतियुष्माक् ३ । अत्यस्माक् ३ । अतियुष्मान् । अत्यस्मान् । अतियुष्मया । अत्यस्मया । अतियुष्माभ्याम् ३ । अत्यस्माभ्याम् ३ । अतियुष्माभिः । अत्यस्माभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुष्मभ्यम् । अत्यस्मभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतियुष्मन् । अत्यस्मन् । ओसि । अतियुष्मयोः २ । अत्यस्मयोः २ । अतियुष्माकम् । अत्यस्माकम् । अतियुष्मयि । अत्यस्मयि । अतियुष्मासु । अत्यस्मासु ॥

400. आकम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम (VII. 1. 52 S. 217.), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus अस्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not आम, when there is no स

at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment स्, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, S. 385 end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, S. 217 would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स; the present Sûtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening, but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. If you say 'the very fact that अकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rûpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of अकम् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मकम् (VII. 3 103S. 205).

Why has Pânini used the form सामः and not आमः? The objector may say there was no necessity of using सामः for the following reason :—युष्मन् + आम् as the base युष्मन् ends in a consonant, the sûtra आनि सर्वनामः सुद् (VII. 1. 52 S. 217) cannot apply here, as its efficient cause (i. e. an anga ending in a vowel) is absent. We reply to this, that after the elision of न् by शेषे लोपः, (VII. 2. 90. S. 385) the सुद् will come, because then the base ends in a vowel. To remove that स, Pânini has stated सामः आकम् ॥

But when the sûtra शेषे लोपः is taken in the second sense, there is no necessity of inserting स in the Present sûtra, as in that case, the base will end in a consonant whereby the sûtra सर्वनामः सुद् is prevented.

Verses :—When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denoting a unity or a duality in themselves are members of a compound, which may denote any number, then also एव and युव will be substituted for युष्मद् and म and अव for अस्मद् ॥ (1)

But when they are followed by सु (Nom. S.) जस् (Nom. Pl.), डे (Dat. S.), डस् (Gen. S.), then युष्मद् will be replaced by एव, यूय, तुभ्य and तव and अस्मद् by अह, वय, मय्य and मम ॥ (2)

Now these supersede युव, and अव by being taught subsequently to the rule teaching युव and अव substitutions. While एव and म are superseded by the above, by the rule of पूर्व विप्रतिषेध ॥ (3)

When the compound denotes a singular or a dual number, and the component members युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote a plural number, then युव, अव, एव and म will not be substituted for them, as the efficient cause (one-ness or duality) is wanting here. (4)

—:0:—

I. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् SINGULAR.

Now we take अतिवस्म and अत्यहम् ॥ When these compounds are analysed, they stand thus : एवां अर्हि क्रान्तः = अतिवस्म, मां अतिक्रान्तः = अत्यहम् ॥

Here the component parts युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote singular number, and the whole compound means a third person. The compound is thus formed अति + युष्मद् = अतियुष्मद् and so also अति-अस्मद् ॥ These are dvitīyā Tatpuruṣa compounds : and consequently they get Prātipadika samjñā and सु in the Nom. S. Thus अतियुष्मद् + सु ॥ Here the component number युष्मद् denotes a singular, and the compound itself is followed by सु, and so the rule contained in the second verse applies : and we have अतित्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥

Now we take up अतियुष्मद् + औ (Nom. Dual.) = अतियुष्मद् + अम् (ङे प्रथमयो-
रम् VII. 1. 28 S. 382). Here the rule contained in the first verse applies, so we get अतित्व + अम् = अतित्वाम्. So also अतिमाम् ॥

Then अतियुष्मद् + जस् ॥ Here the second verse will apply, and we have अतियूय + अम् = अतियूयम् ॥ So also अतिवयम् ॥

Then in Acc. Sing and Dual we have अतित्वाम् and अतिमाम् by the first verse. In Acc. Pl. we have अतित्वान् and अतिमान् by the same.

The Ins. forms are derived by applying the first verse : as अतित्वया, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वाभिः &c. In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply, and thus we get अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम् ॥ In the remaining numbers of the Dative, the first rule will apply.

In the Ablative, the first verse will apply. as अतित्वत् (S), अतित्वत् (D.) अतित्वाभ्याम् (Pl.)

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply, and so we get अतित्व and अतिमम् ॥ In the remaining numbers the first verse will apply.

In the Locative Sing, Dual and Plural the first verse will apply.

II. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् IN THE DUAL.

When the compounds अतियुष्मद् and अत्यस्मद् are analysed as अतिक्रान्तः युवां and अतिक्रान्तः आवाम्, then :—

अतियुष्मद् + सु = अतित्व + अम् = अतित्वम् and so also अत्यहम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply. In the Nom. Dual the first verse will apply, and we get अतियुवाम् and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the Nom. Pl. the second verse will apply, and we have अतियूयम् and अतिवयम् ॥

In all numbers of the Acc. the first verse will apply. as अतियुवाम्, and अतियुवाम्, and अत्यावाम् and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the plural we have अतियुवान् and अत्यावान् ॥

In the Ins. numbers the first verse will apply : and we have अतियुवया अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवाभिः ; and अत्यावया, अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावाभिः ॥

In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply and we have अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम्. The dual and plural are formed by the first verse : as अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतिमयुवभ्य and अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Ablative, the first verse applies : as अतियुवत्, अतियुवत्, and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावत्, अत्यावत् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply and in the Dual and Plura! the first : and we have ; अतितव, अतियुवयोः अतियुवाकम् ॥ So also अतिमम, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावाकम् ॥

In the Loc. Sing. Dual and Pl. the first verse will apply and so we get :—अतियुवयि, अतियुवयोः, अतियुवासु ॥ So also अत्यावयि, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावासु ॥

III. युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Plural.

When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote plural : as अतिक्रान्तः युष्मान् or अस्मान् ॥ Here the fourth verse will apply, and अतियुष्मद् and अति-अस्मद् will be declined as follow :—

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिस्वम् अत्यहम्	अतियुष्माम् अत्यस्माम्	अतियुष्मया अत्यस्मया	अतितुभ्यम् अतिमह्यम्	अतियुष्मन् अत्यस्मन्	अतितव अतिमम	अतियुष्मयि अत्यस्मयि
Dual	अतियुष्माम् अत्यस्माम्	” ”	अतियुष्माभ्याम् अत्यस्माभ्याम्	” ”	” ”	अतियुष्मयोः अत्यस्मयोः	” ”
Plural	अतियुष्यम् अतिवयम्	अतियुष्मान् अत्यस्मान्	अतियुष्माभिः अत्यस्माभिः	अतियुष्मभ्यम् अत्यस्मभ्यम्	अतियुष्मन् अत्यस्मन्	अतियुष्माकम् अत्यस्माकम्	अतियुष्मासु अत्यस्मासु

४०१ । पदस्य । < । १ । १६ ॥

401. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase “of a word,” or “to the whole of a word.”

Note :—This is an adhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55, in order of enunciation of Pānini's Ashtādhyāyī.

४०२ । पदात् । < । १ । १७ ॥

402. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase “after a pada.”

४०३ । अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ । < । १ । १८ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

403. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase “The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse”.

४०४ । युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वानावौ । ८ । १ । २० ॥

पदात्परयोःपादादौ स्थितयोरनयोः षष्ठ्यादिषिष्टयोर्वानावित्यादेशौ स्तः । तौ चानुदात्तौ ॥

404. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes it and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudâtta.

All the three sūtras पदस्य, पदान् and अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ are applicable here.

Note:—These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

४०५ । बहुवचनस्य वस्नसौ । ८ । १ । २१ ॥

उक्तविधयोः षष्ठ्यादिबहुवचनान्तयोर्वस्नसौ स्तः । वान्नावोरपवादः ॥

405. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and नस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudâtta)

This Sūtra debars the the substitutes वाम् and नौ taught in the previous Sūtra.

४०६ । तेमयावेकवचनस्य । ८ । १ । २२ ॥

उक्तविधयोरनयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थ्येकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्तः ॥

406. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse and these are anudâtta).

४०७ । त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः । ८ । १ । २३ ॥

द्वितीयकवचनान्तयोस्त्वा मा एतौ स्तः ।

श्रीशस्त्वाऽवतु मापीह दत्तात्ते मेऽपि शर्म सः । स्वामी ते मेऽपि स हरिः पातु वामपि नौ विभुः ॥१॥

सुखं वां नौ वदस्वीष्टः पतिर्वामपि नौ हरिः । सोऽव्याहो नः शिवं वो नो दद्यास्तेव्योऽन्न वः स नः ॥ २ ॥

पदात्परयोः किम् । वाक्यद्वौ मा भूत् । त्वां पातु । मां पातु । अपादादौ किम् । वेदेरशेषैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ।

स्थग्रहणाच्छ्रयमाणाविभक्तिकथ्येरेव । नेह । इति युष्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति । इत्यस्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति ॥

समानवाक्यं निघातयुष्मदस्मद्वशा वक्तव्याः * ॥ एकतिङ् वाक्यम् । तेनेह न । ओद नं पञ्च तव भविष्यति । इह तु स्यादव । शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामीति ॥

एनं वानावाद्य आदिशा अन्ववाद्दो वा वक्तव्याः * ॥ अन्वादेशे तु नित्यं स्युः । धाता ते भक्तोऽस्ति । धाता तव भक्तोऽस्तीति वा । तस्मै ते नम इत्येव ॥

407. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

Verses.—"May the Lord of *Śrī* preserve thee (twā) and me (mā) also here—may He give to thee (te), and to me (me) also, felicity!

That Hari is thy (te) Lord and mine (me) also.

May the Omnipresent preserve you two (vām) and also us two (nau).

May God give felicity to you two (vām) and to us two (nau).

Hari is the Lord of you two (vām) and also of us two (nau)

May He preserve you (vaḥ) and us (naḥ), may He give prosperity to you (vaḥ) and to us (naḥ)

He is the object of worship here of you (vaḥ) and of us (naḥ)."

Why do we say "पदान्" *i. e.* after ~~तत्~~ Pada? So that the substitutions may not take place when pronouns are in the beginning of a sentence. As एवं पातु and not स्वा पातु. Similarly मां पातु also.

Why do we say "अपादान्" *i. e.* when not at the beginning of a hemistich? Observe वेदेरक्षयैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ॥ Here we have अस्मान् and not वयम् ॥

The word स्य in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here : इति शुष्मन्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case, yet त्वा substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

Vārt:—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as VIII. 1. 19 and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. The word वाक्य or " sentence " means that which contains one finite verb. Therefore not here;—ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति । ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ " Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food it will be for me." That is, the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for yushmad and asmad. But the rule will apply here :—शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last example, the verb and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the substitution takes place, in spite of the general maxim समर्थः पश्चिधिः (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

For शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with ओदनं i. e. शालीनां ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

Vart:—It should be stated, that the substitutes वां, नौ &c. are *all* optional, when not employed in anvādesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not; but when there is anvādesa, then the substitution is *compulsory* and not optional. Thus धाता ते, भक्तोऽस्ति or धातातवभक्तोऽस्ति ॥ But in anvādesa, we have only one form, as तस्मैते नमः ॥ Which means “Brahmā is Thy (ते or तव) worshipper.” But in the sequel, “to Thee (ते) that art such, our reverence is due,” the form ते alone is admissible.

४०८ । न चवाहाऽहैवयुक्ते । ८ । १ । २४ ॥

चाद्वपञ्चक्रयोगे नैते आदेशाः स्युः । हरिस्त्वां मां च रक्षतु । कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेदित्यादि । युक्तप्रहणास्ताक्षाद्योगेऽयं निषेधः । परंपरासंबन्धे तु आदेशः स्यादेव । इतो हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥

408. The above substitutions do not take place, when there is in connection with the pronouns, any of these five, viz :—च, ‘and’ वा, ‘or’ इ, ‘oh ! अह ‘wonderful’, or एव ‘only’.

Thus हरिस्त्वां च मां च रक्षतु ॥ कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेत् &c.

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. Therefore, where the conjunction is not direct, but intermediate, the employment would be of the shorter forms. Thus इतो हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥ Here the word च connects हर and हरि and not the pronoun in the above word. Therefore the prohibition does not apply.

४०९ । पदयार्थैश्चानालोचने । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

अचाक्षुषज्ञानार्थैर्धातुभिर्योगे एते आदेशा न स्युः । चेतसा त्वां समीक्षते । परम्परासंबन्धेऽप्ययं निषेधः । भक्तस्त्व रूपं ध्यायति । आलोचने तु भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

409. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of “seeing” when physical seeing is not denoted, but “knowing” is meant.

Note:—The word पदयार्थाः is equivalent to दर्शनार्थाः, and दर्शन means ‘knowledge’, i. e. verbs denoting ‘to know’, आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i. e. physical ‘seeing’ opposed to metaphorical “seeing” = “knowing”. The substitutions of वां and नौ &c. for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ‘seeing’ (metaphorically) but not ‘looking’ (physically).

Thus चेतसा त्वांसमीभते, भक्तस्वरूपं ध्यायति ॥ Why do we say when not meaning ' to look ' ? Observe भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

Ishli:— With regard to verbs of " Seeing " the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct : as. भक्तस्त्वं रूपं ध्यायति ॥

४१० । सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा । ८ । १ । २६ ॥

विद्यमानपूर्वाव्ययमान्तात्परयोरनयोरन्वादेशेऽप्येते आदेशा वा स्युः । भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वां चायते स माम् । त्वा मेति वा ॥

410. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally even in anvâdeśa.

Thus भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वां चायते स माम् ॥ Here the alternative forms त्वा and मा are admissible.

—:O:—

We have already said that युष्मद् and अस्मद् substitutions do not take place when they are in the beginning of a pāda. To this, however, there is an exception, when the first word is a Vocative, technically called आमन्त्रित which is defined in the next sūtra, then also though युष्मद् and अस्मद् may not really be in the beginning of a pāda, yet the substitutions will not take place by the sūtra after next.

४११ । सामन्त्रितम् । २ । ३ । ४८ ॥

संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

411. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or Vocative.

४१२ । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् । ८ । १ । ७२ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अग्रे तव । देवास्मान्पाहि । अग्रे नय । अग्रे इन्द्र वरुण । इह युष्मदस्मदोरादेशास्ति ङन्तनिघात आमन्त्रितनिघातश्च न । सर्वदा रक्ष देव न इत्यत्र तु देवेत्यस्याविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि नतः प्राचीनं रक्षेत्येताभित्यादेशः । एवम् इमं मे गच्छ यशुने इति मन्त्रे यशुन इत्यादिभ्यः प्राचीनामन्त्रिताविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि मेघाङ्गमेवाभित्य सर्वेषां निघातः ॥

412. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) ॥

Thus अग्रे! तव ॥ देव! अस्मान्पाहि ॥ अग्रे! नय ॥ अग्रे! इन्द्र! वरुण! ॥ Here तव and अस्मान् cannot get the shorter form, though they are not at the beginning of a hemistich, because they are preceded by the आमन्त्रित words अग्रे and देव ॥

Similarly in अग्रे नय the verb नय does not become accentless as it would otherwise have become by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935.

In अग्र! इन्द्र! वरुण! the rule VIII. 1.19 S. 3654 does not apply.

Note :—Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent Vocative, which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. S. 3654 As देवदत्त! यज्ञदत्त! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. S. 3653 (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 S. 3935 is prevented: as, देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 S. 404 &c. is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) ग्रामः स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) ग्रामः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37. S. 3944 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb: as, यावद् देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, S. 3954 though a Vocative may precede जानु, the latter is still considered as अव्ययमानपूर्व and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जानु पचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, S. 3956 as आहो देवदत्त पचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पचसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50. S. 3957

In 'सर्वदा रक्ष देव नः' although the word देव is non-existent, yet taking रक्ष as a preceding word नः is used.

In इमं मे गङ्गे यद्युने सरस्वति शतुर्हि the first Vocative गङ्गे is considered as non-existent with regard to यद्युने, and, therefore, यद्युने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यद्युने becomes anudatta, not because of गङ्गे, but because of मे. In other words, the intervention of the Vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥ This nighāta or accentlessness is heard in Pāda-Pātha only, i. e. when the words are read separately, and not in Sanhitā-reading. In Sanhitā there will be eka-sruti of I. 2. 39 S. 3668.

४१३ । नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् । ८ । १ । ७३ ॥

विशेष्यं समानाधिकरणे भ्रान्त्रिते परे नाविद्यमानवत्स्यात् । हरे दयालो नः पाहि । अग्ने तेजस्विन् ॥

413. A preceding Vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

Thus हरे दयालो नः पाहि "O Hari! O Merciful! protect us." अग्ने तेजस्विन् "O Agni! O powerful!" Here तेजस्विन् is all anudatta by VIII. 1. 19 S. 3654, because it is preceded by a word, though that word is Vocative.

Note :—Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus अग्नये देवि सरस्वति ईडे

यं विह्व्ये एतानि ते भग्न्य नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is :—इडे रस्तेऽ विते सरस्वति प्रिय प्रेयासि महि विश्रुते, एतानि ते भग्न्ये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus अग्ने गृहपते, औणवकजदलकाध्यापक ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, the second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the vocative subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पंचासि here the verb does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition' or सामानाधिकरणे? Observe देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञदत्त, here the word पण्डित qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Then applies Sūtra VIII. 1. 74. S. 3655 which for the sake of convenience we repeat here.

४१३ (क) । विभाषितं विशेषवचने । ८ । १ । ७४ ॥

अत्र भाष्यम् । बहुवचनमिति वक्ष्यामीति । बहुवचनान्तं विशेष्यं समानाधिकरणे भामन्त्रिते विशेषणे परं अविद्यमानवद्वा । व्यर्थं प्रभवः । देवाः शरण्याः । युष्मान् भजे वा भजे इति वा । इहान्वादेशोऽपि वैकल्पिका आदेशाः । सुपान् । सुपाद् । सुपादा । सुपादः । सुपादम् । सुपादाँ ॥

413. A. When the preceding Vocative is *in the plural number*, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

Here the author of the Mahābhāṣya states :—"The word *bahuvachanam* should be added to the sūtra to complete the sense." That is the sūtra should run as विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ We have therefore translated the sūtra with this emendation of Patanjali.

Thus व्यर्थं प्रभवः, देवाः शरण्याः । युष्मान् भजे or वा भजे ॥ Here even in anvādeśa, there is optional substitution of वः for युष्मान् ॥

—O—

Now, we take up the declension of सुपाद्. In the strong, *i. e.* in the first five cases it is declined as :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom :	सुपान् or सुपाद्,	सुपादौ	सुपादः
Ac.	सुपादम्.	सुपादौ.	

In the formation of the Acc: Pl. and the rest, the following rule applies,

४१४ । पाद्ः पल् । ६ । ४ । १३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्तं यदङ्गं भे तदवयवस्य पाच्छब्दस्य पददेशः स्यात् । सुपदः । सुपदा । सुपाद्भ्यामित्यादि । अग्निं मन्यतीत्यग्निमत् । अग्निमद् । अग्निमथौ । अग्निमथः । अग्निमद्भ्यामित्यादि । ऋत्विगित्यादिसूत्रेणाञ्चेः सुप्सुपपदे क्तिन् ।

414. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

Note :—The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानदेशादेषा भवन्ति “substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule.” ॥

Thus the Acc. Pl. is सुपदः ॥ Instr: Sing and Dual are सुपदा, सुपदभ्याम् &c.

-O-

Now we take up the declension of अग्निमथ् meaning ‘kindling fire.’ It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	अग्निमन् or अग्निमद्	अग्निमथौ	अग्निमथः
Instr: Dual is	अग्निमद्भ्याम् &c.		

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्

-O-

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in च्.

Now we take up the declension of प्राञ्च्.

According to Sûtra. III. 2. 59. S. 373, the affix क्तिन् is employed after the verb अञ्च् to make it a Prâtipadika, before the case terminations.

Thus having got the noun प्राञ्च्, in its declension, the following rules apply.

४१५ । अभिदितां हल उपधायाः किति । ६ । ४ । २४ ॥

हलन्तानामभिदितामङ्गानामुपधाया नस्य लोपः स्यात्किति किति च । उगिद्वामिति नुम् । संयो-
गान्तस्य लोपः । नुमो नकारस्य क्तिन्प्रत्ययस्य कुरिति कुत्वेन ङ्कारः । प्राङ् । अनुस्वारपरसवर्णौ । प्राञ्चौ ।
प्राञ्चः । प्राञ्चम् । प्राञ्चौ ॥

415. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न् not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

By Sûtra VII. 1. 70. S. 361, the, stem अञ्च् gets the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54, the last consonant is dropped. By VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. which says that 'a stem formed with the affix क्तिन् substitutes at the end of a word, a guttural for the final Consonant' we get the N. S. as प्राङ् thus:—प्राङ् + सु = प्राच् (VI. 4. 24 S. 415) + सु = प्रा + न् (VII. 1. 70. S. 361). + च् + सु = प्राच् + O (सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). = प्राच् - प्रान् (च् being elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54) = प्राङ् (न् turned to ङ् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377).

The N. Dual &c. are formed by changing the न् into anuswâra, and then the anuswâra into ञ् by VIII. 4. 58. S. 124.

Thus प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः; Acc. प्राञ्चम्, प्राञ्चौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. &c. the following rules apply.

४१६। अच् : । ६। ४। १३८॥

लुप्तनकारस्याञ्चतेर्भस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

416. the अ of अच् (when अञ्च् loses its nasal,) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138 : S 417'

४१७। चो । ६। ३। १३८॥

लुप्ताकारनकारिऽञ्चतो परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः स्यात् । प्राचः । प्राचा । प्राग्भ्यामित्यादि । प्रत्यङ् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । प्रत्यञ्चः । प्रत्यञ्चम् । प्रत्यञ्चो । अच् इति लोपस्य विषयऽन्तरङ्गाऽपि यत्र न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । प्रतीचः । प्रतीचा । अमुञ्चतीति विग्रहे । अदस् अञ्च् इति स्थिते ॥

417. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च्, having lost its nasal and the vowel अ ॥

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्राच् ; Instr : Sing or Dual are प्राचा, प्राग्भ्याम् &c.

Now we take up the declension of प्रत्यञ्च् ॥ In strong cases, it is declined as प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः ॥ प्रत्यञ्चम्, प्रत्यञ्चा, In weak cases, अ is elided by VI. 4. 138 S 416. and though this lopa is a bahiranga process, while the यण् or semivowel Sandhi is an antaranga process, yet this lopa is not considered asiddha for the purposes of this sandhi. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहाः &c. See under Sûtra I. 3. 11 S. 46. Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतीचः; Instr : Sing is प्रतीचा ॥ &c. प्रति + अच् + दास् = प्रति + अच् + अस् ॥ Here two sûttras simultaneously appear for application, viz. इकोयणचि and अच् : ॥ Now इकोयणचि is antaranga, because the efficient cause अ of अच् is *inside* that of दास्; and the efficient cause दास् by which अ of अच् would be elided is *outside*; therefore यण् âdeśa should take place first, thus प्रति + अच् + दास् = प्रत्य् + अच् + दास् ॥ After this अ should be elided : as प्रत्य् + च् + दास् ॥ This however gives us no form, and so relying on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा

&c. the अन्तरङ्ग यण substitution is set aside. Now, we take up the declension of अञ्च् as compounded with the pronoun अद्स् meaning अमुम् अञ्चति ॥ Thus we have अद्स् + अञ्च् + क्तिन् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

४१८ । विष्वग्देवयोश्च टेरच्ञतौ वप्रत्यये । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

अनयोः सर्वनामश्च टेरच्ञादेशः स्याद्वप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चतौ परे । अत्र द्वि अञ्च् इति स्थिते यण ॥

418. In the room of the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च has no visible affix following it.

Thus अद्स् + अञ्च् = अदद्रि + अञ्च् = अद्व्य + अञ्च. At this stage, applies the following sūtra.

४१९ अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः । ८ । २ । ८० ॥

अदसोऽसान्तस्य दात्परस्य उदुनौ स्तो दस्य च मः । उ इति ह्रस्वदीर्घयोः समाहारद्वन्द्वः । आन्तरित्यादस्वयञ्जनयोर्ह्रस्वा दीर्घस्य दीर्घः । अमुमुयङ् । अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुयञ्चः । अमुमुयञ्चम् । अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुईचः । अमुमुईचा । अमुमुयग्भ्यामित्यादि । सुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् यण् । अन्यथा धेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति परिभाषामाश्रित्य परस्यैव सुत्वं वदतां मते अदमुयङ् । अः सेः सकारस्य स्थाने यस्य सः आसिरिति व्याख्यानात् । त्वदाद्यत्वविषय एव सुत्वं नान्यचेति पक्षे अद्व्यङ् । उक्तं च ॥

अदसोऽद्वेःपृथङ् सुत्वं केचिद्विच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ॥ केचिदन्त्यसदेशस्य नत्यकेऽसेर्हि दृश्यत इति ॥

विष्वग्देवयोः किम् । अश्वाची । अञ्चतौ किम् । विष्वग्युक् । वप्रत्यये किम् । विष्वगञ्चनम् । वप्रत्ययमहर्णं ज्ञापयति, अन्यत्र धातुग्रहणे तदादिविधिरिति । तेनाऽयस्कारः । अतः कृकमीति सः । उद्वङ् । उद्वञ्चौ । उद्वञ्चः । शसादावचि ॥

419. When the pronoun अद्स् does not end in स् then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for त् ॥

The short उ in the sūtra is a samâhâra dvanda compound including both the short उ and long ऊ. By the rule of antartama I. 1. 50 S. 39, the short vowel and the consonant following it will be replaced by the short उ; and the long vowel with the consonant following it will be replaced by the long ऊ. Thus अद्व्य + अञ्च् = अमुमुयङ् + अञ्च i. e. the first द् and अ are changed to म् and उ, and the second द् and र् are also changed to म् and उ; so the declension is,

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.
Sing.	अमुमुयङ्	अमुमुयञ्चम्	अमुमुईचा
Dual.	अमुमुयञ्चौ	अमुमुयञ्चौ	अमुमुयग्भ्याम् &c.
Pl.	अमुमुयञ्चः	अमुमुईचः	&c.

The वु being considered as asiddha, there is no sandhi in अमुमुईचः or

in अमुमुङ्चा, for the Sandhi rule इकोयणञि is contained in the Sixth Book of Paṇini, while this मु substitute is ordained in the Tripadi portion of Ashtadhyāyī. Hence the Sūtra VIII. 2. 1. S. 12 applies.

Some, by applying the following maxim, get the form अदमुयङ् ॥

Paribhāṣā :—“When a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final.” The second class apply this maxim and make मु change only for ङ् which stands in proximity to the final.

There is a third form, अदङ्गङ् which is obtained by explaining the अस्ते: in the Sūtra as अः स्तेर्यस्य सोयमसिः, यच्च सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ “The word अस्ति: in the sūtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स” ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद derived by changing the स् into अ by VII. 2. 102. and not to any other अद ॥

Thus there are three views with regard to the application of the present sūtra :—

(1) the द् of अङ्, and ङ् of अङ्गि are both changed to मु by the present sūtra ; (2), the first र is not changed, but only ङ् ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अमुमुयङ् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अमुमुयञ्चौ, अमुमुयञ्चः ॥ (2) Secondly, अदमुयङ्, अदमुयञ्चौ, अदमुयञ्चः ॥ (3) Lastly अदङ्गङ्, अदङ्गयञ्चौ, अदङ्गयञ्चः ॥ The above verse summarises this :

Verse :—Some ordain that मु should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in चलीकलप्यते see sūtra VIII. 2. 18 and VII. 4. 90 S. 2644) others would have मु only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for ङ्); while a third class would have no where, because they explain अस्ते: of the sūtra by confining it to: VII. 2. 102”

Note :—Thus विवर्गञाति=विवर्गङ्. This form is thus evolved. अञ्च + विवन् = अञ्च + 0 = अञ्च + नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ञ्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the विवन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विवङ्गि gives the above form. देवङ्, तद्यङ्, यद्यङ् ॥ अङ्गि and सङ्गि (VI. 3. 95) have acent on the final irregularly (ni pātana) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when इ is changed into ङ् the following vowel becomes svarita (VII. 2. 4).

Note :—Why do we say of विवर्गञ् and देव ? Observe अश्वाची = अश्वमञ्चति, the feminine डीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vārt.* The अ of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 138, and the final of अश्वा is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why ‘when अञ्च follows’ ? Observe विश्वगुक् ॥ Why do we say ‘when the affix ङ् follows’ ? Observe विवर्गञन् ॥ The व is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अपत्यय (अञ्चनावपत्यये) ॥ It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वपत्यये or अपत्यये indicates by implication that in

other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अग्रस्ये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when anch followed, but when *anchana* ending in ल्युट् also followed. The maxim धातुग्रहणं तदादि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृते and अयस्कारः ; for VIII. 3 43 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृतृ which is followed merely by the verb कृ ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Now we take up the declension of उद्वच्. It is declined in the Nominative as उद्वच् (S), उद्वचौ (Dual) उद्वचः (Pl).

Before the weak cases the following rule applies :—

४२० । उद्व ईत् । ६ । ४ । १३९ ॥

उच्छ्वास्परस्य लुप्तनकारस्यांचतेर्भस्याकारस्य ईत्स्यात् । उदीचः । उदीचा । उद्गम्यामित्यादि ।

420. Long ई is substituted for the अ of that (अञ्च) where the nasal is elided after the word उद्व, when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उद्गम्याम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of सम्यच् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२१ । समः समि । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्तस्यचतौ परे । सम्यच् । सम्यचौ । सम्यचः । समीचः । समीचा ॥

421. समि is substituted for सम, before this अञ्च when no visible affix follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यङ्, सम्यचौ, सम्यचः ॥

Ac : Pl : समीचः ; Instr : Sing समीचा ॥

Now we take up the declension of सह् + अञ्च् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२२ । सहस्य सधिः । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्तचतौ परे । सध्वङ् ॥

422. सधि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च् followed by no visible affix.

Thus सध्वङ्, सध्वचौ, सध्वचः ; and सधीचः, सधीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

Now, we take up the declension of तिर्यच् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२३ । तिरस्स्तिर्यलोपे । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

अलुप्ताकारेऽञ्चतौ यप्रत्ययान्तं परे तिरस्स्तिर्यारेशः स्यात् । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यञ्चौ । तिर्यचः । तिर्यचम् । तिर्यचौ । तिरश्चः । तिरश्चा । तिर्यग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

423. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च् when no visible affix follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च् is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यचौ, तिर्यचः ॥ Why do we say 'when there is no elision'? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) "where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision". The latter meaning should be taken however.

Now, we take up the declension of प्र+अञ्च् when अञ्च् means 'to honor'. There are two roots (अञ्च्), both belong, to the Bhvādi class, one meaning 'to honor' and the other 'to move'. The declension of 'अञ्च्' meaning 'to move' has already been exhibited above. But when it means 'to honor' its declension is governed by the following rule:—

४२४ । नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् । ६ । ४ । ३० ॥

पूजार्थस्थांचनेरुपधाया नस्य लोपो न स्यात् । अलुप्तनकारत्वात् नम् । प्राङ् । प्रांचौ । प्रांचः । नलोपाभावाद्कारलोपो न । प्रांच । प्रांचा । प्राङ्भ्याम् । प्राङ्क्षु । प्राङ्क्षु । एवं पूजार्थे प्रत्यङ्ङादयः । क्लृप्त्वादिना नलोपाभावाऽपि निपात्यन्ते । कृङ् । कृंचौ । कृंचः । कृङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ चांः कृः ॥ पयोमुक् । पयोमुग् । पयोमुचौ । पयोमुचः । व्रश्चति चत्वम् । स्कोरिति सलोपः । जम्बवचस्वे । सुवृद् । सुवृङ् । सुवृश्चौ । सुवृश्चः । सुवृद्गु । सुवृद्गु । वर्तमाने पृषन्महद्बृहज्जगच्छतृवच्च * ॥ एते निपात्यन्ते शतृवच्चैषां कार्यं स्यात् । उगित्वान्नुम् । सान्तमहन् हति दीर्घः । मह्यते पूज्यते इति महान् । महान्तौ । महान्तः । हे महन् । महतः । महता । महद्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

424. The nasal of अञ्च् is not elided when the meaning is 'to honor'.

And as the nasal is not elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415 there is no नुम् augment. Thus.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	प्राङ्	प्रांचौ	प्रांचः

As न् is not elided, so there is no elision of अ also by VI. 4. 138. S. 416. Thus the weak forms are A२ : Pl : प्रांचः ॥ Inst : Sing and dual are प्रांचा, प्राङ्भ्याम् ॥ Loc. Plural is प्राङ्क्षु or प्राङ्क्षु ॥

Similar is the declension of प्रत्यञ्च् when 'अञ्च्' means 'to honor'. Thus Acc : Plu : is प्रत्यञ्चः and not प्रतीचः ॥ Similarly the Acc : Plural of अङ्क्षञ्च् is अङ्क्षुञ्चः and not अङ्क्षुञ्चः ॥

Similarly the Acc : plural of उदञ्च् is उदञ्चः and not उदीचः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of कृच्. This word, as already mentioned in sūtra III. 2. 59 S. 373 is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन् to the root कृच् meaning "to curve or make crooked" or "to be or become small". Thus it is declined :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	कुङ्	कुचौ	कुचः
Instr:	Dual is कुङ्गयाम् &c.		

—————o—————

Now, we take up the declension of पयोमुच्. In Nom: Sing. the च् is changed to the guttural, by Sūtra VIII. 2. 30 S. 378. It is declined as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	पयोमुक् or पयोमुग्	पयोमुचौ	पयोमुचः &c.

—————o—————

Now, we take up the declension of सुवृश्च्. It is thus formed :—सु + व्रदश्च + क्तिप् in the sense of सुवृ वृदचाति meaning 'that which cuts well' The र् being vocalised by VI. 1. 16 S. 2412., it becomes सु + वृदच् + O. By VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. the च् is changed to ष्. By VIII. 2. 29. S. 380, the initial श् is elided. * Thus we get सु + वृष्. The ष् is changed to ज् and finally to द् by VIII. 2. 39 S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56 S. 206. Thus its declension is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom :	सुवृद् or सुवृङ्	सुवृद्वौ	सुवृद्वः
The Loc. Pl. is	सुवृद्वसु or सुवृद्वसु.		

* Note:—This would be true in the view that the original root was व्रदश्च with a dental स् which becomes श् by इचुनादचु VIII. 4. 40 S. 111. This श् substitution is asiddha for VIII. 2, 29.

—————o—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in त्.

Now, we take up the declension of महत्. This word is formed by the Uṇādi affix भति (Uṇādi sūtra II. 84) which means that the words पृषत्, बृहत्, महत् and जगत् are irregularly formed with the affix भति with the force of the present tense and are operated upon as if they were followed by शतृ affix. Since महत् is to be treated as if it was formed by the शतृ affix, therefore, the rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 would cause the insertion of तुप् and the sutra VI. 4. 10. S. 317 would cause the lengthening of अ. Thus,

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	महान्	महान्तौ	महान्तः
Voc.	हे महन्	"	"
Acc.	महान्तम्	"	महतः
Instr.	महता	महद्भ्याम्	महद्भिः
	&c.	&c.	

-:0:-

Now we take up the declension of धीमन्. It is formed with the affix मतुप्.

In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२५ । अत्वसन्तस्य चाध्यातोः । ६ । ४ । १४ ॥

अत्वसन्तस्योपधाया धीर्धः स्याद्धातुभिन्नासन्तस्य चासंबुद्धा सौ परे । परं नित्यं च नुमं बाधित्वा वचनसामर्थ्यादासौ धीर्धः ततो नुम् । धीमान् । धीमन्तौ । धीमन्तः । हे धीमन् । आसासौ महद्भ्यम् । धातोरेव स्वस्तस्य धीर्धः । गोमन्तमिच्छति गोमानिवाचरतीति वा क्यञन्तश्चाचरन्तिन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्तिप् । उगित्-
चामिति सञ्ज्ञेऽग्रहणं नियमार्थम् । धातोर्भेदुगित्कार्थं तद्वञ्चतेरेवेति । तेन सन् ध्वत् इत्यासौ न । अधा-
तोरेति तु अधातुभूतपूर्वस्यापि नुमर्थम् । गोमान् । गोमन्तौ । गोमन्तः । इत्यादि । भातेर्ध्वतुः । भवान् ।
भवन्तौ । भवन्तः । शञ्जन्तस्य त्वस्वन्तत्वाभावात्तर्धः । भवतीति भवन् ॥

425. In the Nominative Singular (with the excep-
tion of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is
lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the conso-
nant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation
has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the vowel no longer being
penultimate, will not be lengthened at all. This is because of the force of this
sûtra, which though precedent in the order of enunciation in Pânini's
Ashtâdhyâyi, and therefore ought to have been superseded by the subse-
quent and *nitya* sutra (VII. 1. 70 S. 361) ordaining नुम्, yet is not so. Thus
its declension is

	Singular	dual	Plural
Nominative	धीमान्	धीमन्तौ	धीमन्तः
Vocative	हे धीमन्		

Before the weak case terminations, it is declined like महन्.

Note :—अस् :—as सुपथाः, सुयथाः, सुधोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging
to a dhâtu' ? Observe पिण्डमः where स् belongs to the root मस् (पिण्डं मसते), so also
चर्मवः चर्म वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c. is also included
here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they
are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there

they represent these combination of letters, both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (अनिनस्मन् ग्रहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever ends in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as डवतु, क्तवतु &c. or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुप्, which in upadesa ends in अतुप्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपथः this rule not applying there.

Even in the case of *Denominative* roots, the lengthening will take place. The prohibition of अधातोः in this sūtra applies to *original* roots and not to derivative roots from nouns. Thus गोमन्तमिच्छति = गोमत्यति "He wishes to have cows." The affix क्यच् is added to गोमन् in forming the derivative root by III. 1. 8. or III. 1. 10. with the force of "wishing" or "behaving." The root is गोमत्य. It is a derivative root, and so it does not fall within the prohibition of this sūtra. Now गोमत्य + क्विप् = गोमन् (अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48, and य by VI. 4. 50). "One wishing to have cows." Here गोमन् ends with अन् (which was part of the original affix मतुप् added to गो) and here we will have lengthening as well as लुम् ॥

The लुम् will be added for the following reason :—

In the sūtra उगित्त्वा VII. 1. 70. S. 361 the root अङ्चु is taken for the sake of *niyama* or restriction, that is, the operations dependent upon ugit, when applied to roots, will apply to the root अङ्चु only, and not to any other root having an ugit. Thus in सन् and ध्वन् there is no ugit operation. Therefore, we could have easily inferred that no other root except अङ्चु would take लुम् under that sūtra. The specific mention of अधातोः in that sūtra would have become redundant. But the fact, that Pāṇini has mentioned अधातोः in that sūtra, indicates that by धातोः is meant the *original* root and not a derivative root.

Thus we have गोमन् "One who wishes to be possessed of cows."

Now we take up the declension of भवन् not derived from भू, but from आ meaning 'to shine'. (see Uṇādi sūtra I. 63) with the affix डवतु ॥ Thus आ + डवतु = भवन् (the आ is elided by VI. 4. 143 and I. 4. 18 because the affix has an indicative ड). It is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	भवान्	भवन्तो	भवन्तः &c.

But when it is derived from the root भू with the affix क्तु, as it does not then end with the affix अतु, the penultimate is not lengthened. Thus in this case, the Nominative Singular is भवान्.

Now, we take up the declension of वदन् formed from the root दा with the affix क्तु ॥ The root is reduplicated. The reduplication is technically

called अभ्यस्त as defined below, and because it is अभ्यस्त, it does not get the augment जुम्, for the sūtra after next prohibits it.

४२६ । उभे अभ्यस्तम् । ६ । १ । ५ ॥

षष्ठद्वित्वप्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे समुदिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे स्तः ॥

426. Where reduplication is treated in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyî, the two which are directed, both are collectively called Abhyasta,

४२७ । नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः । ७ । १ । ७८ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परस्य शतुर्लुम् न स्यात् । वरन् । वरद् । वरतो । वरतः ॥

427. The Participial-affix शतृ (अत्-अन्तृ), does not take the augment जुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus वरन्, वरतो, वरतः ॥

Note :—This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to sarvanāmasthāna or strong cases. The जुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII. 1. 70 ; for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply; to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after śatri : therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet जुम् is to be read here.

Now, we take up the declension of जक्षन्, formed with the affix शतृ added to the root जक्ष. Its declension is governed by the following Sūtra :—

४२८ । जक्षित्यादयः षट् । ६ । १ । ६ ॥

षट् धातवोऽन्ये जक्षितश्च सप्तम एनभ्यस्तसंज्ञाः स्युः । जक्षन् । जक्षद् । जक्षनौ । जक्षतः । एवं जायन् । वरिद्रन् । शासन् । चकासन् । दीधीवेव्याडिच्छेऽपि छान्दसत्वादव्यत्ययन परस्मैपदम् । वीध्यन् । वेव्यन् । गुप् । गुब् । गुपो । गुपः । गुभ्यामित्यादि ॥

428. So also the six roots, with jakshi itself as the seventh, are called abhyasta.

Note :—The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhātupāṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, वरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, वीधी and वेवी ॥ (Pāṇini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six.) By getting the designation of Abhyasta, the participles derived from these verbs are declined like वरन् ॥

Thus जक्षन् or जक्षद् (N. S) जक्षनौ (N. Dual) ; जक्षतः (N. Plural). Similar is the declension of जायन्, वरिद्रन्, शासन्, चकासन् ॥ वीधी and वेवी though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as वीधीङ् and वेवीङ् with an indicative ङ् and therefore, they ought to be आत्मनेपदी by I. 3. 12. S. 2158, yet they are परस्मैपदी because of the Vaidic irregularities. These form their Nominative Singulars as वीध्यन् and वेव्यन्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending त्.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ए. Now we take up the declension of एप् which is formed from the चुरादि root एप् with the affix क्तिप्. The भाव् of the चुरादि class is optionally elided by III. 1. 31. S. 2305. It is declined as

Nom : एप् or एब्, एवौ, एवः ; Instr : Dual एबुभ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ए.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ण.

Now, we take up the declension of ताडृष् formed according to the following Sûtra:—

४२६ । त्यदादिषु दशोऽनालोचने कञ्च । ३ । २ । ६० ॥

त्यदादिषूपपदेष्वज्ञानार्थाद् दशोर्धातोः कञ् स्याद्यात् किञ् ॥

429. The affix कञ् as well as किञ् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' when it is in combination with त्यद् &c. which precede it, and when it does not signify perception.

Note :—The force of 'च' is that the किञ् also comes under similar circumstances. त्यद् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27., Thus त्यादृश् ॥

४३० । आ सर्वनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

सर्वनाम्न आकारोऽन्तर्विशः स्याद्दृष्टृदृशवतुषु । कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्ब्रजेति षः । तस्य जडत्वेन डः । तस्य कुत्वेन गः । तस्य चत्वेन पक्षः कः । ताडृक् । ताडृग् । ताडृगो । ताडृगः । षस्वापवादत्वात्कुत्वेन खकार इति कैयटः । इत्यन्तादिमते तु चत्वाभावपक्षे ख एव श्रूयते नतु गः । जश्च प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । दिगादिभ्यो यदिति निर्वैशानासिद्धत्वमिति वा बोध्यम् । ब्रजेति षत्वम् । जडत्वचत्वे । विद् । विड् । विद्यो । विशः । विशम् ॥

430. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (1. 1. 27) before these words दृक्, दृश् and the affix अवतु ॥

Thus तद् + दृश् + किञ् = ता (by the present sûtra) + दृश् + किञ् = ता + दृक् (the श् is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377). This क् is not perceived (आसिद्ध) for the purposes of ए change by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. Thus we have तादृष् = तादृ (VII. 2. 39. S. 84.) = तादृग् (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377) = तादृक् (optionally by VIII. 4. 56 S. 206).

Thus Nom. forms are तादृक् or तादृग्, तादृगो, तादृगः—According to the opinion of Kaiyat and Haradatta &c. the form would be तादृक् but never तादृग्, in the alternative when it is not तादृक्. Because they apply the कुत्व rule as an *apavâda* to षत्व rule and by कुत्व they get ख in the place of श् (See Padamanjari p. 953): and ख will never become ग् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84; because ख obtained by किञ् षत्वस्य कुः VIII. 2. 62. is asiddha or not perceived by the जश्च rule

VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. Or we may say that ख is not asiddha for Pāṇini himself has changed ख into ग in the word विश् (See IV. 4. 54. S. 1429).

Now, we take up the declension of विश्. This is formed by the affix क्तिप् added to the root विश् 'to enter.' The ण is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and optionally to ह् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.

Thus it is declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	विद् or विइ	विशौ	विशः
Acc.	विशम्	&c.	&c.

Now, we take up the declension of नश्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

४३१ । नशेर्वा । ण । २ । ६३ ॥

नशेः कवर्गोऽन्तविशौ वा स्यात्पदान्ते । नक् । नग् । नद् । नइ । नशौ । नशः । नभ्याम् । नइभ्यामित्यादि ॥

431. The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

Note :—Here the root नश् has taken क्तिप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संप्रसारि class.

Thus there are four forms in the Nominative Singular namely :—नक् or नग् or नद् or नइ ॥

Nominative Dual and Plural are नशौ, नशः .

Instr : Dual is नभ्याम् and नइभ्या &c.

Now, we take up the declension of घृतस्पृश्. Its declension is governed by the following rule :—

४३२ । स्पृशोऽनुदके किन् । ३ । २ । ५८ ॥

अनुदके सुष्ठुपपदे स्पृशेः किन् स्यात् । घृतस्पृक् । घृतस्पृण । घृतस्पृशौ । घृतस्पृशः । किन् प्रत्ययो अस्मादिति बहुव्रीह्याभ्रयणात् क्तिप्यपि कृत्वम् । स्पृक् । षडङ्गकाः प्राग्वत् । जिघृषा प्रागल्भ्ये । अस्मादस्विणादिना किन् । द्वित्वमन्तोवात्तत्वं च निपात्यते । कुत्वात्पूर्वं जडत्वेन डः गः । धृष्णातीति दधृक् दधृण । दधृषौ दधृषः । दधृभ्यामित्यादि । रत्नानि मुष्णातीति रत्नमुद् । रत्नमुइ । रत्नमुषौ । रत्नमुषः । षड्भ्या लुक् । षद् । षइ । षइभिः । षइभ्यः २ । षद्वत्तुभ्यश्चेति नुद् । अनामिति पर्युत्. सान्न द्रुत्वनिषेधः । यरोऽनुनासिक इति विकल्पं बाधित्वा प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यमिति वचनान्नित्यमनुनासिकः । षण्णाम् । षट्सु । षइसु । तदन्तविधिः । परमषट् । परमषण्णाम् । गौणत्वं तु प्रियषषः । प्रियषषाम् । हत्वं प्राति षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्सप्तसह बोधयति हत्वम् ॥

432. The affix **किन्** comes after the verb **स्पृश्** 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than **उदक** 'water'.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश्, Nominative Singular घृतस्पृक् he who touches clarified butter.' स्पृश् + किन् + सु = स्पृश् + ि + o (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + O (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62).

Nominative Dual and Plural are घृतस्पृशौ, घृतस्पृशः respectively.

—————:O:—————

In the sūtra **किन्मस्यस्य कुः**, VIII. 2. 62, S. 377 if we take the compound **किन्मस्य** as a Bahuvrihi, meaning a root to which the affix **किन्** can be added, then the gutturalization will take place, even when the affix **किप्** is added. Thus the root **स्पृश्** takes the affix **किन्** when in compound with another word. But when it is used alone it takes the affix **किप्**. This **किप्** will also produce the guttural change, because **स्पृश्** is a root which is *liable* to take the affix **किन्**. Thus **स्पृक्** &c. Here the **श्** is changed to **ष्** then to **ङ्**, then to **श्** and then optionally to **क्** as shown above.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in **श्**.

—:O:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ष्**.

Now, we take up the declension of **दधृष्**. It is formed from the root **जिधृष्** 'to be impudent'. Thus **धृष् + किन् = दधृक्** ॥ Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. (III. 2. 59. S. 373). The **ष्** of **दधृष्** must be changed to **ङ्** before gutturalisation. Then this **ङ्** should be gutturalised to **श्** and then **श्** is optionally changed to **क्**. Thus **दधृक्** or **दधृश्**, **दधृशौ**, **दधृशः** ॥ &c.

Now, we take up the declension of **रत्नमुष्** meaning 'one who steals gems'. It is regularly declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	रत्नमुद् or रत्नमङ्	रत्नमुशौ	रत्नमुशः

Now, we take up the declension of **बष्**. It is always plural. By Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261, the Nom. and Acc. Pl. terminations are elided after it. Thus Nom. Acc. Pl. are **बद्** or **बङ्** ॥ Instr. Pl. **बङ्भिः** ॥ Dat. and Abl. Pl. **बङ्भ्यः** ॥ In forming the Genitive Pl. the augment **नुद्** is added by VII. 1. 55. S. 338. to the case-termination **भाक्**. Thus **बष् + नाम् = बद् + नाम्**. By the exception made in the Sūtra VIII. 4. 42. S. 114 the **न्** of **नाम्** is changed to **ष्**. Thus **बद् + नाम् = बद् + नाष्** ॥ The optional substitution of a nasal in the place of **ङ्** required by VIII. 4. 45 S. 116 is superseded

by the Vārtika under the same sūtra, which requires the nasal substitution compulsorily in the Secular literature. Thus बद् + णाम् = बण्णाम्. The Loc. Pl. is बद्सु or बद्सु.

The declension of बद् is the same when it is the final member of a compound. Thus परमबद् (N. Pl.) परमबण्णाम् (G. Pl.) But when it is the secondary member of a compound, the Nom. and G. Pl. are प्रियबबः and प्रियबबाम् respectively.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ष्.

————:o:————

Declension of Masculines ending in स्.

We take up the declension of विपठिस् (meaning 'wishing to read'). It is derived from the root विपठिस् with the affix क्तिप्. The अ of स् is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The स् was changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 39. S. 153. But this is not perceived by the Sūtra requiring the substitution of स् into र् for it is precedent in the order of enumeration in Paṇini's Ashtādhyāyī. (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162). Thus विपठिष् + सु = विपठिष् + ओ (by VI. 1. 68. S. 252). Now विपठिष् gets the name of a pada though the affix सु is elided after it (I. 1. 6 2. S. 262). Therefore the ष् which is really स् becomes र्. Thus विपठिष् becomes विपठिर्. At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

४३३ । वीरुपध्याया दीर्घ इकः । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपध्याया इको दीर्घः स्यात्पदान्ते । विपठिः । विपठिषोः । विपठिबः । विपठिभ्याम् । वा शरीति वा विसर्जनीयः ॥

433. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final or व of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus विपठिर् becomes विपठिः .

The Nominative Dual and Plural are विपठिषो and विपठिबः .

The Inst : Dual is विपठिभ्याम्.

In forming the Locative Plural the sūtra VIII. 3. 36 S. 151 as well as the following comes into operation.

४३४ । नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्ववापेऽपि । ८ । ३ । ५८ ॥

एतैः प्रत्येकं व्यवधानेऽपि इणकुभ्यां परस्य सस्य मृधन्यांश्च स्यात् । पुन्वेन पूर्वस्य षत्वम् । विपठिषु विपठिषु । प्रत्येकमिति चिःख्यानादनेकव्यवधाने षत्वं न । नित्यं । नित्यं । नुम्विग्रहणं नुम्विग्रहणं नुम्विग्रहणं नुम्विग्रहणं । चिःख्यानात् । तेनेह न । सुहिंसु । पुंसु । अत एव न श्चिग्रहणेन गनार्थता । रास्त्वस्येति सलोपे विसर्गः । चिकीः । चिकीषोः । चिकीर्षः । शः सुपीति नियमात् विसर्गः । चिकीर्षु । विसर्गोः । डिस्त्वसामर्थ्याद्विलोपः । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा विसर्गोः । शोः । शोषोः । शोषः । पदत्र इति वा वेषन् । दोष्णः । दोष्णाः । दोषः । दोषाः । विश प्रवेशने । सन्नन्तात् क्तिप् । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपः । ब्रज्जेति षः । जम्बवच्चत्वे । विविद् । विविद् । विविक्षोः । विविक्षः । स्कोरिति कलोपः । तद् । तद् । तक्षोः । तक्षः । गोरद् । गोरद् । गोरक्षोः ।

गोरक्षः । तस्मिन्निष्ठायां ण्यन्ताभ्यां क्तिपि तु स्कारिति न प्रवर्तते । जिलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावान् । पूर्वभासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य शेषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणस्यैविति निषेधान् । तस्मात्संयोगान्तलोप एव । तक् । तग् । गोरक् । गोरग् । स्कारिति कलोपं प्राति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् संयोगान्तलोपः । पिपक् । पिपग् । एवं विवक् । विधक् । पिस गतौ । सुहु पसतीति सुपीः । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । सुपिसा । सुपीभ्याम् । सुपीःषु । सुपीषु । एवं सुहः । तुस खण्डन । विहान् । विहान्तौ । विहान्तः । इ विहन् । विहान्तम् । विहान्तौ ॥

434. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when any one of these singly, namely, the augment नूँ (तुम्), the visarjanīya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स्.

Thus पिपठिस् + सुप् = पिपठीस् (the इ of ठि is lengthened by the last sūtra, because the base before this affix gets the designation of pada by I. 4. 17. S. 230) + षु = पिपठीष् (the स् being changed to ष् by the present sūtra) + षु = पिपठीषु or पिपठीः षु ॥

The षत्वे takes place, when तुम् &c. intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here निस्से, 'th u kissest', निस्स्व, 'kiss, thou', from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, तुम् and स (III. 4. 91).

From the explanation in Mahābhāṣya in explaining ह्यवरद् we learn that the तुम् of this sūtra must be the anusvāra which replaces तुम् and not any other anusvāra. Therefore not in सुहिन्तु or पुंसु. Here there is no ष change. Though anusvāra was included in the pratyāhara शर् by the Vārtika शर्षु जडभावपक्षे " the visarjanīyā, anusvāra jihvāmuliya and upadhmāniya should be included in the शर् pratyāhara for the sake of जश् vidhi and त्वष vidhi "; yet the separate mention of तुम् in this sūtra indicates that that anusvāra is to be taken which results from तुम्.

Now, we take up the declension of चिकीर्स् : This is formed from the Desiderative root चिकीर्स् meaning 'wishing to make' with the affix क्तिप्. This is thus formed :—कृ + सन् ॥ Here the augment, इद् is not added because of the sūtra VII. 2. 10. S. 2246 or VII. 2. 12. S. 2610 ; the affix सन् is क्तिप् by I. 2. 9. S. 2612 and therefore there is no guṇa by I. 1. 5. S. 2217. Then there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 16. S. 2614. Then the क् is changed to इर् by VII. 1. 100. S. 299. Then the root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 9. S. 2395.

Thus we get चिकिर् चिकिर् ॥ The first र is elided by VII. 4. 60. S. 2179 and first क changed to च् by VII. 4. 62. S. 2245. Thus we have चिकिर् ॥ Now, चिकिर् + स = चिकिस् ॥ Then the ष of स is elided by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308. Thus चिकीर्स् To this is added the N. S. case termination सु ॥ चिकिर्स् + सु ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI. 1.68. S. 252.

Then we have चिकिर्स् ॥ Now the final स् is elided by VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus we have चिकिर् ॥ The इ of कि is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76 S. 433. Thus we have चिकीः ॥

The lengthening in चिकीर्षो &c. is by अज्झन् VI. 4. 16. S. 2614 by which the इ is lengthened before सन् affix. We did not apply this sūtra, in Nominative S. because सन् was already dropped.

Thus the Nominative forms are चिकीः, चिकीर्षो, चिकीर्षः ॥ The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76,77. S. 433. and 354.

The Loc : Plural is चिकीर्षु ॥ Here इ is not changed to visarga, because it is not the इ of इ but it is a portion of the word itself (see sūtra VIII. 3. 16. S. 339.)

Now, we take up the declension of होस् : This is formed by the Uṇadi affix होस् added to the root हृ (Uṇadi II. 69). The अन् of हृ is elided because the affix after it has an indicatory ड see VI. 4. 143 S. 316, though the base is not अ. Thus होस् ॥ Then स् is changed to ष्. But this change is asiddha for the purposes of ह and visarga change. Thus N. S. is होः ॥ N. Dual and Plural are होषो, होषः respectively. In the weak cases it has two forms, thus, होष्णः or होषः (Ac. Plural); होष्णा or होषा (Inst : singular), for in these cases होष् is replaced by होषन् by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Note :—the अन् portion of हृ is elided by VI. 4. 143. S. 316. and though the base before it is not अ strictly speaking Sūtra VI. 4. 143. could not apply here, for that sūtra is confined to अ bases only. But as the ड of the affix होस् must produce some effect, it produces the elision of टि portion of हृ by the analogy of VI. 4. 143.

Now, we take up the declension of विविष् : It is formed from the root विष् with the Desiderative affix सन् ॥ Thus विष् + सन् ॥ The augment इद् is not added because of the prohibition contained in VII. 2. 10. S. 2246. The सन् affix is क्तिप् by I. 2. 12. S. 2368 and therefore there is no guṇa. Thus विष् + सन् = विष् विष् + सन् = विविष् + स ॥ To this we add the affix क्तिप् by which the अ ०. स is elided by VI. 4. 48. अतोलीपः and we get the form विविष्स् ॥ Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. स् is elided and we get विविष् ॥ This ष् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 which again is changed to ड and then optionally to इ. In other cases ष is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 41. S. 295 ; and स changed to ष VIII. 3. 57 S. 211. Thus N. forms are विविद् or विविङ्, विविक्षौ, विविक्षः ॥

Now to we take up the declension of तक्ष् formed from the root तक्ष् or तक्ष् ' to fashion., The क् is elided by VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. Thus the N. S. is तद् or तङ् formed under the same rules as विविद् or विविङ् .

Nominative Dual and Plural are तक्षौ. तक्षः .

Similar is the declension of गोरक्ष् meaning 'one who protects cows' Its N. forms are गोरद् or गोरङ् , गोरक्षौ गोरक्षः ॥

But if these words be derived from the Causative roots (ण्यन्त) तक्षि and रक्षि with the affix क्तिप्, then VIII. 2. 29. S. 380 will not apply and so there will be no elision of क्. This is because the णि which was elided by के रक्षिणि (VI. 4. 51. S. 2313) will be स्थानिवद्. But will not the following *Vārtika* पूर्वभाषिणीयेन स्थानिवद्; prevent the स्थानिवद्भाव? "There is no stānivadhbhāva in the last three chapters of Ashtādhyāyi."

To this we reply 'No'. Because of the following exception. *Vārtika*. The above *Vārtika* is inapplicable in the following three cases (a) the rule ordaining the elision of the first or initial letter of a conjunct consonant VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. (b) the rule relating to ल change (c) the rule relating to ण change. S. 235.

Therefore, we shall have संयोगान्तलोपः i. e. the elision of the final स् and not of the *initial* क्. Thus the N. S. will be तक् or तम्; गोरक् or गोरम्.

Now we take up the declension of विषक् meaning 'desirous of cooking'. It is formed from the root पक् with the Desiderative affix सन्. Thus we get पक् + पच् + स = पपच्स = पपक्ष्. The ष of the initial प is changed to इ by VII. 4. 79. S. 2317. Thus we have विपक्ष्.

Its N. S. is विपक् or विपम्. The क् of विपक्ष is not elided, but the final स् is elided, for the reasons already given above.

Similar is the declension of विवक्ष् meaning 'desirous of speech' from the root वक् 'to speak' and of दिवक्ष्, meaning 'desirous of burning', from the root ब्ध् to burn. The Nominative Singular being विवक् and दिवक् respectively. Now, we take up the declension, of सुविस्. It is derived from the root विस्, 'to walk'; hence सुविस् means 'one who walks well'. It is declined as follows:—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सुपीः	सुपिसौ	सुपिसः
Instr.	सुपिसा	सुपीभ्याम्	
Loc.			सुपीषु or सुपीडुः ॥

Similar is the declension of सुदुस् 'well-cutting'. Its Nominative Sing. is सुदुः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वास् meaning 'a learned man'. In the strong case terminations, it is declined as:—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	विद्वान्	विद्वांसौ	विद्वांसः
Voc.	हे विद्वान्		
Acc.	विद्वांसम्	विद्वांसौ	

In the weak-case terminations, the declension of this word is governed by the following rule:—

४३५। वसोः संप्रसारणम् । ६। ४। १३१॥

वस्वन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं स्यात् । पूर्वकृपस्वं वस्वम् । विदुषः । विदुषा । वसुसंस्त्रिाति इत्यम् । विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सेद्विवात् । सेद्विवांसौ । सेद्विवांसः । सेद्विवांसम् । अन्तरङ्गोऽपीडागमः संप्रसारणविषये न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । सेदुषः । सेदुषा । सेद्विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तमहत इत्यञ्च सान्तसंयोगोऽपि प्रातिपदिकस्यैव गृह्यते न तु धातोः महच्छब्दसाहचर्यात् । सुदु हिनस्तीति सुदिन् । सुदिंसौ । सुदिसः । सुदिन्याम् । सुदिन्सु । ध्वत् । ध्वद् । ध्वसौ । ध्वसः । ध्वद्भ्याम् । एवं सत् ॥

435. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विद्वस् + वस् = विद् उ अस् + वस् ॥ उ and अ become उ by the पूर्वकृप rule (VI. 1. 108 S 330) = विदुस् + अस् ॥ Then स् of विदुस् is changed to ष् ॥ Thus विदुष् + अस् = विदुषस् = विदुषः (Ac : Pl :). The Ins. Sing: विदुषा is also similarly formed.

Before भ्याम्, the स् of विद्वस् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. Thus विद्वद्भ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of सेद्विवात् ॥ It is formed by adding the affix कसु to the root सद् by III. 2. 108 S. 3097. The root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 8. S. 2177. Thus :—सद् + सद् + कसु = स + सद + कसु ॥ The first द् being elided by ह्लादि शेषः ॥ VII. 4. 60. S. 2179. Then the first स is elided and the अ of the second स is changed into ए by अत एकहल्मध्ये VI. 4. 120. S. 2260. Thus we get सेद् + कसु = सेद् + वस् ॥ To this we apply the augment इद् by VII. 2. 67. S 3096. Thus सेद् + इद् + वस् = सेद्विवात् ॥ In strong cases there will be नुम् augment by VII. 1. 70. S. 361. and lengthening by VI. 4. 10 S. 317. Thus :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सेद्विवात्	सेद्विवांसौ	सेद्विवांसः
Acc.	सेद्विवांसम्	॥	

In the weak-case terminations or Bha bases, there is not the इद् augment of VII. 2. 67, S. 3096, though it was antaranga, because it would be useless to add इद् when we are going to vocalise the व् into उ for then the efficient cause व् of वस् would be absent. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा &c. See under Sûtra I. 3. 11. S. 46. Because इ is added to वस् only when it has the form of वस्. But when व is going to be changed to उ and the affix ultimately becomes उस् then there would be no वस् for the application of the sûtra VII. 2. 67. So we have the Acc : Pl : सेदुषः ॥ The Instr : Sing is सेदुषा ॥ The Instr : Dual is सेद्विद्वद्भ्याम् &c.

In the sûtra VI. 4. 10 S. 317, the words ending in conjunct consonant न्स् must be prâtipadikas, that is, the crude nouns and not a verbal base ending in न्स् ॥ This we infer because of the prâtipadika महत् being in

the company of सान्त, which means that words *sui generis* with नहन् should be taken.

Therefore the word सुहिन् where the न् is a portion of the verb हिनस्ति and where, the noun सुहिन् means 'one who strikes well', the rule above given will not apply. Thus सुहिन् is declined as follows :—

Nominative	Singular.	Dual.	Plural
In the	इहेन्	सुहिंसौ	सुहिंसः
स् is elided and we have :	Dual where सुहिन् gets the designation of pada, the		
The Loc :	Plural अभ्याम् ॥		

Now, we take up the सुहिन्स्, or सुहिन्स् ॥
with the affix क्तिप्. The न् of the declension of भवन् formed from the root भवन्
Thus it is declined as root भवन् is elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	भवन् or भवद्	भवंसौ	भवसः ॥
Instr :			

Similar is the declension of भवद्भ्याम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of पुंस from the root वृत्.
following rule applies :— In its declension, the

४३६ । पुंसोऽसुङ् लेंसि

सर्वनामस्थाने विवक्षिते ण्यत् १ । २ । ८६ ॥

कृतेन पूमो डुवसुमिति प्रत्ययस्थाने पुङ् ल्यात् । उकार उच्चारणार्थः । बहुपुंसी इत्यत्र उगितच्चेति डीबर्थं
पुंसि । पुंसु । अदुधानेत्यनङ् । उधास्त्वेनेव नुमसिद्धेः । पुमान् । हे पुमान् । पुमांसौ । पुमांसः । पुंसः । पुंभ्याम् ।
हे उधानम् । हे उधान । हे उधानः । उधा । उधानसौ । उधानसः । अत्य संतुद्धौ वाऽनङ् नलोपश्च वा वाच्यः * ॥
भ्यामित्यादि । वेधाः । वेधसौ । वेधसः । नोभ्यामित्यादि । अनेहा । अनेहसौ । अनेहसः । हे अनेहः । अनेहो-
सुवसौ । सुवसः । पिण्डं मसते पिण्डम् हे वेधः । वेधोभ्यामित्यादि । अधातोः रिच्युक्तेर्न डीबर्थः । सुडु वस्ते सुवः ।

436.

(१ । पिण्डगलः । मसु गलसु भदने ॥

when the sarvanāmast (अस्) is substituted for the final of पुंस

The ड in असुङ् is for hāna affixes are to be added.

that नुव् should be added under the sake of pronunciation and not to indicate in strong cases by the very (or VII. 1. 70 S. 361 because the नुव् will be added protect) + डुम्सुन् (Un. IV. 17) fact that the word पुंस is formed from पा (to produce its effect under V. 8) and as the affix डुम्सुन् is an उगित् affix, it will causing डीप् to be added to I. 1. 70 by causing नुव्. pari passu as it does in उगित् (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). Then the feminine, in forming बहुपुंसी, by the sūtra as it is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual. ●	Plural.
Nom.	पुमान्	पुमांसौ	पुमांसः
Voc.	हे पुमान्		
Acc.			पुंसः
Inst.	पुंसा	पुंभ्याम्	पुभिः
Loc.			पुंसु

Kāśikā :—The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect) + डम्बुन् (Uṇ IV. 178), the न् being changed to anusvāra. So when स of पुंस् is replaced by म्स् we get the form पुमस्, the ड of डम्बुन् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after म् (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशित्वावः) : otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुम् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान्, of course, has accent on पु.

Now, we take up the declension of उद्यानस् ॥ By VII. 1. 94.S. 276, अनङ् is substituted for the final of उद्यानस् in the Nom. Sing : Thus Nom. forms are उद्याना, उद्यानसौ, उद्यानसः ॥ In forming the Voc : Sing : the following Vārtika will apply :—

Vārt :—अनङ् is substituted for the final of उद्यानस् in the Voc. S. also, as हे उद्यानन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे उद्यान ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular : as हे उद्यानस्, हे उद्यानन्, and हे उद्यान !

The Instr : Dual is उद्यानोभ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of अनेहस् meaning ' time '.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	अनेहा	अनेहसौ	अनेहसः
Voc.	हे अनेहः		
Instr.		अनेहोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of वेधस् meaning ' the Creator '.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	वेधाः	वेधसौ	वेधसः
Voc.	हे वेधः		
Instr.		वेधोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of सुवस् meaning ' one who wears well '. Here वस् belongs to a root and so in the Nom : S. its vowel is not lengthened because of the prohibition of अधातोः in VI. 4. 14. S. 425.

Hence its Nom : form are सुवः, सुवसौ, सुवसः ॥

Now we take up the declension of पिण्डमस् and पिण्डग्लस् ॥ The verbs मस् and ग्लस् mean 'to swallow' the Nominative singular forms of these are पिण्डमः and पिण्डग्लः meaning 'a lump eater'.

Now, we take up the declension of भस्. In its declension the following rules apply :—

४३७ । अदस् औ सुलोपश्च । ७ । २ । १०७ ॥

अदस् आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे सुलोपश्च । तदोः सः साविति इत्य सः । असौ ॥ औत्वप्रति-
षेधः साकृत्कृत्य वा वक्तव्यः सादृत्यं च * ॥ प्रतिषेधसन्निधौगणेशिष्टदुत्वं तदभावे न प्रवर्तते । असकौ ।
असुकः । स्वराद्यत्वं पररूपत्वम् । वृद्धिः । अदसोऽसेरिति मत्वोत्वे । भस् । जसः शी । भादृगुणः ॥

437. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nominative affix सु is elided.

As अदस् + सु = अद + औ + O (VII. 2. 107) = अस + औ (VII. 2. 106 S. 381) = असौ ॥

Vart:—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative उ is added after स्, as असुकः or असकौ ॥

The form असुकः is thus evolved :—अदस् + सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited ; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes place, and the द् is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकच् after स् is changed to उ.

In forming अम् we observe the following process :—

अदस् + औ = अद + औ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and VI. 1. 97. S. 191) = असौ ॥
Here द् is replaced by न and औ by अ ; one might object that by the maxim (19) भाष्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न इ. ८. "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it" औ ought to have been changed to short उ, but we answer that the maxim (20) भाष्यमानोऽप्युकारः सवर्णान्ग्रह्णाति इ. ८. The letter उ denotes, even when it is taught in a rule, also the letters homogeneous with it," makes an exception in the case of उ only.

The rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धं (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12) should be applied before the operations required by vibhakti take place, and then the उ and न of VIII. 2. 80. should be substituted : because with regard to व्यसृद्दिनामः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) which is a rule of the 7th Adhyāya, the sūtra अदसो से (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) which is a rule of Tripādi becomes asiddha. Therefore if the vibhakti operation ordained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 were not to take place first, then the base would remain अदस् ending with स्, and the rule VIII. 2. 80. S. 419. requiring उ for अ, and न् for द् would find no scope at all.

But if in the sūtra पूर्वनासिद्धम्, the operations of Tripādi themselves were intended to become asiddha, then we could never get the forms अम्, अमुम् &c. For if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419. before the अ of स् of अद्स् obtained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265. plus the अ of the इ of अद्स् become अ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; in other words, if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419 to the following nascent state of अद् + अ, then we shall have this incongruity: अम् इ + अ. Here अ is asiddha for the purposes of VI. 1. 97. S. 191, and अ of अम् plus इ would become अ, which is not desired.

In forming the N. Dual, the rule VII. 2. 102. S. 265 will cause the replacement of स् of अद्स् by अ and this अ will coalesce with the final अ of इ and become अ by VI. 1. 97 and thus the base will be अद्. Thus अद् + औ = अदौ. The इ will be replaced by ऋ and औ by long ऊ and we get अम् (VI. 1. 102. S. 164).

The N. Pl. is अमी. It is thus evolved :—

अद्स् + णी (VII. 1. 17 S. 214) = अद् + ई = अदे (VI. 1. 87. S. 69). Then applies the following Sūtra :—

४३८। एत ईदुद्दचने। ८। २। ८१ ॥

अदसो दात्परत्यैत ईत्स्यादित्य च नो बह्वर्णोक्तौ। अमी। पूर्वनासिद्धमिति विभक्तिकार्यं प्राक् पश्चादुत्पत्त्ये। अमुम्। अम्। अमूम्। पुत्वे कृते विसंज्ञायां नाभावः ॥

438. For the ए coming after the इ of अद्स् there is substituted ई, and इ is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus Nom. Pl. is, अमी.

In forming the Acc. Sing, we have अद्स् + अम्. Now the sūtra त्वदासीनामः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) has superior force to sūtra अदसोऽस्ते (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) and it applies first. Thus we get अद् + अम् = अदम् because vibhakti operations are applied first. Then applies the sūtra अदसोऽस्ते (VIII. 2. 80.) and we get अमुम्.

When अदम् is changed to अमु it gets the designation of चि (I. 4. 7 S. 232.) So in the Inst. Sing. the substitute ना offers itself from VII. 3. 120. S. 244.

Thus अमु + ना. Here however the question might occur what the formation of मु being enunciated in VIII. 2. 80. S. 419 in the Tripādi, whether VII. 3. 120. S. 244 does not regard the मु as asiddha.

Hence the following Sūtra :—

४३६ । न मु ने । ८ । २ । ३ ॥

नाभावे कर्तव्ये कृते च शुभावो नासिद्धः स्यात् । अमुना । असूभ्याम् ३ । अमीभिः । अमुल्लै ।
अमीभ्यः २ । अमुन्मात् । अमुल्ल्य । अमुयोः । अमीषाम् । अमुभिन् । अमुयोः । अमीषु ॥

439. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of मु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना .

*Note :—*The existence of हु is not considered uneffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus हु being considered as siddha, अमु gets the designation of चि by I. 4. 7. and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120. अमुना ॥ Had the हु been considered as noneffected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना *had been* added, then the हु being asiddha, अमु is considered to be as अद् ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by सुवि च VII. 3. 102 : but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणा विधेरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य “that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination”. There being no long आ the द of अमु remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) हु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) हु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो अत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्तव्ये शुभावो नासिद्धः “the मु is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed”. From this, it would follow by implication that हु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself. So हु being always siddha, ना is added : and there is no lengthening.

Thus the declension of अदस् in the Instr: and the succeeding cases is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Instr.	अमुना	असूभ्याम्	अमीभिः
Dat.	अमुल्लै		अमीभ्यः
Abl.	अमुन्मात्		"
Gen.	अमुल्ल्य	अमुयोः	अमीषाम्
Loc.	अमुभिन्		अमीषु

Here end the declensions of Masculines ending in consonants.

अथ हलन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XII

DECLENSION OF FEMININES.

Now we take up the declension of Feminines ending in ह such as उपानहः ॥ The following rule applies to it.

४४० । नहो धः । ८ । २ । ३४ ॥

नहो हस्य धः स्याज्झलि परान्ते च । उपानत् । उपानद् । उपानहो । उपानहः । उपानद्भ्याम् । उपानत्सु । उत्पूर्वान् णिह प्रीतावित्यस्मादृत्विगादिना क्तिन् । निपातनात्तलोपस्ये । क्तिन्नन्तत्वात्कुत्सेन हस्य धः । अदत्त्वचत्वे । उष्णिक् । उष्णिग् । उष्णिहो । उष्णिहः । उष्णिग्भ्याम् । उष्णिक्षु । द्यौः । दिवौ । दिवः । दुग्धु । गीः । गिरौ । गिरः । एवं पूः । चतुरश्रतन्त्रादेशः । चतस्रः २ । चतसृभ्याम् । किमः कारेशो दाप् का । के । काः । सर्वावत् ॥

440. The ह of नह is changed to ध before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

Note :—As नद्धा, नद्धुम्, नद्धव्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त् of the affixes त् &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40 ; and for the preceding ध is substituted ह् by VIII. 4. 53 उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीणत् is formed by क्विप् as it belongs to सम्प्रदादि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ण-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह् been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध ; but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध ; for the participial त् &c, in नद्धम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishthâ त् into न by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नद्ध् + त् = नद्ध् + ध (VIII. 2. 40) = नद्धम् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been ह्, we should have नद्ध् + त् = नद्धं by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus उपानह becomes उपानत् or उपानद् ॥

The Nom. S. affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 67. and VI. 1. 68, and ह् is changed to त् or द् by VIII. 2. 39. The Nom. D. is उपानहो and the Plural उपानहः ॥ The Instrumental Dual उपानद्भ्याम् and the Loc. Plural उपानत्सु.

Now we take up the declension of the word उष्णिह्. This word is formed with the upasarga उन् and the affix क्विन् by III. 2. 59. added to the root स्निह् 'to love'. The word उष्णिह् is the name of a Vaidic metre. The त् of उन् is elided by निपातन the स् and न् are changed to ष् and ण. (VIII. 3. 59. and VIII. 4. 40). The ह् is changed to ध because it is a word formed with the affix क्विन् by sūtra VIII. 2. 62. The ष् becomes श्, then क् by VIII. 2. 39. Thus we have Nom. S. उष्णिक् or उष्णिग् Nom. D. उष्णिहो, Nom. Pl. उष्णिहः. Ins. D. उष्णिग्भ्याम् Loc. Pl. उष्णिक्षु.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **इ** such as **दिक्**. Here the same rules will apply as in the case of the Masculine word **दिक्**. See Sûtra VII. 1. 84. S. 336 &c. Nom. S. **द्यौः** Nom. D. **दिवौ**. Nom. Pl. **दिवः**; Loc. Pl. **दिवुः**.

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in **इ** such as **निर्**. It is declined as the masculine word. Thus Nom. S. **नीः**, D. **निरौ**, Pl. **निरः**. Similar is the declension of **पुर**. The word **चतुर्** is changed to **चतसृ**. It is always declined in the Plural. Thus Nom. and Acc. Pl. **चतस्रः**, Gen. Pl. **चतसृणाम्** ॥

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in **क्** such as **किक्**. **क** is substituted for **कि** by VII. 2. 103. Then we add the feminine affix **दाप्**. Thus Nom. S. is **का** Nom. D. **के** Nom. Pl. **काः**. The declension of the rest is like the feminine form of **सर्वे** (**सर्वा**).

Now, we take up the declension of **इदम्**. Its declension is governed by the following rule:—

४४१ । यः सौ । ७ । २ । ११० ॥

इदमो इत्य यः स्यात्सौ ॥ **इदमो** मः ॥ **इदम्** । त्यदाद्यत्वं दाप् । द्येति मः । **इमे** । **इमाः** । **इमाम्** । **इमे** । **इमाः** । **अनया** ॥ हलि लोपः ॥ **आभ्याम्** ३ । **आभिः** । **अस्ये** । **अस्याः** । **अनयोः** २ । **आसाम्** । **अस्याम्** । **आसु** । **अन्वादेशे** तु । **एनाम्** । **एने** । **एनाः** । **एनया** । **एनयोः** २ । ऋत्विगादिना सृजेः क्तिन् अमागमश्च निपातितः । **सकृ** **सर्** । **सजौ** । **सजः** । **सर्गभ्याम्** । **सक्षु** । त्यदाद्यत्वं दाप् । **स्या** । **त्यं** । **त्याः** । **एवं** तद् **यद्** **एतद्** । **वाक्** । **वान्** । **वाचौ** । **वाचः** । **वाग्भ्याम्** । **वाक्षु** । **अप्राक्** इति नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । **अप्तुर्निति** दीर्घः । **आपः** । **अपः** ॥

441. **य** is substituted for the **दू** of **इदम्** in the Nominative Singular in the feminine.

The final **क्** of **इदम्** remains unchanged by VII. 2. 108. S. 343. Thus Nominative S. **इदम्** ॥ Then the feminine affix **दाप्** is added by the sûtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. **इ** is changed to **य** by VII. 2. 109. S. 345. The Nominative Dual is **इमे** Nominative Plural **इमाः** ॥ Accusative S. is **इमाम्** ॥ Inst. S. is **अनया** ॥ **इद्** is changed to **अन्** by VII. 2. 112. By the rule VII. 2. 113. S. 347 there is elision of **इद्** so that we have in the Inst. Dat. and Abl. Dual **आभ्याम्**; Inst. Plural is **आभिः** We have Dat. S. **अस्ये** by VII. 3. 114; Gen. S. **अस्याः** and Dual **अनयोः** by VII. 3. 105 and Plural **आसाम्** by VII. 1. 52 and VII. 2. 113; Loc. S. **अस्याम्**, D. **अनयोः**, and Plural **आसु** ॥ But in re-employment (**अन्वादेश**) we have **एनाम्** in the Acc. S. **एने** in the Dual and **एनाः** in Plural. In Inst. S. **एनया**, and **एनयोः** in the Dual of both Genitive and Locative.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **ञ्** such as **सञ्** :

The word **सञ्** is formed by the sūtra III. 2. 59. with the augment **अच्** irregularly. Thus we have **सक्** or **सञ्** in the Nominative S., **सञौ** in the Dual and **सजः** in the Plural ; **सञ्भ्याम्** in the Inst. Dual, **सञ्भु** in the Loc. Plural.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **इ** such as **स्यइ** : By the rule VII. 2. 102 and with the feminine affix **टाप्** we have **स्य** in the Nominative S. **स्ये** in the Nom. D. and **स्यः** in the Nominative Plural. **सइ**, **यइ** and **एतइ** are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **च्** e. g. **वाच्** : We have **वाक्** or **वाग्** in the Nominative S. **वाचौ** in D. and **वाचः** in the Nominative Plural. In the Instru D. we have **वाग्भ्याम्** and in the Loc. Plural **वाञ्भु** ॥

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **प्** such as **अप्** : **अप्** is always used in the Plural. By VI. 4. 11. S. 277. the vowel **अ** is lengthened. Thus we have in the Nominative Plural **अवः** ; in the Acc. Plural **अवः** ॥

In forming the Inst. Plural the following rule applies :—

४४२ । अपो मि । ७ । ४ । ४८ ॥

अपस्तकारः स्याद्भासौ प्रत्यये परे । अङ्गिः । अङ्ग्यः २ । अपाम् । अप्सु । दिक् । दिग् । दिशौ । दिशः । दिग्भ्याम् । दिशु । त्यदादिष्विति दशः क्तिन्निधानादभ्यन्त्रापिकुत्वम् । दक् । दग् । दशौ । दशः । त्विद् । त्विद् । त्विषौ । त्विषः । त्विद्भ्याम् । त्विद्वत्सु । त्विद्वत्सु । सह जुषते इति सजुः । सजुषौ । सजुषः । सजुष्याम् । सजुष्यु । सजुष्यु । बल्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्बुत्वम् । आशीः । आशिषौ । आशिषः । आशीष्याम् । असौ । त्यदाद्यत्वं । टाप् । औङः शी । उत्वनत्वं । अमू । अमूः । अमूम् । अमू । अमूः । अमूम् । अमू । अमूया । अमूय्याम् । अमूयिभः । अमूयै । अमूय्याम् २ । अमूय्यः । अमूय्याः २ । अमूयोः । अमूयोः । अमूय्याम् । अमूय्याम् । अमूयु ॥

442. **त्** is substituted for the final of the stem **अप्** before a case-ending beginning with **म्** ॥

Thus we have **अङ्गिः** and in the Dat. and Abl. Plural **अङ्ग्यः** ; in the Gen. and Loc. Plural **अपाम्** and **अप्सु** respectively.

Now we come to the declension of words ending in **श्** such as **दिक्** ॥ Thus in the Nominative S. we have **दिक्** or **दिग्** by III. 2. 59. S. 373 and VIII. 2. 62 S. 377 ; in the Nominative Dual **दिशौ** and Plural **दिशः** ; in the Inst. Dual **दिग्भ्याम्** and Loc. Plural **दिशु** ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word **दृश्** ॥ By the rule III. 2. 60, S. 429 **दृश्** takes the affix **क्तिन्** when in combination with the pronoun **स्यद्** &c. But we infer from this that the root **दृश्** will take the affix **क्तिन्** even when it is not in combination also. Thus in the Nominative S. we have **दृक्** or **दृग्**, Nominative D. **दृशौ**, Plural **दृशः** ॥

So also त्विष् : Its Nominative S. is त्विद् or त्विङ् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. in the Nominative D. त्विषौ ॥ Nominative Plural त्विषः ॥ Inst. D. त्विङ्भ्याम् and the Loc. Plural त्विद्भु or त्विद्भु with the optional augment ष by VIII. 3. 29. S. 131.

The word सखुष्, "a friend". By the rule VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. ण् is substituted for its final and by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. there is the elision of खु; then by applying the rules VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. and VIII. 3. 15. S. 76. we have सखूः in the Nominative S. The Nominative D. सखुषौ and Plural सखुषः; similarly in the Inst. D. सखूरभ्याम् and. Loc. Plural सखूष्भु or सखूः भु, the change of स to ष caused by VIII. 4. 41. S. 113 being not perceived by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162. causing ह ॥

In the same way the word आशिष् for आशिष is declined. Thus we have the Nominative S., D. and Plural आशीः आशिषौ and आशिषः respectively; In Inst. D. we have आशीर्म्याम् and Plural आशीर्मिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the pronoun अहम् ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	अहौ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265)	अहू (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419)	अहूः
Acc.	अहम्	अहू	अहूः
Inst.	अहुया	अहूरभ्याम्	अहूभिः
Dat.	अहुयै (VII.3.114. S. 291)	,,	अहूभ्यः
Abl.	अहुय्याः		
Gen.		अहुयोः	अहूषाम् (VII. 1. 52)
Loc.	अहुय्याम्	,,	अहूषु

Here end the declensions of Feminines ending in Consonants.

अथ हलन्तनपुंसकलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIII.

DECLENSION OF NEUTERS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

स्वमोरलुक् । इत्थम् । स्वनडुत् । स्वनडुद् । स्वनडुही । चतुरनडुहारित्याम् । स्वनडुंहि । पुनस्तद्वत् ।
 घोषं पुंवत् ॥ दिव उन् ॥ अहर्विमलशु । अन्तरवर्तिनां विभक्तिमाश्रित्य पूर्वपदस्यैवोत्तरखण्डस्यापि
 पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायाम् ॥ उत्तरपदत्वे चापराशिवर्धौ प्रतिषेधः * । इति प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । विमलदिवी ।
 विमलदिवि । अपराशिविधौ किम् । इतिषेधौ । इह षत्वानिषेधे कर्तव्ये पदत्वमस्येव । कुत्वे तु न । वाः ।
 वारी । अहलन्तस्वात्र जुम् । वारि । अस्वारि । न लुभनेति कादेशो न । किम् । के । कानि । इवम् । इमे ।
 इमानि ॥ अन्वादेशे नपुंसके एनद्वक्तव्यः * ॥ एनत् । एने । एनानि । एनेन । एनेयोः २ । ब्रह्म ।
 ब्रह्मणी । ब्रह्माणि । हे ब्रह्मन् । हे ब्रह्म । रोऽसुपि ॥ अहर्भाति । विभाषा द्विव्योः । अग्नी । अहनी ।
 अहानि

We take up the declension of the word स्वनडुद् . By the rule VII. 1. 23 S. 319 we have the elision of the case endings सु and अम् . In the case of स्वनडुद्, by the application of the rule VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. द् is substituted for ह् . Thus we get स्वनडुत् or स्वनडुद् in the Nominative Sing. स्वनडुही in the Nominative Dual by the rule VII. 1. 19. S. 310. In the Nominative Plural, by the rule VII. 1. 98, S. 331. we have the augment आम् ॥ Thus we get स्वनडुंहि The Accusative forms will be the same as the Nominative. The rest is declined like the Masculine.

Now we take up the declension of the words ending in व् such as विमलदिव् ॥ By the rule VI. 1. 131, S. 337, उ is substituted for the final : thus we get विमलशु in the Nominative Singular which means " a clear day " .

In forming the Dual, there arises this consideration :—the word विमलदिव is a compound of two words विमल and दिव् ॥ When the compounds are formed, the case-affixes are elided, as राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः . But though the case-affix is elided, the first member retains the designation of Pada, and so the न् of राजन् is elided and the form is rāja-purusha and not rājan-purusha. Similarly in वागीशः the क् is changed to श् ॥ Now if this elided case-affix (antar vartinī vibhakti) is efficient in the case of the first member of a compound, analogically should not the *Second* member of the compound get the designation of *Pada*, for the affix is elided after the second member *also*, just as the *first* member gets ? This doubt is removed by the following vārtika.

Vārtika :—The rule of " Pratyaya-lope pratyaya lakṣhaṇam " does not hold good in the case of the second member of a compound, for the purposes of applying any rule other than that relating to the initial letter of a

Pada". Therefore, there is no pratyaya-lakṣhaṇa : and so the word **वि** in **विमलवि** does not get the designation of *pada* and so it gets the designation *Bha* ; and consequently we can apply to it the sūtra VII. 1. 19 S. 310, which applies to *Bha* bases only. **विमल वि** being a *Bha* base and not a *Pada*, the **वि** is changed to **वी** ; and we get the Nominative Dual **विमलंवि** and not **विमलवि** ॥ The Nominative Plural is **विमलवि**.

Why do we say in the above vārtika **अपरादिविधौ** "when any rule not relating to the beginning of a Pada is to be applied"? Observe **इधिलेचौ** = **इधः सेचौ** a Genitive Tatpurusha, compounded from **इधः** + **सेचौ** = **इधिलेच्** Here the second term **सेच्** does get the designation of Pada for the purposes of the application of the rule which prevents the *initial* **स्** being changed to **श्** ॥ Had it not been a Pada then **स्** would have been changed to **श्** after **इ** by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. But though **सेच्** is treated as a **पद** for the purposes of the application of the preventive rule relating to the *initial* letter, yet it is not to be treated as **पद** for the purposes of the application of the rule to the *final* letter **च्** which would become guttural **क्** if it were a Pada.

Note :—**सेच्** is derived from the root **सिच्** 'to sprinkle,' with the affix **विच्** (III. 2. 75. S. 2980). The above is the illustration of Genitive Tatpurusha compound.

Obj :—But if we form the upapada compound with the root **सिच्** and the upapada **इधिले** in the Accusative, as **इधिले सिचतः**, then since the compounding is ordained to take place *before* the addition of vibhakti, the word **सेच्** has no pada designation, and so **स्** does not *begin* a pada, and it should be changed to **श्** Thus in upapada-samāsa, the **च्** change is inevitable.

Ans :—To this Kaiyata replies "**अनाभिधानात् सोपपदाद् विद्भावाः, इधिलेचौ इति प्रयोगाभावात्**" ॥ Or we may say that the word **अपरादि** means **परादि** the beginning of a subsequent (whether pada or not) preceded by a pada.

Now, we take up the declension of **वार**. Its N. S. and Dual are **वाः** and **वारी** respectively. In forming the N. Pl. there will be no **नुष्** ordained by VII. 1. 72: S. 314. because the base does not end in **क्लृ** letters. Therefore the N. Pl. is **वारी**.

The Nominative and Acc. Pl. of **चतुर्** is **चत्वारि** ॥ The rest is like the. masculine.

Now we take up the declension of **किम्**. Thus **किम् + लु = किम् + O** by VII. 1. 23. S. 319. Now the affix is elided by using the word **लुक्** and so it leaves no trace behind, by I. 1. 63. S. 263, and therefore **किम्** is not changed to **क्** as would otherwise be required by Sūtra VII. 2. 103. S. 342. Thus it is declined as :—

गवाकशब्दस्य रूपानि क्लृप्तं चार्थमतिभेदतः । असंध्यवङ्पूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्सुप्सु नव षड् भावे षड्के स्युस्त्रीणि जडशतोः । चत्वारि शेषे षड्केरूपाणांति विभावय ॥ २ ॥

तथाहि । गामंचतीति त्रिषोः क्लृप्तिगादिना क्लृप्तम् । गतां नलोपः । अवङ् स्तोदायनस्येत्थवङ् । गवाक् । गवाग् । सर्वत्र विभाषेति प्रकृतिभावे । गोभक् । गोभग् । पूर्वरूपे । गोक् । गोग् । पूजार्था नस्य कुत्वेन डः । गवाङ् । गोभङ् । गोङ् । अभ्यापि एतान्येव नव । गोङ्, शी । भस्वावच इत्यल्लोपः । गोथी । पूजार्थां तु गवाञ्ची । गोभञ्ची । गोञ्ची जडशतोः शिः । शिः सर्वनामस्थानत्वान्मुम् । गवौञ्चि । गोभञ्चि । गोञ्चि । गतिपूजनयोस्त्रीण्येव । गोषा । गवाञ्चा । गोभञ्चा । गोञ्चा । गवाभ्याम् । गोभभ्याम् । गोभ्याम् । गवाङ्भ्याम् । गोभङ्भ्याम् गोभ्याम् । इत्यादि ॥ सुपितु ङान्तानां पक्षे ङीः कुगिति कुक् । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोङ्क्षु । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोङ्क्षु । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोङ्क्षु । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोङ्क्षु । न चेह चयो द्वितीया । इति पक्षे ककारस्य खकारेण षण्णामाधिक्यं शङ्क्यम् । चर्त्तस्थसिद्धत्वात् । कुक्पक्षे तु तस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जडत्वाभावे पक्षे द्वितीयादेशाच्चीणि रूपाणि वर्धन्त एव ॥

ऊह्यमेषां द्विवचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् । रूपाण्यश्वत्तिभूतानि । ५२७ भवन्तीति मनीषिभिः ॥ १ ॥

तिर्यक् । तिरश्ची । तिर्यञ्चि । पूजार्थां तु । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यङ्ची तिर्यञ्चि । यकृत । यकृती । यकृन्ति । पश्विति वा यकन् । यकानि । यक्ताः । यकृता । शकृन् । शकृवी । शकृन्ति । शकानि । शक्ता । शकृता । हवन् । हवती ॥

443. रु is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निशाचः, हे दीर्घाहोऽन्ति ॥ See Vārtika under VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārti :—Before the words रूप, राजि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्र, अहोरथन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2, 69. Others say, that this र change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र ; as अहोरम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

The र and ह changes in अहर् (N. S.) and अहोभ्याम् (Ins. D.) ordained by VIII. 2. 69 S. 172. and VIII. 2. 68 S. 443. are asiddha i. e. not perceived by the preceding Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. which requires the elision of न्. Therefore, arises the following difficulty that the र (which is really न्) would be elided. But this difficulty is removed by holding that the word अहन् in VIII. 2, 68. S. 443. is in N. S. without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् । The one indicates the exact form, showing that the न् is not elided ; and by the second word, the ह is ordained for this final न् ॥

The words ending in अहन् will also change the final न् into हं and र् by VIII. 2. 68 and 69 S. 443. and 172. Thus we have the Bahuvrihi compound दीर्घाहन् meaning 'the season in which the days are long' as दीर्घाहो निशाचः ॥ This word is a Masculine and it is necessary to enter into a digression to show its

various declensions. The word **दीर्घाहन्** is thus evolved :—**दीर्घाहन् + ह्र = दीर्घाहन् + O** (there is lopa elision of **ह्र** by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of a pratyaya by I. 1. 62 S. 262 and would cause the **ह** substitution for **न्** to the exclusion of **र**, because the **र** would not come, as in the sūtra VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. **असुपि** is used. But this **ह** being asiddha i. e. not perceived by VI. 4. 8. S. 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate **अ** ॥ Thus we have **दीर्घाहा** in the N. S.

In the Voc : we have **हे दीर्घाहो निराय ॥**

Note:—The word **दीर्घाहन्** is a Bahuvrīhi (II. 2. 21), the Vocative affix is elided (VI.1. 68), and the **न्** changed to **र** by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to **ड** (VI. 1. 114). In **हे अहन्!** the **न्** is not elided by the option of the following Vartika under VIII. 2. 8. **वा नपुंसकानाम्** which means that in the Neuters **न्** is optionally not elided.

It is thus declined :—

	Singular.	Dual	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	दीर्घाहाः	दीर्घाहानौ	दीर्घाहानः
Instr.	दीर्घाहा	दीर्घाहोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of **दाण्डन्** &c. Nominative and Accusative of

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
दण्डिन्	दण्डि	दण्डिनी	दण्डीनि
सग्विन्	सग्वि	सग्विणी	सग्वीणि
वाग्मिन्	वाग्मि	वाग्मिनी	वाग्मीनि
बहुवृत्रहन्	बहुवृत्रह	बहुवृत्रहणी or बहुवृत्रहणी	बहुवृत्रहाणि
बहुपूषन्	बहुपूष	बहुपूषणी or बहुपूषणी	बहुपूषाणि
बह्वर्थमन्	बह्वर्थम	बह्वर्थमणी or बह्वर्थमणी	बह्वर्थमाणि

Now we take up the declension of **असृज्** which is a negative compound of **अ + सृज्**. The **ज्** will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix **क्तिन्** has been ordained after the root **सृज्** क्तिन् प्रत्ययस्थितः, but not so in other compounds than negative, as **विश्वसृज्** &c. The N. S. of **विश्वसृज्** is **विश्वसृद्**, because Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya, in commenting on sūtra VI. 1. 58 S. 2405 employs the form **रञ्जुसृडभ्याम्** or because the **वत्** taught in VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. for the final **ज्** of **सृज्** and **यज्** would debar the gutturalisation. While the gutturalisation in **सक्** and **क्त्विक्** is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the sūtra III. 2. 59. S. 373. Or to remove all these objections we say that **असृज्** is not a negative compound of **अ + सृज्** but is a Uṇādi formed word derived from the root **अस्** “ to throw ” with the affix **कृज्**, then the

form will be **असृक्** in the N. S. without any difficulty. Thus the declension of **असृज** will be.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	असृक् or असृज्	असृजी	असृजिञ् ॥
Acc	"	"	"

But in the weak-case terminations there will be two forms, *vis*, one with **असृक्** (VI. 1. 63. S. 228) and the other with **असृज् ॥** Thus Acc : Pl : **असृजिञ्** or **असृजि** ॥ Instr : Sing : Dual **असृजा** or **अजा** ; **असृज्याम्** or **असृज्याम्** &c.

Now we take up the declension of **ऊर्ज** ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	ऊर्ज or ऊर्ज्	ऊर्जी	ऊर्जिञ् ॥

In the last, the conjunct consonant is **र्** and **ञ्** ॥

Vartik :—There is prohibition of the augment **नुम्** in the case of **बहूर्ज्**.

Vartik :—Or, the **नुम्** may be added before the final consonant, i. e. inserted between **र्** and **ञ्** ॥ Thus **बहूर्जि** or **बहूर्जि** कुलानि ॥

Note :—According to Mahābhāṣya the Nom. Pl. is **ऊर्जि** without any nasal. (See sūtra VII. 1. 72). His reason is that the word **अचः** in **नपुंसकस्य भक्तचः** should be construed in the Ablative, the sūtra meaning “ the augment **नुम्** should be added to a Neuter stem which ends in **झल्** consonant, provided that such **झल्** is preceded by a vowel ”. In **ûrj**, the letter that follows the vowel, i. e. **र्** is not a **jhal**, nor does the Neuter stem end in **r**. But the **jhal** **ञ्** which is final, is not preceded by a vowel but by **र्** ॥ So there will be no nasal here.

Now, we take up the declension of **स्यद्** &c. Nominative and Accusative.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
स्यद्	स्यत् or स्यद्	स्ये	स्यानि ॥
तद्	तत् or तद्	ते	तानि ॥
यद्	यत् or यद्	ये	यानि ॥
एतद्	एतत् or एतद्	एते	एतानि ॥

But in anvādesha or remployment, the Nom : Sing. of **एतद्** is declined as **एतत् ॥**

The word **बेभिद्** is formed by adding the affix **क्विप्** to the verbal root **बेभिष्** (a Frequentative root) The **अ** and **य** are dropped (**अतो लोपः**) ॥

Its N. and Ac : S. and Dual are **बेभिद्** or **बेभिद्** ; **बेभिदी** ॥ In the Plural, i. e. before the affix **णि**, the augment **नुम्** required by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is not added, because the lopa elided **अ** of **बेभिद्** is considered as *sthānivat*

and so the base does not end in a **ह्रस्व** consonant * Nor will it take **बुद्ध** on account of its ending in a vowel, because there is no **sthānivat-bhāva**, with regard to the rule applying to its own self.

Thus the Plural is **वेभिर्हि ब्राह्मणकुलानि** ॥

Similarly the plural of **चेच्छिद्** is **चेच्छिदि** ॥

The root **गच्छ** has two meanings ; (a) to go ; (b) to worship (See **भ्रादि** 203). When the compound is formed from it with the **upa-pada** **गो**, we get **गो + गच्छ + क्तिन्** ॥ Thus **गो गच्छति** meaning ' he drives the cow '. The nasal will be elided by VI. 4. 24 S. 415. But when the meaning is ' he honors or worships the cow ' the nasal will not be elided because of the prohibition of VI. 4. 30. S. 424.

Thus we get two forms (1) **गदाच्** (2) **गवाच्** ॥ Then the Sandhi of **गो + गच्छ** itself gives rise to three forms, namely (1) where there is no Sandhi by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. (2) where **अवङ्** is substituted for **गो** of **गो** by VI. 1. 123. S. 88. ; (3) where **गो + ग** of **गो** and **गच्छ** become **गो** by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. Thus (1) **गो गच्छ** (2) **गवाच्** (3) **गोडच्** ॥

Verse :—In the Neuter, the word **गवाच्** meaning (a) he who honors cows or (b) he who drives cows, has 109 forms, according as the bases are namely (1) **गो गच्छ** ; (2) **गवाच्** (3) **गोडच्** (4) **गोमच्** (5) **गवाच्** (6) **गोडच्** ॥ The case terminations **सु** (N. S), **अम्** (Ac.S) **सुप्** (L. Pl) give rise to nine forms each, the **आ** (i. e. Instr. ; Dative and Ablative Dual and Pl) to six forms each ; the **अस्** and **सस्** (i. e. Nomi. and Acc. Pl) to three forms each, the remaining ten case-terminations four forms each.

Thus when we analyse **गवाच्** or **गवाच्** as **गाम् गच्छति**, we add the affix **क्तिन्** by III. 2. 59 S. 373. Then the nasal is elided, when the sense is ' to move '. Then there is the **अवङ्** substitution by VII. 1. 123. S. 88. In this case we have N. S. as **गवाक्** or **गवाग्** ; or when we apply the option of VI. 1. 122 S. 87, we have **गोमक्** or **गोमग्** ; when we apply the rule of **पररूप**, we have **गोडक्** or **गोडग्** ॥

When the sense is ' to honor ', we have the **कुत्स** or gutturalisation of the nasal in to **ङ** as N. S. **गवाङ्** or **गोमङ्** or **गोङ्** ॥ In the Acc. S. we shall also get these nine forms.

In the Nom. and Acc. dual, the termination is **ही**, before which the base gets the designation of **bha** (**भ**) and the **अ** of **अच्** is elided by VI. 4. 138 S. 416 and thus we get the form **गोभी** ॥ But when the sense of the verb is ' to honor ', we get the forms **गवांभी**, or **गोमंभी** or **गोडंभी** ॥

* The **अ** of **वेभिर्हि** was elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The *Vārtika* **कीदृशं न स्थानिवद्** see *sutra* VI. 4. 85 S. 273 is not applied here ; as that *Vārtika* is not of universal application.

The N. and Ac : Pl. affix is **ञि** which being a Sarvanāmasthāna, we have the augment **नुम्** and thus we have **गवाञि** or **गोमञि** or **गौञि** whether the verb means ' to go ' or ' to honor '.

The Instr : Sing of **गवाच्** is only **गोच्चा**, for the same reason as N, and Ac : Dual is **गोच्ची** ; of **गवाञ्** is **गवाञ्चा** or **गौच्चा** or **गोमञ्चा** ॥

The Instr.; Dat and Abl : dual of **गवाच्** is **गवाम्भ्याम्** or **गोमाम्भ्याम्** or **गौमाम्भ्याम्**, of **गवाञ्** is **गवाह्भ्याम्** or **गोमह्भ्याम्** or **गौह्भ्याम्** &c.

In the Loc. Pl ;, when the base is **गवाञ्**, we add the augment **क्** by VIII. 3. 28. Thus **गवाङ्क्षु** or **गोमङ्क्षु** or **गौङ्क्षु** or **गवाङ्घु** or **गोमङ्घु** or **गौङ्घु** ॥

But when the base is **गवाच्**, we get L. Pl : as **गवाक्षु** or **गोमक्षु** or **गौक्षु** ॥

By applying the vārtika चयोः द्वितीयाः, **क** may be changed to **ख** and we may get six other forms, but that *Vartika* is not applicable, since the चत्वं rule is asiddha.

Now we take up the declension of **तिरच्** ॥

Its Nom : forms are **तिर्यक्**, **तिरश्ची**, **तिर्येचि** ॥

But when **ञञ्** means ' to honor ' and thus the nasal is not elided, the Nom : forms are **तिर्यङ्**, **तिर्येची**, **तिर्येचि** ॥

Now we take up the declension of **यकृन्** ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are **यकृन्**, **यकृती**, **यकृन्ति** ॥

But before weak case terminations **यकृन्** is optionally substituted for **यकृन्** as ordained by VI. 1. 63. S. 228. Thus Ac : Pl : is either **यकृन्ति** or **यकृन्ति** ॥ The Instr : Sing : is **यकृता** or **यकृता** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of **शकृन्** ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are **शकृन्**, **शकृती**, **शकृन्ति** ॥ According to VI. 1. 63. S. 228, **शकृन्** is optionally substituted for **शकृन्** before the weak case terminations. So the Acc : Pl : is optionally **शकृन्ति** ॥ Similarly, the Instr : Sig. is either **शकृता** or **शकृता** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of **इवन्** ॥ Its Nom : Sing : and dual are **इवन्**, **इवती** ॥

The formation of the N. Pl : is governed by the following rule.

४४४ । वा नपुंसकस्य । ७ । १ । ७६ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परा यः शता तदन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुम् वा स्यात्सर्वानामस्थाने परे । इवन्ति । इवति । तुवन्ति ॥

444. The Participial-affix **शन्** optionally takes the augment **नुम्** after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns when

a sarvanāmasthāna I. 1. 42. S. 31 } follows.

Thus Nominative Plural इवन्त or इवन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of तुवत् ॥ Its N. S. is तुवत् ॥

In the formation of its N. Dual and Plural the following rule applies :—

४४५ । आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् । ७ । १ । ८० ॥

अवर्णान्तादङ्गात्परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य नुम् वा स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । तुवन्ती । तुवती तुवन्ति । भात् । भान्ती । भाती ॥ भान्ति । पचत् ॥

445. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी VII. 1. 19. S. 319. and before the feminine affix ई (that is Nadi I. 4. 3. S. 266).

Thus N. D. तुवन्ते or तुवती ; N. P. तुदन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of भात् ' shining '. Its Nominative forms are भात्, भान्ती or भाती, भान्ति ॥

Now we take up the declension of पचत् ॥ (' cooking '). Its N. S. is पचत् ॥ Its N. D. Pl. are governed by the following rule :—

४४६ । शपड्यनोर्नित्यम् । ७ । १ । ८१ ॥

शपड्यनोरात्परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्यं नुम् स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । पचन्ती । पचन्ति । शीव्यत् । शीव्यन्ती । शीव्यन्ति । स्वप् । स्वङ् । स्वपी । नित्यात्परादपि नुम् प्राक् अप्ठुन्निति शीर्थः । प्रतिपशोक्तत्वात् । नुम् । स्वाप्ति । निरवकाशत्वं प्रतिपशोक्तत्वमिति पक्षे तु प्रकृतं ताद्विरहानुमेव । स्वाप्ति । स्वपा ॥ अपोभि ॥ स्वङ्गाम् । स्वदुभिः । अतिपिञ्चनीत्यादिना धनेरुम् । रुत्वम् । धनुः । धनुषी । सान्ति शीर्थः । नुम्-विसर्जनायेति षत्वम् । धनुषि । धनुषा । धनुभ्याम् । एव चक्षुर्होविरादयः । पिपठिषष्टेः क्रिप् । वीगिति शीर्थः । पिपठीः । पिपठिषी । अङ्गापस्य स्थानिवत्त्वात्प्रत्ययान्तलक्षणा नुम् न । स्वादिधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावादङ्गन्तलक्षणाऽपि नुम् न । पिपठिषि । पिपठीभ्यामित्यादि । पयः । पयसी । पयांसि । पयसा । पयाभ्यामित्यादि । सुपुम् । सुपुंसी । सुपुमांसि अइः । विभक्तिकार्यम् । उत्त्वमेव । अमू । अमूनि । शेषं पुंवत् ॥

446. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikarapas शप् and ड्यन्, it invariably takes the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadi).

Thus N. D. पचन्ती, N. Pl. पचन्ति ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛitti of वा (VII. 1.79 S. 444).

Similarly, the Nominative forms of शीव्यत् are शीव्यत्, शीव्यन्ती, शीव्यन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of स्वप् meaning ' a tank containing good water,

Note :—In forming the compound सु + अच्, sūtra V. 4. 74. S. 940 required the addition of अ to the final as in the case of हि + अच् = हीच् ; but here the अ is not added on account of the prohibition contained in V. 4. 69. S. 954. Nor is the अ changed to long ई required by VI. 3.97. S. 941 because the word अच् in that sūtra means that अच् which has taken the समासान्त affix अ ॥ Thus we get the base स्वच् ॥

Its N. S. and Dual are स्वच् or स्वच् and स्वयी respectively. In the N. Plural the अ of स्वच् will be first lengthened by VI. 4. 11 S. 277. and then तुच् is to be added. This is because the word अच् is specifically mentioned in the sūtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277. Otherwise by the general rule, the augment तुच् taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is nitya and subsequent in order of Ashtādhyāyī to the sūtra VI. 4. 11. and should have been added first. Thus the Nominative Plural is स्वामि ॥

But if the view be taken that the *pratipadokta* rule supersedes a nitya and a subsequent rule, then only, when it has no scope otherwise ; then we should not have the lengthening ordained by VI. 4. 11. S. 277, for that lengthening finds its scope in cases like आप स्तिष्ठन्ति ; while in स्वच् + सि, the तुच् taught subsequently will supersede the lengthening rule which is precedent. Thus we have the Nominative Plural स्वामि ॥

Note :—This is the more valid form according to the opinion of Manorama,

The Instr: Sing is स्वया ॥ The Instr: Dual is स्वभ्याम् ; the ए being changed to by VII. 4. 48. S. 442. The Instr: Plural is स्वभिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of धनुस् ॥ This word is formed by adding the Uṇādi affix डल् to the root धन् (Uṇādi II. 117). The स् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162) and then changed to Visarga ; thus Nominative Sing is धनुः ; Nominative Dual धनुषी ॥

In the Nominative Plural the ड of धनुस् is lengthened by VI. 4. 10. S. 317. The स् is changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. Thus Nominative Plural is धनुषि ॥ The Instr: S. and Dual are धनुषा, धनुभ्याम् respectively. Similar is the declension of चक्षुस् and हृदिस् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of विपदिस् ॥ It is derived from the Desiderative root विपदिष् with the affix क्तिप् before which the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308 and in the N. S. the penultimate vowel is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. Thus N. S. विपदीः ; N. Dual विपदिषी ॥

In the Plural, i. e. before the affix सि, the augment तुच् required by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. is not added, because the lopa elided अ is considered as sthānivat and so the base does not end in a ह्रस्व consonant.

Nor will it take तुच् by considering it as ending in a vowel, for the elided अ can not be considered as sthānivat in applying the rule to its own self. (compare sūtra 443). Thus N. Pl. is विपदिषि ॥ The

rest of the declensions, such as विपरीत्यान् &c. are similar to those of the Masculine.

Now, we take up the declension of पयस् &c.

Nom : and Acc :

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural. Instr : S. Dual.
पयस्	पयः	पयसी	पयांसि ॥ पयसा, पयोभ्यां
सुपुंस	सुपुम्	सुपुंसी	सुपुनांसि ॥
अद्	अद्		

In the Dual and Pl : all the operations required in the case affixes should be made first and then the इ and न substitution mentioned under VII. 2. 107. S. 437. and VIII. 2. 81. S. 438. should take place. Thus N. and Acc : D. and Pl. are अम् and अमुनि ॥

Note :—The N. D. of अद् is thus formed :—

अद् + णी = अद् + ई (The स् is elided by VII. 2. 102 S. 265) = अदे ॥ This is the form obtained by applying all the rules of विभक्ति ॥ The vibhakti kârya being done, we now apply VIII. 2. 80. S. 491 : The इ is thus changed to न and the ए to ऊ ॥ Thus we get the form अम् ॥

Similarly by applying all the vibhakti rules to अद्, we get the N. Pl : अदानी, to which applying VIII. 2. 80. S. 491, we get अमुनि ॥

The rest of the declensions are like those of the Masculines.

Here end the declensions of Neuters ending in consonants .

अथाठ्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INDECLINABLES.

४४७ । स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् । १ । १ । ३७ ॥

स्वरादयो निपाताभाव्ययसंज्ञाः स्युः । स्वर, अन्तर, प्रातर, पुनर, सनुतर, उच्चैस्, नीचैस्, शनैस्, ऋधक्, क्ते, युगपत्, आरात्, पृथक्, ह्यस्, श्वस्, दिवा, रात्रौ, सायम्, चिरम्, मनाक्, ईषत्, जोषम्, तूष्णीम्, बहिस्, अवस्, समया, निकषा, स्वयम्, वृथा, नक्तम्, नञ्, हेतौ, इद्धा, अद्धा, सामि, वत्, ब्राह्मणवत्, क्षत्रियवत्, सना, सनत्, सनात्, उपधा, तिरस्, अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, ज्योक्, कम्, शम्, सहसा, विना, नाना, स्वस्ति, स्वधा, अलम्, वषट् औषट् वौषट्, अन्यत्, अस्ति, उपांशु, क्षमा, विहायसा, शोषा, वृषा, मिथ्या, मुधा, पुरा, मिथा, मिथस्, प्रायस्, मुहुस्, प्रब्राह्मकम्, प्रवाहिका, आर्यहलम्, अभीक्ष्णम्, साकम्, सार्धम्, नमस्, हिरक्, धिक्, अथ अम्, आम्, प्रताम्, प्रशान्, प्रतान्, मा, माङ् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ च, वा, ह, अह, एव, एवम्, नूनम्, शश्वत्, युगपत्, भूयस्, कूपत्, स्रपत्, कुवित्, नेत्, चत्, चण्, कञ्चित्, किञ्चित्, यच्च, नह, हन्त, माकिः, माकिम् नकिः, आकिम् माङ्, नञ्, यावत्, तावत्, त्वे, द्वे, त्वे, रे, औषट्, वौषट्, स्वाहा, स्वधा, तुम्, तथाहि, खलु, किल, अथो, अथ, सुषु, स्म, आवह. उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वर-प्रतिरूपकाश्च । अववत्तम्, अहंयुः, अस्तिकीरा, अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए ऐ, ओ, औ, पशु, शुकम्, यथा-किथाच, पाट्, प्याट्, अङ्ग, हे, हं भोः, अय, य, विषु, एकपदे, युत्, आतः । चादिरप्याकृतिगणः ॥

447 The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. Their list is given below :—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst.' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर 'again,' सनुतर 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक् 'rightly, separately. aside, singly, particularly, truly,' क्ते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the sametime, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly'. पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little जोषम् 'gladly,' तूष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अवस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् negative particle, not, 'हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत् 'enclitic like, as Brâhmaṇavat, Kshatriyavat warrior like, सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा अन्तरेण 'except, without' ज्योक्, 'long,' कम् expletive particle, 'शम् ease,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously.' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अलम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' औषट्, वौषट् (interjection) : oblation of

butter, 'अन्यत्' 'again, moreover, otherwise'. अस्ति 'being present,' पांडित्य 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' वृथा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' दुष्ठा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or नयस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' पुनस् 'again, repeatedly' प्रवाहकुम् or प्रवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहन्त्र 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' अम् "quickly" आम् "indeed" प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रतान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' ना, नाह् 'do not'.

So also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिह् (V. 3. 7 S 1953) and ending with पादाप् (V. 3. 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with दाप् (V. 4. 42 S 2109) and ending with समासंतः (V. 4. 68 S 676), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्स् भाच् and याल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix चि, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तसि or वसि, न or नाम् are also indeclinables.

This class is known as 'avayava' from its form, so that where words are found treated as indeclinables, they may be put as under this class.

The following are निपात or particles च 'and,' वा "or," ह an expletive, अह vocative particle एव 'only,' एवम् 'thus,' वूनम् 'certainly' शम्भत् 'continually,' शगपत् 'at once' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' कृपत् 'excellently,' सृपत् 'excellently' कुवित् 'abundantly,' मेत् or चेत् "if," चण् 'if,' कश्चित् "what if" यत्र 'where' नह 'no,' हन्त ah! 'माकिम्, माकिः, नकिः or नाकिम् "do not," माह् 'do not' नञ् 'not' बावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' खै, हे, or नै perhaps, रे disrespectful interjection; औषद्, औषद or स्वाहा "oblation to the gods" वाषद् "oblation to the Gods" तुम् "thouing," तथाहि "thus". खलु certainly, किल 'indeed,' अथ now, सुष्ठु 'excellent' स्म (gives the idea of past when attached to the present forms of verbs), आह 'fie!'

To the list of Indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an उपसर्ग, (I. 4. 59 S. 22,) of a word with one of the terminations of case or person, and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् "given away," the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word would be अवत्तम् by VII. 4. 47. S. 3078 In the example अहंयुः 'egoistic' the ahan 'is not identical with अहम् or 'I' terminating in a case affix, because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the Nominative case could not be the first member in such a compound.

In the example अस्तिक्षीरा, a cow or the like in which there is milk, the अस्ति must be regarded as different from the word अस्ति or "is" which ends with the affix of 3rd person Sing. अ, आ, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, (these express various emotions वञ्च 'well,' शुक्ल 'quickly,' यथाकथाच "any how" पाद्, प्याद्, अङ्ग, हे, ह, ओः (vocative particles) अये 'ah!' अ in the sense of injury, opposition and to fill up the metre of a verse, विदु "on all sides," एकपदे 'at the same moment' शुक् 'blame' आतः 'hence'.

This list also from च &c. is to be regarded as one each of which is to be recognised by its own form as before.

४४८ । तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः । १ । १ । ३८ ॥

यस्मात्सर्वा विभक्तिर्नोत्पद्यते स तद्धितान्तोऽप्ययं स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । तसिलादयः प्राक् पाठापः । शास्त्रप्रभृतयः प्राक् समासान्तेभ्यः । अम् । भाम् । कृत्वोर्याः । तसिवती । नानाभाविनि । तेनेह न । पञ्चतिकल्पम् । पञ्चतिरूपम् ॥

448. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76. S 530) which are not declined in all the cases are also Indeclinables.

An enumeration of these affixes should be made. They are the affixes beginning with तसि (V. 3. 7. S 1953) and ending with पाठाप (V. 3. 47. S 1993); by the affixes beginning with चस् (V. 4. 42. S. 2109) and ending with समासान्तः (V. 4. 68 S 676) by the affixes अम्, भाम्, where meaning कृत्वस्तुच्; by the affixes तसि and वति and न or नाम् ॥

Hence पञ्चतिकल्पम् and पञ्चतिरूपम् are not indeclinables.

Note :—Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural termination.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there'. Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तत्र, यत्र, सर्वत्र, सत्र, &c.

४४९ । कृन्मेजन्तः । १ । १ । ३९ ॥

कृणो मान्त एजन्तश्च तदन्तमप्ययं स्यात् । स्मार्त्स्वार्म् । जीवसे । पिबथ्ये ॥

449. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93 S 374) which end with म् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also Indeclinables.

Note :—All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called krit, the latter, taddhita.

Text :—Words formed by krit affixes which end in म् or ए, आ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyakara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix कृ

(technically तुङ्) and अङ् (technically णङ्, III. 3. 10 S 3175) are affixes which end in ण्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus स्मरन् स्मरन् 'having repeatedly remembered' जीवसे to live, पिवथ्यैः 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ण्, &c.

४५० । कृत्वातोसुनकसुनः । १ । १ । ४० ॥

एतदन्तमव्ययं स्यात् । कृत्वा । उदेतोः । विसृपः ॥

450. The words, ending with ktvâ (III. 4. 18. S. 3316) tosun (III. 4. 16. S. 3443) and kasun (III. 4. 9. S. 3436) are Indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread'.

४५१ । अव्ययीभावश्च । १ । १ । ४१ ॥

अधिहरि ॥

451. (The compound called) Avyayībhāva (II. 1. 5. S. 651.) is also Indeclinable.

Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari or Vishnu'.

Note :—The Avyayībhāva or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter.

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayībhāva compounds avayayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i. e., sūtra II. 4. 82. S 452 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word salabhāh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), i. e., sūtras VI. 2. 167. & 168. S 3901 and 3902, Thus, उपाग्नि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent : (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपद्यः कारः, उपपद्यः कामः, as compared with अयस्कारः Here, the compound उपपद्यः being treated as avyaya, sūtra VIII. 3. 46, S 160. applies and prevents the change of : into स् ॥

४५२ । अव्ययादाप्सुपः । २ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अव्ययाद्विहितस्यापः सुपञ्च लुक् स्यात् । तत्र शालाग्राम् । विहितविशेषणान्नेह । अस्त्युच्चैसौ ।
अव्ययसंज्ञायां यद्यपि तदन्तविधिरस्ति तथापि न गोणे । आह्वयणं व्यर्थमलिङ्गत्वान् ॥

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु । वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

इति श्रुतिर्लिङ्गकारकसंख्याऽभावपरा ।

वटि भायुरिरल्लोपमवाप्योरुपसर्गयोः । आपं चैव हलन्तानां यथा वाचा निशा दिशा ॥

वगाहः । अवगाहः । विधानम् । अपिधानम् ॥

452. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) ordained after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शालाग्राम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्यान् 'in that'.

By using the word "ordained" in the sūtra we mean that the case-affixes must come after the Avyaya as such, and not after a pratipādika compound, in which an Avyaya may be a secondary member. Thus in the compound अस्ति + उच्चैस् though the word उच्चैस् separately is an Avyaya, yet as the whole compound is a noun, the case-affixes will not be dropped after it. Thus Nominative Dual अस्त्युच्चैसौ ॥ Though tadanta vidhi applies to avyayas also, and so a compound word ending with an avyaya will also be an avyaya, yet when such an avyaya is a secondary member only and the whole compound refers to a third person, then the tadanta vidhi will not apply.

The word आप् (Feminine affix) has been read uselessly in the sūtra, because an Avyaya has no gender.

Verse :—" What changes not, remaining alike in the three genders, and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an indeclinable or avyaya ".

Thus according to Sruti, avyayas have neither genders, cases nor numbers.

" The grammarian Bhaguri wishes that there shall be elision of अ of अव and आपि and that आप् shall be the termination of all feminine words which would otherwise end in consonants, e. g. वाचा (instead of वाच्), निशा (instead of निष्), दिशा (instead of दिष्) ".

This is of course optional, for it rests on the authority of a single grammarian. So either अवगाहः or वगाहः ॥ विधानम् or अपिधानम् ॥

Here end the Indeclinables,

अथ स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XV.

FORMATION OF FEMININES.

४५३ । स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । समर्थानामिति यावत् ॥

453. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes taught hereinafter must be employed.

Note.—This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase ‘when feminine nature is to be indicated,’ must be read in all the following aphorisms upto IV. 1. 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word ‘prātipadika’ should be read into this sūtra, from the sūtra, IV. 1. 1. S 182, not so, however the anuvṛitti of the words ‘ङीःभाप्’; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and भाप् affixes.

४५४ । अजाद्यतष्टाप् । ४ । १ । ४ ॥

अजादीनामकारान्तस्य च बाध्यं यत् स्त्रीत्वं तच्च द्योत्ये दाप् स्यात् । अजाद्युक्तिर्ङीषो ङीपश्च बाधनाय । अजा । अतः, खट्वा । अजादिभिः स्त्रीत्वस्य विशेषणान्नेह । पञ्चाङ्गी । ‘द्विग्वोः’ (४७९) इति ङीप् । अत्र हि समासार्थसमाहारानिष्ठं स्त्रीत्वम् । अजा । एडका । अम्बा । अटका । मूषिका । एषु जातिलक्षणो ङीष् प्राप्तः । बाला । वत्सा । होडा । मन्वा । विलाता । एषु वयसि प्रथम इति ङीप् प्राप्तः ॥ * संभस्त्राजिनक्षणपिण्डेभ्यः फलात् * संफला । भस्त्रफला । ङ्वापोरिति ह्रस्वः ॥ * सवृक्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् * ॥ सत्पुष्पा । प्राक्पुष्पा । * शुभ्रा चामहस्पृर्वा जातिः * ॥ पुंयोगे तु शुभ्री । अमहस्पृर्वा किम् । महाशुभ्री । कुञ्चा । डाणिहा । स्वविशा । ज्येष्ठा । कनिष्ठा । मध्यमेति पुंयोगेऽपि । कोकिला । जातावपि । * मूलान्नमः * । अमूला ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् ॥ कर्षी । हण्डिनी ॥

454. The affix दाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the crude-forms ‘aja’ &c, and the crude-forms ending in short अ ।

This debars ङीष् and ङीप् ।

The words अज्ज &c. are given below. Thus अज्ज a ‘he goat,’ अजा ‘a she goat.’ The words ending in short अ are such as, खट्वा whose feminine will be खट्वा ।

Note.—The word खट्वा is formed by adding the Upādi affix क्त्वा to the root खट् meaning “to desire.” (Upādi I. 151).

The feminines in grammar do not follow the natural physiological division of sexes, and even names of things which have no sex may have genders, e. g. खट्,

तदी, तदम् ॥ Similarly beings whose sexes may be feminines may have names whose Genders will be masculines, such as शराम् ॥

The words अञ्ज &c. must denote, by themselves a feminine object in order to get the affix दाप्, therefore not in पञ्चाञ्जी meaning "a collection of five goats." Here the feminine nature does not refer to the goats, but to the compound noun formed of पञ्च and अञ्ज । Therefore this feminine पञ्चाञ्जी is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 21. S. 479).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :

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|---------|------|---------|-------|-----------|---------|
| 1. अञ्ज | अजा | 2. एडक | एडका | (3. कौकिल | कौकिला) |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. अम्भ | अम्भा | 6. मूषिक | मूषिका |

Note:—The above words denote 'jāti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nish' (IV. 2, 63 S 518) in the feminine.

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|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| 7. बाल | बाला | 8. होड | होडा | (9. पाक | पाका) |
| 10. वस्स | वस्सा | 11. मन्द | मन्दा | 12. विलास | विलासा |

Note:—The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in the short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1. 20. S. 478.) in the feminine.

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|-----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण, | अपरापहरणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|

Note:—These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being दिद्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S 470) but for this Sūtra.

Vārtika:—The words सङ्ग, मङ्ग, अजिङ्ग, शण and पिण्ड when followed by फल form the feminines with दाप् ।

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|---------------|------------|-------------|----------|
| 15. संफल | संफला | 16. मङ्गफल, | मङ्गफला; |
| 17. अजिङ्गफल, | अजिङ्गफला; | 18. शणफल, | शणफला; |
| 19. पिण्डफल, | पिण्डफला; | (20. बिफल, | बिफला;) |

In मङ्गफला, the long आ of मङ्गा is changed to short अ by the sūtra VI. 3. S. 1001.

Note:—The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix nish (IV. 1. 64 S 519) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'बिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as बिफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is बिफली ॥

Vārtika:—The word पुष्प preceded by सङ्ग, अङ्ग, काण्ड, प्रान्त and शत takes the affix दाप् ॥

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|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 21. सत्पुष्प, | सत्पुष्पा; | 22. प्राक्पुष्प, | प्राक्पुष्पा; So also प्रत्यक्पुष्पा |
| 23. काण्डपुष्प, | काण्डपुष्पा; | 24. प्रान्तपुष्प, | प्रान्तपुष्पा; |
| 25. शतपुष्प, | शतपुष्पा; | 26. एकपुष्प, | एकपुष्पा; |

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken nish by IV. 1, 64. S 519.

Vārtik :—शूद्र forms its feminine शूद्रा when not preceded by महत् and when it denotes a caste.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

Note :—But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class.'

Note :—The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras : and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. 1. 72, S 26, but for the vārtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself." Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra.' This objection is futile : the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती ॥

28. कुच् कुचां 29. उष्णिह् उष्णिहा 30. देवविश्व देवविशा

Note :—The above words end in consonants and would not have taken टाप् but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ड्येष्ठ ड्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

Note :—The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'nīsh' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

The word कौकिला takes टाप् even when denoting a class.

Vārtik :—When मूल is preceded by the negative particle न, it forms its feminine by टाप् ॥

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle nañ, would have otherwise taken 'ñīsh' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

४५४ A. ऋन्नेभ्योङीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥ (See S. 306.)

454 A. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in ॠ ।

Note :—Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ is taken in order to make a common term with ङीष and ङीन्; and the प् is taken to distinguish them from those affixes; the real affix is ई ॥ Thus, कर्त्तुः—f. कर्त्तुः; हर्त्तुः—f. हर्त्तुः; शृङ्खलः—f. शृङ्खली;

४५५ । उगितश्च । ४ । १ । ६ ॥

उगित्तास्यातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । पचन्ती । भवन्ती । क्षीयन्ती । शप्स्यनोरिति नृप् । उगित्तामिति सूः ऽह्रस्वहेन धातोर्भुविस्कार्त्वे तर्ह्यश्चतेरेवेति नियम्यते । तेनह न । उत्थासन् । क्लिप् । अनिहितामिति नलोपः । पण्डवन् । अश्चतेस्तु स्यादेव । प्राची । प्रसीची ॥

455. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

*Note:—*The डङ् is a pratyāhāra meaning ड, ङ and ञ ॥ Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way, it may be, that word-form is called डङित् ॥ That which ends with such a word is meant here. The prātipadika pure and simple not formed by an affix may be डङित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be डङित् as the affixes क्वतु and शतृ and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be डङित्; similarly a letter may be डङित्, as तृ meaning तृ in VI. 4. 127 S 364.; ("तृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्धन् &c")

Thus, भवतु 'honored sir,—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवतु—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady.' Similarly पचतु (formed by adding शतृ III. 2. 124 S 3100), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the डङ् comes by VII. 1 82. S. 446. So also शिष्यतु and शिष्यन्ती ॥

Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk.' Thus the roots ऋञ्चु 'to fall down' ध्वञ्चु 'to fall down' have indicatory ड; and we get from these roots the prātipadikas like उखासतु and 'पर्णध्वतु, (III. 2. 76 S 2983). The उखासतु ब्राह्मणी, 'पर्णध्वतु ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ॥

The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् ॥ As, प्राची, प्रतीची, ;

४५६ । वनो र च १४ । १ । ७ ॥

वन्तान्तश्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । रश्चान्तादेशः । वन्निति ड्वनिष्क्रानिष्वादिषामान्यग्रहणम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तद्विहितदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् । तेन प्रातिपदिकविशेषणात्तदन्तान्तमपि लभ्यते । सुत्वानमतिक्रान्ता अतिसुखरी । अतिधीवरी । शर्वरी । * वनो न ह्य इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ ह्यन्ताद्धातोर्विहितो यो वन् तदन्तात्तदन्तान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् डीप् रश्च नेत्यर्थः । 'ओण् अपनयने' वनिष् । विड्वनोरित्यात्वम् । अवावा ब्राह्मणी । राजयुध्वा ॥ * बहुव्रीहौ वा * ॥ बहुधीवरी । बहुधीवा । पक्षे डाप् वक्ष्यते ॥

456. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine of the crude forms that end in the syllable वन्, and also of a compound that ends in a word so formed, and र् is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Upādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; वीवन् f. वीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman.', शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शृ + वनिष् III. 2. 75 S 2980, lit. that which destroys light.)

अतिधीवरी (a woman who has surpassed a male artisan)

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ड्वनिप्, (III. 2. 103 S. 3091) क्वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74 S. 3418). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5 S. 306; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Paribhāṣā:—"An affix denotes when ever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." Therefore by applying this rule and taking the affix वन् as qualifying the prātipadika, we apply the affix डीप् to the prātipadika ending in वन् ॥ Thus अतिशुखरी meaning a woman who has surpassed the drinker of soma- juice, अतिधीवरी and शर्वरी ॥

Vārtika:—After a crude form that ends in वन् as well as after a compound which ends with such a word, the affix डीप् is not added in forming the feminine nor is the न् changed to र्, provided that the affix वन् has been specifically ordained to come after a root that ends in soft consonants and nasals.

To the root ओण् meaning 'to remove' we add the affix वनिप् ॥ Thus ओण् + वन् = ओ आ (the long आ being substituted for ण् by VI. 4. 41. S. 2982.) + वन् = अवावन् ॥ This word is both Masculine and Feminine. Thus the Feminine is अवावा ब्राह्मणी ॥ The Masculine is अवावाब्राह्मणः. So also राजशुभ्रा meaning राजानं बोधितवती "she who has incited the king to fight." It is formed with the affix वनिप् under III. 2. 95. S. 3005.

Vārtika:—It is optionally so in the Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus बहुधीवरी or बहुधीवा नगरी "a city that contains many artisans."

In the third alternative, the affix डाप् will be added, as will be mentioned further on in IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus there will be three forms in the Dual, as बहुधीवयौ, or बहुधीवानो or बहुधीवे as the base is बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवन् or बहुधीवा ॥

४५७ । पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ८ ॥

पाच्छब्दः कृतसमासान्तस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् डीप्वा स्यात् । द्विपरी । द्विपात् ॥

457. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pāda' when it assumes the samāsānta form पात् as well as after a compound word ending in पात् ॥

The word पाद् becomes पात् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V. 4. 140 S. 179). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (डीप्) ॥ In the latter alternative, the

form will be द्विपदि, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI. 4. 130. S. 414 (as read with I. 4. 18 S. 231). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

४५८ । दावृत्ति । ४ । १ । ९ ॥

कचि वाच्यायां पावन्ताद्याप् स्यात् । द्विपदा ऋक् । एकपदा ॥ न षट्स्वस्मादिभ्यः ॥ पञ्च चतस्रः । पञ्चचत्यत्र नलोपे कृतेऽपि ष्यान्ता षडिति षट्संज्ञां प्रति नलोपः सुप्स्वरिति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् षट्स्वस्मादिभ्य इति न दाप् ॥

458. The affix दाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-veda.

This debars ङीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly एकपदा or त्रिपदा ऋक्, or चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥

४५८ । A. न षट् स्वस्मादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥

458 A. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24 S. 369), and 'स्वस्व' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus, पञ्चब्राह्मणः 'the five Brāhmanī ladies' चतस्रः ॥ So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine.

Note:—In पञ्च, though the न् of पञ्चन् is elided, yet the elided न् is asiddha for the purposes of संज्ञा and the word पञ्च though not ending in न् will get the designation षट् by I. 1, 24 S. 369, because the elided न् is asiddha by VIII. 2. 2. S 353 and so there is no दाप् after पञ्च by the present Sūtra.

संज्ञाविधिः—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash, though they no longer end in न् (ष्यान्ता षट् I. 1. 24). Being called षष्, they do not take दाप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10 S. 308).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra VII. 2. 2. S. 2330 संज्ञा ग्रहणानर्थक्यं च तन्निमित्तत्वाद्दोषस्य, because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षट्) ॥ Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस् and शस्, without such elision there is no pada saṁjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. S. 36 The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in झ and require दाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra ? There are two views as regards definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations ; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim ययोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations" In the first view, the षट् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस् and for prohibiting टाप् ॥ Hence this sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षट् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

४५६ । मनः । ४ । १ । ११ ॥

मन्तान्न ङीप् । सीमा । सीमानौ ॥

459. The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

Thus सीमन् is both masculine and feminine, declined as सीमा, सीमानौ &c.

४६० । मनो बहुव्रीहेः । ४ । १ । १२ ॥

मन्तान्नबहुव्रीहेर्न ङीप् । बहुयञ्वा । बहुयञ्वानौ ॥

460. The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds, in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not ; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. S. 462 Thus बहुयञ्वन् is both gender and is declined as masculine, as N. s. बहुयञ्वा, N. d. बहुयञ्वानौ &c. The penultimate अ of वन् is not elided because of the prohibition of न संयोगान् &c. (VI. 4. 137 S. 355).

४६१ । डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १३ ॥

सुन् ह्योपात्त भ्यां डाब् वा स्यात् ॥ सीमा । सीमे । सीमानौ । रामा । रामे । रामानौ । नपुंसि शान इत्यमरः । बहुयञ्वा ॥ बहुयञ्वे । बहुयञ्वानौ ॥

461. The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi

compound ending in **अन्**, as mentioned in the preceding two Sûtras.

Of the affix **डाप्**, the letter **ड** indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the **दि** (I. 1. 64 S. 79) of the base. Thus **रामन् + डाप् = राम + आ = रामा** ॥ This being an optional rule we have I. 5 **रामा** *d.* **रामे** or **रामानौ** *pl.* **रामाः** or **रामानः**; similarly with **सीमा**, as, **सीमा**, **सीमे** or **सीमानौ**, **सीमाः** or **सीमानः** ॥

So also in Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in **अन्** ॥ As:—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥
बहुयज्वा	बहुयज्वे or बहुयज्वानौ	

Why do we say “optionally”? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 S. 456 also; i. e. when a prâtipadika ending in **वन्**, which can be regarded as ending in **अन्**, is a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the change of **न** into **इ** and the application of **ङीप्** are optional : we may apply the affix **डाप्** instead. As:—**बहुधीवा** or **बहुधीवरी**; **बहुपीवा** or **बहुपीवरी** ॥

By IV. 1. 5, S. 306 prâtipadikas ending in **मन्** would have taken the affix **ङीप्**, in as much as they end in **न्**; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus **रामन्** ‘a string’ is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows:—*i. s.* **रामा**; *d.* **रामानौ**; *pl.* **रामानः** ॥ Similarly **पामा**, **पामानौ**, **पामानः** ॥ The word **रामन्** is never masculine according to Amarkosha.

४६२ । अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २८ ॥

अन्नन्ताद्बहुव्रीहिरुपधालोपिनो वा ङीप् स्यात् । पक्षे डाब् ङीब् निषेधौ । बहुराज्ञी । बहुराज्ञ्यौ । बहुराजे । बहुराजानौ ॥

462. The affix **ङीप्** optionally comes after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending in the syllable **अन्** loses its penultimate **अ** ॥

Thus **बहुराजन्** is a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in **अन्**; in applying **ङीप्**, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. (**अलोप्येनः** there is elision of **अ** of **अन्** when a *bhā* affix follows). Thus **बहुराज्ञी** ‘having many king’. In the alternative, when **ङीप्** is not added, we may add the affix **डाप्** by IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजे**, **बहुराजाः** ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 S. 460 and have **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजानौ**, **बहुराजानः** ॥

Note:—When the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix **ङीप्** at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वे**, **सुपर्वाः** or **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वाणौ**, **सुपर्वाणः** ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of **सुपर्वा** &c. rule VI. 4. 137 S. 355 prevents

the elision of the penultimate **न्**; संयोगाद्भनन्तात्, there is not elision of the **अ** of **अन्** when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in **व** or **म**) ॥

In forming the feminines of words ending in **अक्** the affix **दाप्** will be added after the change of **अ** to **इ** by the following Sūtra.

४६३ । प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात्पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुपः । ७ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात्पूर्वस्याऽकारस्येकारः स्यादपि परे स आप् सुपः परो न चेत् । सर्विका । कारिका । अतः किम् । नौका । प्रत्ययस्थारिकम् । शक्तातीति शक्ता । असुपः किम् । बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी । कारिका । नन्ना । पूर्वस्य किम् । परस्य मा भूत् । कटुका । तपरः किम् । राक्ता । आपि किम् । कारकः ॥ मामकनरकयोस्संस्थानम् * ॥ मामिका । नरान् कायतीति नरिका ॥ त्यक्त्यंश * ॥ दाक्षिणात्यिका इत्यिका ॥

463. **इ** is substituted for the **अ** which stands before the **क्** belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending **आ** follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i. e. when such a word in **अक्** does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrīhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्य, i. e. **क्** must be the part of the affix. The **अक्** is changed into **इक्** in the feminine in **आ** ॥ As सर्विका, कारिका, &c. Why do we say अतः? The **क्** must be preceded by short **अ**, therefore, not here नौका Why do we say belonging to an affix? The **क्** must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शक्ता from शक् शक्ताति ॥ The **स्य** in प्रत्ययस्य is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only **क्** ॥ Why do we say असुपः, 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहवः परिव्राजका अस्यां नगर्याम् = बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी ॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the **अ** of **ज** is not changed to **इ** ॥ The case affix is elided by II. 4. 71, S. 650 and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62 S. 272 Why do we say after क? The rule applies to **क्**, therefore, not to नन्ना, रमणा ॥ Why do we say "which stands before"? The **इ** is substituted for the **अ** which precedes (पूर्वस्य) **क्**, and not the **अ** which follows **क्**, as कटुका, शृटुका ॥ Why do we say short **अ**? Observe राक्ता? Why do we say when आप् follows? see कारकः ॥ The substitution takes place when **आ** follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आप् qualifies **क्** ॥ The **क्** should be followed by **आ** ॥

Vārt :—मामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the **क्** of these is not part of the affix : as मामिका, नरिका ॥ Here मक् is substituted for म before the affix अन् (IV. 3. 3. S. 1372), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word मक् takes long **ई** in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30 S. 488) : therefore though मामक ends in अन्, it does not take डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), नगन् कायति = नरक, formed with the affix क (अ III. 2. 3 S. 2915).

Vart :—The rule applies to the words ending in **त्यक्** (IV. 2. 98 and **त्यप्**, (IV. 2. 104 S. 1324) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. S. 2915 As **शक्षिणात्यिका, इहत्यिका** ॥

Note :—The word in the sūtra is **कान्** the fifth case of **क** ending in **अ** ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in **ka क** and not in **k क्**, then the rule will not apply to **एतिका** ॥ Because here the augment is **अकच्** (**अक्** with **क्**; the final **अ** in **अकच्** is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in **भिन्धकि, छिन्धकि, रुन्धकि** ॥ The word **कान्** therefore, is construed to mean ending in the consonant **क्** ॥

४६४ । न यास्योः । ७ । ३ । ४५ ॥

यत्तदारस्थेन स्यात् । यका । सका । यकाम् । तकाम् । त्यकनश्च निषेधः * ॥ अधित्यका । उपत्यका । आगिषि वुनश्च न * ॥ जीवका । भवका ॥ उत्तपदलोपे न * ॥ देवशक्तिका देवका ॥ क्षिपका शीनां च * ॥ क्षिपका । ध्रुवका । कन्यका । चटका ॥ तारका ज्योतिषि * ॥ अन्यत्र तारिका ॥ वर्णका तान्त्रिके * ॥ अन्यत्र वर्णिका ॥ वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचाम् * ॥ उर्वीचां तु वर्तिका ॥ अटका पितृदेवस्ये * ॥ अटिकान्या ॥ सूतकापुत्रिकावृन्धारकायां वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ इह वा अ इति चङ्गः । कात्पूर्वस्याकारादेशो वेत्यर्थः । तेन पुत्रिकाशब्दे ङीन ईवर्णस्य पक्षऽकारः । अन्यत्रत्वबाधनार्थमकारस्थेव पक्षऽकारः । सूतका स्तुतिकेत्यादि ॥

464. The **इ** is not substituted for the **अ** of **य** and **स**, with the augment **क**, when the feminine **आ** follows.

As **यका, सका, यकाम्, तकाम्** ॥

Note :—The **या** and **सा** simply stand for **यद्** and **तद्**, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms **या** and **सा** may lead one to think. **न यत् तद्वाः** would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as **यकामधीयते, तर्कां पचामहे** ॥ Or **यकायकामधीमहे** (i. e. **ऋचां गाथां च**), and **तर्कां तकाम्पचामहे** (i. e. **ओषधीं शाकनीं वा**) ॥

Vart :—Prohibition with regard to the affix **त्यक्** (V. 3. 34 S. 1983) should be stated also :—As **अधित्यका, उपत्यका** ॥

Vart :—So also in the affix **वुन्** used in benediction : as **जीवताद् जीवका** and **भवताद् भवका** See III. 1. 150. S. 2912.

Note :—The feminine of **पावक** &c in the Veda does not take **इ** for **अ** ॥ As **हिग्न्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, यासु अ लोमकाः ऋक्षकाः** &c. But **पाविकाः, अलोमिकाः** in secular literature.

Vart :—So also when the second member is elided in a compound : as **देवका, यज्ञका**, the second member **वत्त** is elided, the fuller forms being **देवशक्तिका, यज्ञशक्तिका** (**अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः**) See V. 3. 83 Vart. S. 2035.

Vart :—**क्षिपक** &c should be enumerated in this prohibition : as **क्षिपका ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका, कन्यका** ॥

Vart :—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vart :—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāgurī is a comemntary of Lokāyata'

Vart :—वतका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वतिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वतिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vart :—भट्टका when meaning a विन्दैवत्य ceremony, but भट्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यन् ॥ The former is derived from the root भष् with affix तक्न् (अश्नन्ति ब्राह्मणा ओदनमस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral भट्ट by the affix कन् (V. 1. 22 S. 1687).

Vart :—Optionally सूतका, पुत्रका and वृन्शारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्शारिका ॥ *

* The word वेति of this vārtika should be analysed as वा अ इति and not वा इति; and it means that अ is optionally substituted for the vowel that precedes क ॥ Therefore in पुत्रिका the short इ which is not the इ of this sūtra, but इ of डीन् of पुत्री shortened to इ, this इ is replaced by अ ॥ In other examples अ is replaced by अ ॥

४६५ । उदीचामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यकपूर्वस्य स्त्रीप्रत्ययाकारस्य स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य क्त्पूर्वस्येद्वा स्यादापि परे केऽण इति ह्रस्वः । आर्यका आर्यिका चटकका चटकिका ॥ आतः किम् ॥ संकाश्य भवा संकाशिका ॥ यकेति किम् । अश्विका ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययेति किम् ॥ शुभे यातीति शुभयाः ॥ अज्ञाता शुभयाः ॥ शुभयिका ॥ धात्वन्त्यकांस्तु नित्यम् * ॥ सुनयिका ; सुपायिका ॥

465. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the long आ of the feminine (under VII. 4. 13 S. 834 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As आर्यका or आर्यिका, चटकका or चटकिका ॥ Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe संकाश्ये भवा=संकाशिका ॥ The word संकाश्य is formed from संकाश by the affix य्य (संकाशे निर्दृष्टं) ॥ Then is added the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 121 S. 1345). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वक-अश्विका only (from अश्वा) ॥ Why do we say the आ of the Feminine affix? The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the feminine affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here

शुभयिका from शुभंया (शुभं याति) ॥ So also भद्रयिका from भद्रया, where या is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74 S. 3418).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the य and क् being finals of a root. When the य or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply : as सुनयिका, सुपाकिका ॥

४६६ भक्षैषाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि । ७ । ३ । ४७ ॥

स्वेत्यन्तं लुप्तपृष्ठीकं पठम्, एषामत इह्य स्यात् ॥ तदन्तविधिनैव सिद्धे नञ्पूर्वाणामपीति स्पष्टार्थम् ॥ भक्षामहणुपसर्जनार्थम् अन्यस्य नूत्तरसूत्रेण सिद्धम् ॥ एषा ह्य एतयास्तु सपूर्वयान्तेत्वम् । अन्तर्वर्तिनी विभक्तिमाश्रित्याऽसुप इति प्रतिषेधात् ॥ अनेषका परमेषका अहके परमहके ॥ स्वशब्द-महणं संज्ञापसर्जनार्थम् ॥ इह हि आतः स्थाने इत्यनुवृत्तं स्वशब्दस्यातो विशेषणम् नतु द्वैषयोरसंभवात् । नाप्यन्येषामन्यभिचारात् ॥ स्वशब्दस्वनुपसर्जनमास्मीयवाची अकजहः ॥ अर्थान्तरे तु न स्त्री ॥ संज्ञापसर्जनी-भूतस्तु कप्रत्ययान्तस्वाङ्गवत्पुद्गलहरणम् ॥ एवं चास्मीयायां स्विक्का ॥ परमस्विकेन नित्यमेवेत्वम् ॥ निर्भस्त्रका निर्भस्त्रिका ॥ एषका एषिका ॥ कृतपत्वनिर्देशाग्नेह विकल्पः ॥ एतिके एतिकाः भजका भजिका । जका जिका ॥ हके द्विके ॥ निःस्वका निःस्विका ॥

466. According to the opinion of Northern gram-
marians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by
shortening the आ (before क् by VII. 4. 13 S. 834), of भक्ष्वा, एषा,
अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा (VII. 2. 102 S. 265), and स्वा ; even not then, when
the negative particle precedes them.

The word भक्षैषाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा of the Sūtra has no case affix, but we must
interpret it as having the genitive case affix elided after it ; the word
नञ्पूर्वाणामपि is used in the Sūtra merely for the sake of clearness, for even
without these words, the rule would have applied, when the negative particle
preceded ; because as we have already shown, the rule of *śānta vidhi* ap-
plies here. The word भक्ष्वा is mentioned in the Sūtra to indicate that the rule
would apply to it even then when it is an upasarjāṇa. When it is not an
upasarjāṇa, the form would be evolved by the next Sūtra.

Note:—भक्ष्वा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form and as such,
by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ ; its special mention here in-
dicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here : as अविद्यमाना भक्ष्वा
यस्या = अभक्ष्वा, the Diminutive of which is अभक्ष्वा or अभक्षिका ॥ Here first the भक्ष्वा
is shortened, as it is a secondary member (upasarjāṇa), then when the Bahuvrihi is made,
the feminine affix टाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this आ is shortened before क्
by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which
is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

But of the two words एषा and द्वा, the addition of इ would be prohibited,
when they are preceded by another word ; because in a compound the elided
case affix is considered to be present, and therefore the prohibition of अङ्गः of

वेनेषी ॥ The ह stands ^{in the} अ could have applied to these. Thus अनेषका, परनेषका, S. 475). Thus सुपर्णा + ह ह

sūtra will not apply. This of these two words in the Sūtra from this point of view, while in the case of the other four words, भस्त्रा, भज्जा हा, and 44. S. 463. meaning 'who' the option allowed by this Sūtra, even when they are the last so that this woman has in spite of the prohibition of अनुपः ॥

By this process of elimination, we come to the conclusion stated above, that the words आतः स्थाने qualify स्व only. For this word alone is ambiguous. For when स्वा is a Sarvanāma meaning one's own, i. e., when it is not an upasarjāna, then it is capable of taking अकच् by V. 3. 71. S. 2026. Thus स्वा + अकच् = स्व अक् + आ = स्वका ॥ Here the अ before क is not an अ in the room of a long आ; and so the present sūtra will not apply to this स्वका ॥ All the same the अ of स्व will be changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 ante, and it will be स्विका always. So also परमस्विका.

But when स्व means agnate, soul, or property, then it is never in the feminine originally. Therefore, it must be either a sainjñā (Name) or an upasarjāna (secondary member of a compound) in order to give scope to this sūtra. For then it can become feminine in long आ, which can take the affix क. Thus, when स्वा is a Proper Name, the feminine will be स्वा and so with क, it will be स्विका or स्वका by the present sūtra.

So also निर्भस्त्रिका or निर्भस्त्रका, एषका or एषिका, भजका or भजिका, जका or जिका, हके or हिके, निःस्वका or निःस्विका ॥

The word एषा is read in the sūtra with a ए and it shows that the option of this sūtra does not apply when the त is not changed to ए, as एतिके and एतिका, for in the dual and plural there is not ए substitution.

Note :—Of एषा and हि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with the नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2 102 S. 265 and it is only when this अ is substituted that the feminine टाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and टाप्, comes after सुप्, and therefore by the prohibition of अनुपः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अहके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle अनेषका may mean अज्ञाता एषा or एषका or न एषका or अज्ञाता अनेषा ॥

The word स्व is taken in the Sūtra not as a Sarvanāma but in the sense of agnates and property, for the sake of implying that the rule will apply to it when it is a संज्ञा, (i. e. when it means agnates or property and not self) and when it is an upasarjāna.

Note:—compare I. 1. 27. S. 213 for the Sarva m भद्र्या, where आ is part

The anuvṛitti of “आतः स्थाने,” which we get from the last sūtra, qualifies the long आ of स्वा only and क being finals of a mans द्वा and एषा ॥ Because the sarvaṇamans take the final of the root, the where other words would have taken कप् or भजात क ओस सुनयिका, सुपात्रिका ॥

Thus द्वा + अकच् = द्वा + अक् + आ (because this अक् is the portion of a word) = द्वाका ॥ Here the अ of द्वा before क is not a substitute in the place of long आ of द्वा, but it is a portion of the affix अकच् ॥ Therefore the words आतः स्थाने can not qualify it.

As regards the other words भक्षा, अजा and ज्ञा there is no necessity of qualifying them by आतः स्थाने because they being invariably feminine, will *always* shorten their आ before क ॥

४६७ । अभाषितपुंस्काच्च । ७ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतस्माद्विहितस्यातः स्थानेऽत इवा स्यात् ॥ गङ्गाका गङ्गिका ॥ बहुव्रीहिभाषितपुंस्कत्वान्तो विहितस्य नित्यम् ॥ भजाता भजद्वा भजद्विका ॥ शेषिके कपि तु विकल्प एव ॥

467. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

अभाषित पुंस्क means a noun which is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. When a short अ is ordained to replace the long आ of such a feminine, there may be optionally इ in place of such a short अ in forming a secondary feminine. Thus गङ्गा is such a word. It has no corresponding masculine form. When we form a derivative noun from such a word, by the affix क before which आ is shortened by VII. 4. 13, such as, गङ्गाक, then the feminine of this word may be either गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But the addition of इ is not optional, but compulsory, after a Bahuvrīhi compound, though such a compound may have as its member an अभाषित पुंस्क word. The reason of this is, that a Bahuvrīhi compound is always a भाषित पुंस्क i. e. it has always a corresponding masculine form. Therefore, where a short अ is ordained to come in the place of a long आ of a word which though अभाषित पुंस्क singly is a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, the इ substitution in the place of such अ is compulsory and not optional. Thus the word खट्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. We can form a Bahuvrīhi compound from it such as अखट्वा meaning ‘a man who has no bedstead’. The feminine of this will be अखट्वा ‘a woman who has no bedstead.’ This need not take the Samāsānta affix कच् as V. 4. 154. S. 891. is optional. Now, this

वेननेषी ॥ The **ह** stands for the affix **क** by V. 3. 73. S. 2028 when the sense is want (S. 475). Thus सुपर्णा + **ह** जाता अखट्टा will be अखट्टा + **क** ॥ Before this **क** the long **अ** by VII. 4. 13 S. 834 Here the option of the present sūtra will not apply. Thus we shall have only one form. अखट्टिका by VII. 3. 44. S. 463. meaning 'who is this women without a bedstead?' or 'is it really so that this woman has no bedstead.' But when the samāsānta affix **क** of sūtra V. 4. 154 S. 891 is added then the option of the present sūtra will apply. For when **क** is added, we have the Bahuvrīhi compounds as अखट्टाकः or अखट्टकः (VII. 4. 15 S. 892) 'a man who has no bedstead.' The Feminine of the second form अखट्टकः will be अखट्टाका or अखट्टिका ॥

४६८ । आदाचार्याणाम् । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रविषये आदा स्यात् गङ्गाका ॥ उक्तपुंस्कात्तु शुभ्रिका ॥

468. According to the opinion of other Teachers, **आ** is substituted for the **अ**, which arose from the shortening of the feminine **आ** of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form.

Thus गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But if a word has a corresponding masculine form, then there is no option, as शुभ्रिका ॥

४६९ । अनुपसर्जनात् । ४ । १ । १४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं सूनास्तिरित्यभिधाय ॥ अयमेव स्त्रीप्रत्ययेषु तदन्तविधिं ज्ञापयति ॥

469. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem, which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77 : S. 531 and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas.' That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2 43 S. 653).

Note :—As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72 S. 26) does not apply to compounds; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds, for the purposes of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it, when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

४७० । दिङ्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दभ्रमात्रचतयपठकठञ्कञ्, where भा is part

अनुपसर्जनं यदिवादि तदन्तं यद्वन्तं प्रातिपदिकं ततः स्त्रियां ङीप्
त्वभिह बहुकुरचरा ॥ नरद्, नरी ॥ वक्ष्यमाणेत्यत्र दिङ्वादुगित्वाच्च ङाप् प्राप्तः ॥ यासुदी दिङ्मे-
लाभयमनुबन्धकार्ये नदिशानामिति ज्ञापनाज्ञ भवति ॥ इनः शानचः शिस्वेन कश्चिदनुबन्धकार्येऽप्यन-
ल्लिधाविति निवेधज्ञापनाज्ञा ॥ सौपर्णेयी । ऐन्त्री । औत्सी । ऊरुद्वयी । ऊरुद्वनी । ऊरुमात्री । पञ्चतयी ।
भाक्षिकी । जावणिकी । यादृशी । इत्थरी ॥ *ताच्छीलिके णेऽपि* ॥ चोरी नञ्स्त्वमकिक्ख्युस्तरुणतलुनामाधु-
पसंख्यानञ् * ॥ स्त्रेणी । पौत्सी । शान्तीकी । आढयनाङ्कुरणी । तरुणी । तलुनी ॥

470. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट्, or if the affix be द् or भण्, or भञ् or द्वयसच्, or दभ्रच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठब्, or कञ् or कवरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvritti from IV. 1. 4 S. 454 and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debarb the affix दाप् of IV. 1. 4 S. 454. We shall give example of each *seriatim*. (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मरुचर f., मरुचरी (चर + ई = चर् + ई; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट् (III. 2. 16 S. 2930), of which ट् is indicatory.

But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2. 35 S. 898); therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरचरा ॥ So also the word नरद् is read with an indicatory ट् in the पञ्चादि class of Ganapāṭha under sūtra III. 1. 134 S. 2896, it forms its feminine as नरी, because it has an indicatory ट् ॥

The word वक्ष्यमाण is formed with the affix शानच् (III. 3. 14. S. 3107), where the affix is the substitute of लट् ॥ Therefore, this affix has an indicatory ट् as well as an indicatory ऋ and, therefore, its feminine ought to be formed by the present sūtra, and so the Feminine ought to be वक्ष्यमाणी ॥ This is, however, not the case, because of the following Paribhāṣā.

Paribhāṣa :—"The substitutes of लट् do not produce the effect which depends on the indicatory letters of लट् ॥" This paribhāṣā is derived from the ज्ञापक of sūtra III. 4. 103 S. 2209 where the यासुद् the substitute of लिङ् is made expressly दिङ् ॥ Or, we may infer this from the prohibition अनल्लिधी of sūtra I. 1. 56. S. 49 So though in some places, the substitute अः शानच् may produce the operations required by anubandhas, because they have an indicatory ट्, yet it will not be so always.

(2) Of words ending in ट् we have, m. सौपर्णेय, सौपर्णेयी so also f.

वेनवेथी ॥ The व् stands for the affix वक्; and it is replaced by एच् (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Thus सुपर्णा + वक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) = सुपर्णा + एच् = सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118 S. 1076).

Note :—There is no affix which is merely व् without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix as said above is वक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here :—“When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it,” and we cannot say that the व् of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less व् of V. 3. 102 S. 2057 which is always Nenter.

(3) So also इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्र ॥ Here अण् may have the force of सास्त्र्य वृत्ता (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226) or तस्थेरे (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500). Its feminine will be ऐन्त्री ॥

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औत्पान, f. औत्पानी, (IV. 1. 86 S. 1078).

Note :—Though by IV. I. 73 S. 527 the affix ङीन् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re-employment of this affix, in the present sūtra, is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix ङीच् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63 S. 518 that is, even when ‘jāti’ is indicated, ‘nish’ is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes ह्यसच्, वृत्तच्, and मावच् are added by V. 2. 37 S. 1838 as, ऊरुह्यसी, ऊरुवृत्ती, ऊरुमावी ‘reaching to the thigh’. Similarly जानुह्यसी, जानुवृत्ती, जानुमावी ॥

(6) So also with words formed by तयच् (V. 2. 42 S. 1843). As पञ्चतयी ‘of which the parts are five,’ so also वृक्षतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in ठक् (IV. 4. 1. S. 1548) as, व्याधिक्री ‘a female dicer’. शालीकिक्री ॥ The ठ is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170).

(8) Similarly with words ending in ठञ् (V. 1. 18 S. 1680): as, लावणिक्री ‘elegant’.

Note :—The affixes ठक् and ठञ् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix ठन् &c. For had the word ठ merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes ठक्, ठन् and ठञ्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III. 2. 60 S. 429) as, यादवी, तादवी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in वरच् (III. 2. 163 S. 3143) as, ह्रस्वी ‘swift’, नस्वी ॥

Vārtika :—The words formed by the addition of the affix ण having the force of “whose habit is this,” are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612),

Vart :—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and झञ् (IV. 1. 87 S. 1079) and ईकक् (IV. 4. 59 S. 1609) and ङ्युन् (III. 2. 56 S. 2973) and of the words तरुण and तद्युव

'a youth'. Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', पौत्री 'a male', शान्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', गाढ्यकरणी 'enriching, ; तरुणी or तरुनी 'a young woman'.

४७१ । यञ्च ॥ ४ । १ । १६ ॥

यञन्तास्त्रियां ङीप्स्यात् भकारलोपे कृते ॥

471. The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्.' (IV. 1. 105 S.1107).

Note:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvritti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

Thus गार्ग्य-ङीप् = गार्ग्य-ङी (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) by which ञ् is elided.

At this stage, applies the following Sūtra :—

४७२ । हलतद्धितस्य । ६ । ४ । १५० ॥

इल उत्तरस्य तद्धितयकारस्त्वोपभ्रूतस्य लोपः स्यासीति परे ॥ गार्गी ॥ अनपत्याधिकारस्यात्र ङीप् ॥ द्वीपे मवा द्वेष्ट्या ॥ अधिकारग्रहणादत्र देवस्त्वापत्यं द्वेष्ट्या देवाद्यञ्माविति हि यञ् प्राग्द्विष्यतीति न स्वपत्याधिकारपठितः ॥

472. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ङी ॥

Thus गार्ग्य + ङी = गार्ग्य + ङी = गार्गी.

Vart:—This rule applies, when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ङी will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष्ट्य of द्वीप-ङी-यञ् (IV. 3. 10 S. 1380). Its feminine will be द्वेष्ट्या 'living on or relating to an island.'

The यञ् must be the patronymic affix taught in the sub-division of patronymics, that is, in the Apatyādhikāra. Therefore, the य् ordained after देव by the Vārtika under IV. 1. 85 S. 1077 will not form its feminine by this rule. Thus द्वेष्ट्या the feminine of द्वेष्ट्य, where यञ् is prāgdīvyatiya affix, pure and simple, and not an affix read in the apatyādhikāra.

In the evolution of the feminine form गार्ग्याद्यङी, the following rules apply.

४७३ । प्राचां षफः तद्धितः । ४ । १ । १७ ॥

यञन्तात्प्रीवा रयात् स्त्रियां स च तद्धितः ॥

473. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix यञ्, and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

४७४ । वः प्रत्ययस्य । १ । ३ । ६ ॥

प्रत्ययस्वादिः व इत्स्यात् ॥

474. The initial व् of an affix is indicatory.

४७५ । आयनेयीनीयियः फढखङ्घ्रां प्रत्ययादीनां । ७ । १ । २ ॥

प्रत्ययादिभूतानां फादीनां क्रमादायनादय अवशिष्टाः स्युः । तद्धितान्तत्वात्प्रातिपदिकत्वम् ।
विस्वसामर्थ्यात् ष्फेणोक्तोऽपि स्त्रीत्वे षिद्गौरेति वक्ष्यमाणो ङीष् ॥ गार्ग्यायणी ॥

475. आयन्, for फ् एय् for ढ्, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ्, and ईय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

गार्गायण, being a word formed with a Taddhita affix, it will be a prātipadika, and therefore will take the feminine affixes.

Of this affix ष्फ the letter व् is indicatory (I. 3. 6 S. 474), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'fish' (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, *viz.*, by 'shpha' and 'fish.' The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2 46 S. 179). The affix फ् is replaced by the substitute आयन् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + ष्फ + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

Note :—The word सर्वत्र "every where" of the sūtra IV. 1. 18 S. 476 is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of annvṛitti, in order to prohibit the application of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 S. 529 says :—"the affix चाप् comes after आवव्य" ॥ Here आवव्य ends in यञ् and by IV. 1. 16, S. 471 the word आवव्य would have taken the affix निप्: IV. 1. 75 S. 529 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added Thus आवव्यायनी ॥

४७६ । सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः । ४ । १ । १८ ॥

लोहितादिभ्यः कतशब्दान्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यो नित्यं ष्फः स्यात् । लौहियायनी । कात्यायनी ॥

476. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata,' when they take the affix यञ् ॥

Thus लौहियायनी and कात्यायनी ॥

Note :—The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105).

The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the IV. 1. 17. S. 473.

४७७ । कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

आभ्यां ण्क् स्यात् । दाप्ङीपारपवारः । कुर्वादिभ्योण्यः । कौरव्याययी । इक् च मण्डूकादित्यण् ।
माण्डूकायनी ॥ * आसुरेभ्यसंख्यानम् * ॥ आसुरायणी ॥

477. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ।

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by दाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, S. 1122 the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūka would have been formed by णिप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

Vart :—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkyā. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इञ् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333).

४७८ । वयसि प्रथमे । ४ । १ । २० ॥

प्रथमवयोवाचिनोऽवन्तात् सिधां ङीप् स्यात् । कुमारी ॥ * वयस्यचरम इति वाच्यम् * ॥ वधूदी ।
चिरण्डी । वधूदचिरण्टवाङ्गौ यौवनवाचिनौ । अतः किम् । शिशुः । कन्याया न । कन्यायाः कनीन चेति
निर्देशात् ॥

478. The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अं and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl', बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say ending in अ ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vart :—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वधूदी 'a young woman', चिरण्डी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116. S. 1119.

४७९ । द्विगोः । ४ । १ । २१ ॥

अवन्ताद्द्विगोङीप् स्यात् । बिलोकी । अजादित्वात्रिफला । ऋणीका सेना ॥

479. The affix 'ङीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus त्रिलोकी ॥ But we find त्रिकला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). Also ज्यनीका सेना ॥

४८० । अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि । ४ । १ । २२ ॥

अपरिमाणान्ताद्विस्ताद्यन्ताच्च द्विगोर्ङीप् न स्यात्तद्धितलुकि सन्नि । पञ्चभिरश्वैः क्रीता पञ्चाश्वा ॥ भार्हीवष्टक् । अध्यर्थेति लुक् । द्वौ विस्तौ पचति द्विविस्ता । द्वापचिता । द्विकम्बल्या । परिमाणान्ताच्च द्वापचकी । तद्धितलुकि किम् । समाहारे पञ्चाश्वी ॥

480. The affix ङी is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'âchita', and 'kambalya'.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix इञ् (V. 1. 37 S., 1702) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by ङीप् but by दाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वा 'a female purchased for five horses'. So also with the words विस्त & c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, द्वापचिता, द्वाचिना, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe द्वापचकी, त्र्यापचकी "a female purchased for two or three âḍhakas'. Here âḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb 11 oz avoirdupois.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samâhâra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ङीप्' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses' so also द्वाश्वी ॥

Note:—This debars 'nip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas' द्वापचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolas'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure ; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

४८१ । काण्डान्तात्त्वेत्रे । ४ । १ । २३ ॥

केच यः काण्डान्तो द्विगुस्ततो न ङीप् । तद्धितलुकि । द्वे काण्डे प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विकाण्डा

क्षेत्रभक्तिः । प्रमाणे द्वयसञ्ज्ञिति विहितस्य मापचः प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यमिति लुक् । क्षेत्रे किम् । द्विकाण्डौ रज्जुः ॥

481. The affix *ङीप्* is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kāṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kāṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes द्वयसञ्च् &c. denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' "The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure". The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'nīp' but by *दाप्*; so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when the compound refers to superficial land measure? Observe द्विकाण्डौ रज्जुः 'a rope two kāṇḍas long'.

४८२ । पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २४ ॥

प्रमाणे यः पुरुषस्तदन्ताद्द्विगोर्ङीप् वा स्यात्तद्धितलुकि । द्वौ पुरुषौ प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विपुरुषी द्विपुरुषा वा परिखा ॥

482. The affix 'ङीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal.

४८३ । ऊधसोऽनङ् । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

ऊधोऽन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । इत्यनङि कृते ङाङीङ्बिधेभ्यु प्राप्तेषु ॥

483. The syllable *anañ* is the substitute of the final of ऊधस् in a Bahuvrīhi.

Note.—As कुण्डनिव ऊधोऽस्याः = कुण्डोऽग्री, घटोऽग्री ॥ The feminine is formed by adding ङीप् (IV. 1. 25); and these words are always used in this form for the feminine only; no substitution takes place in the masculine, as महोधाः पर्जन्यः; घटोधा धैतुकम् ॥ ऊधस् + अन् = ऊधन् (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). ऊधन् + ङीप् = ऊधन् + ई (अ being elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234) = ऊध्री ॥

When अनङ् is substituted, there arises the prohibition of ङाप् and ङीप्, when the following sūtra comes up.

४८४ । बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीप् । ४ । १ । २५ ॥

ऊधोऽन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्डीप् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । कुण्डोष्णी । स्त्रियां क्तिप् । कुण्डो धेनुकम् । इहा-
नङ्गपि न । तद्विधौ स्त्रियामित्युपसंख्यानान् ॥

484. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas 'an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोधस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131 S. 483); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. S. 460 & 461 ante; the present sūtra enjoins डीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोष्णी (V. 4. 134 S. 872) 'a woman with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ताः ऊधः = प्राप्ताधाः (II. 2. 4 S. 715) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Why do we say in the feminine? The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have कुण्डोधो धेनुकम् ॥ Here there is no अनङ् even, for that is ordained after the feminines only.

४८५ संख्याऽव्ययादेर्डीप् । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

डीषोऽपवादः । द्व्युष्णी । अत्युष्णी । बहुव्रीहेरित्येव । ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता अत्यूधाः ॥

485. The affix डीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in 'ūdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sūtra ordains 'nip', where by the last sūtra there would have been 'nish'. Thus द्वी + ऊधस् + अनङ् + डीप् (V. 4. 131 S. 483) = द्व्युष्णी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्युष्णी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrīhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्युष्णी, 'many-uddered'; निरुष्णी 'having no udders'. The word "Bahuvrīhi" is to be supplied here from the last. When the compound is not Bahuvrīhi we have अत्यूधा = ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता ॥

४८६ । दामहायनान्ताच्च । ४ । १ । २७ ॥

संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहेर्मान्ताद्दामहायनान्ताच्च डीप् स्यात् । दामान्ते डाप्प्रतिषेधयोः प्राप्ताधोर्हायनान्ते
द्यपि प्राप्ते वचनम् । द्विदाम्नी । अव्ययमहणाऽननुवृत्तंरहामा वडवेत्यत्र डाप्प्रतिषेधाद्यपि पक्षे स्तः । । दामहायनी
बाला ॥ * विश्वतुर्थां हायनस्य णस्य वाच्यम् * ॥ वयोवाचकस्यैव हायनस्य डीप् णस्य चेज्यते * ॥ विश्वहायणी ।
चतुर्हायणी । वयसोऽन्यत्र विश्वहायना ॥ चतुर्हायना बाला ॥

486. The affix डीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending

with the words *dāman* 'a rope', and *hāyana* 'a year'.

The word *हामन्* was liable to be operated upon by two rules, viz by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining *डाप्* and by IV. 1. 11 S. 459 prohibiting totally the affixing of *ङीप्*; while *हायन्* would have taken long *आ* by IV. 1, 4, S. 454; the present sūtra ordains *ऱिप्* to the exclusion of all those. As *द्विवाही* 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. *द्विवाही* ॥ We do not read the anuvritti of *अव्यय* from the last sūtra into this. Therefore when an Indeclinable such as *उत्* precedes *हामन्*, then the affix *डाप्* of IV. 1. 13 S. 46 and the prohibition of IV. 1. 11 S. 459 will apply, as *उद्दामा वड्वा* ॥ *द्विहायनी बाला* 'two years (old girl)', *द्विहायणी चतुर्हायणी* ॥

Vārt :—The word '*hāyana*' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sūtra. Therefore we have no *ऱिप्* here :—*द्विहायना* वा 'a hall of two years existence.'

Iskṭi :—After *हाम* and *चतुर* the *न* of *हायन* is changed into *ण*; when *हायन* denotes 'age', and not otherwise. *द्विहायना* and *चतुर्हायना* when referring to a hall.

४८७ । नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

अमन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधातोपिनो ङीप् स्यात् संज्ञाछन्दसोः । सुराज्ञी नाम नगरी । अन्यत्र पूर्वेषु विकल्प एव । वेदे तु षातमूर्ध्नी ॥

487. The affix *ङीप्* necessarily comes in the Chhandas, and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable *अन्* loses its penultimate *अ* ॥

This is an exception to IV. 1. 28 S. 462; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix *ङीप्* ॥ Thus *सुराज्ञी* 'the city called Surājñi'; *अतिराज्ञी* 'the city of Atirājñi'. When not a name, the option of IV, 1. 28 S. 462 will hold good. Similarly in the Chhandas we have *हस्तमूर्ध्नी* ॥

४८८ केवलमामकभागधेयपापपरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाश्च । ४ । १ । ३० ॥

एभ्यो नवभ्यो नित्यं ङीप् स्यात्संज्ञाछन्दसोः । अथोतइन्द्रः केवलीर्विद्याः । मामकी । भागधेयी । वापी । अपरं समानी । आर्थकृती । सुमङ्गली । भेषजी । अन्यत्र केवला इत्यादि । मामकमहर्षं नियमार्थम् । अण्णन्तस्वादेव सिद्धेः । तेन लोकेऽसंज्ञायां मामिका ॥

488. The affix *ङीप्* necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—*केवल* *मामक*, *भागधेयं*, *पाप*, *अपर*, *समान*, *आर्थकृत*, *सुमङ्गल* and *भेषज* ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसाः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name ; so also मामकी तन् in the Vedas and मामिका in the secular literature. भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी in the Vedas and भागधेया in Bhāṣā, तन्वः सन्तु पापी in the Vedas and पापा in Bhāṣā ; अपरी as उताऽपरीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये ; (Rig-veda I. 1. 13) otherwise अपरा ; समानी व आकूतिः (Rigved,) otherwise समाना ; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता ; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला ; शिवारुदस्य भेषजी otherwise भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. I. 41. S. 498 as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86. The word मामक is read in the sūtra in order to make a restrictive rule with regard to it ; for it would have taken डीप् by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 even, because it is a word formed by अण् affix (IV. 3. 3 S. 1372). In the secular literature or otherwise it would be मामिका always (see VII. 3. 44. S. 463)

४८६ । अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ४ । १ । ३२ ॥

एतयोः स्त्रियां नुक् स्यात् ॥ ऋन्नेभ्यो डीप् ॥ गर्भिण्यां जीवद्भर्तृकायां च प्रकृतिभागौ निपात्येते । तच्चान्तरस्यस्यां गर्भ इति विमहे अन्तःशब्दस्याधिकरणशक्तिप्रधानतयाऽस्तिसामानाधिकरण्याभावाद्ग्राप्तौ मतुङ् निपात्यते । पतिवस्नीत्यत्र तु वस्त्वं निपात्यते । अन्तर्वस्नी । पतिवस्नी । प्रत्युदाहरणं तु । अन्तरस्यस्यां शालायां घटः । पतिमती पृथिवी ॥

489. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the feminine affix डीप् follows.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end, by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत्स् and पतिवत्स् ; and these words must take णिप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, S. 306 if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वस्नी and पतिवस्नी ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore, we have not the above forms in the following :—प्रथते स्वया पतिमती पृथिवी ; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वस्नी ; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मनुप्) ॥ Because मनुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, S. 1894 while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94 S. 1894. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मनुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 2 S. 1897 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म् to व् in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas :—
॥ अन्तर्वस्नी or सान्त्वस्नी इवानुपेत ॥ पतिवस्नी or पतिवती सख्यवत्सा ॥

४९० । पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे । ४ । १ । ३३ ॥

पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्याद्यज्ञेन संबन्धे । वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी । तत्कर्तृकयज्ञस्य फलभोक्त्रीत्यर्थः । सम्पत्त्योः सहाधिकारान् ॥

490. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी, meaning one who participates in the fruits of sacrifices performed by Vasishtha. Because sacrifices must be performed jointly by the husband and wife.

४९१ । विभाषा सपूर्वस्य । ४ । २ । ३४

पतिशब्दान्तस्य सपूर्वस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य नो वा स्यात् । गृहस्य पतिः गृहपतिः । गृहपत्नी । अनुपसर्जनस्येतीहात्तरार्थमनुवृत्तमपि न पत्युर्विशेषणं कितु तदन्तस्य । तेन बहुव्रीह्यावपि । दृढपत्नी दृढपतिः । वृषलपत्नी । वृषलपतिः । अथ वृषलस्य पत्नीति व्यस्ते कथमिति चेत् । पत्नीव पत्नीत्युपचारात् । अत्र । आचारक्रियन्तास्कर्तरि क्तिप् । अस्मिन् पक्षे पत्नियौ, पत्नियः, इतीयङ्प्रविषये विशेषः सपूर्वस्य क्तिम् । गवां पतिः स्त्री ॥

491. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति stands at the end of a compound. गृहपतिः or गृहपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of "yajña-sanyoga" of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe गवांपतिः स्त्री 'this lady is the mistress of cows'. Here the feminine is पत्नि and not पत्नी although preceded by गवां but with which it is not compounded.

The anuvritti of the word अनुपसर्जनस्य (though its anuvritti is necessary for the next sūtra,) does not qualify पति but the compound ending with पत्नि in this sūtra. Therefore the rule will apply to पति even when it is an upasarjana, as being the last member of a Bahuvrihi compound; as दृढपत्नी or दृढपतिः "whose husband is strong". So also वृषलपत्नी or वृषलपतिः ॥

How then do you justify the phrase like वृषलस्य पत्नी "the Patni of a Sūdra", for a Sūdra cannot perform sacrifice, and so he cannot have a पत्नी in the proper sense of the word? Such usage is however allowed by analogy, for the wife of a Sūdra is analogous to the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. Or we may explain it by saying that the word here is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to पत्नी with the force of पत्नी इव आचरति "she who behaves like a Patni". If पत्नी be taken to have been so

formed, then it will take इयङ् in Plural and Dual by VI. 4. 77 S. 271 as पत्नियो 'two wives of a Sûdra' and पत्नियः "many wives of a Sûdra" and not पत्न्यो and पत्न्यः as is the general case. As a matter of fact, in ancient times Sûdras were allowed to perform sacrifices.

४९२ । नित्यं सपत्न्यादिषु । ४ । १ । ३५ ॥

पूर्वविकल्पापवादः । समानस्य भावोऽपि निपात्यत । समानः पतिर्ब्रह्मन् सा सपत्नी । एकपत्नी वीरपत्नी ॥

492. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी Here समान is replaced by स by this sūtra.

४९३ । पूतकतोरै च । ४ । १ । ३६ ॥

अस्य स्त्रियामे आदेशो डीप् च । इयं विसूत्री पुंयोग एवेत्यते ॥ पूतकतोः स्त्री पूतकतायी । यथा तु कतवः पूताः स्यात्पूतकतुरेव सा ॥

493. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतकतु, when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतकतायी 'this wife of Pûtakratu'. *Ishti*:—According to Patanjali this and the two succeeding sūtras, are valid then only, when the sense of the feminine words is that of 'wife of so and so' otherwise these sūtras will not apply. see IV. 1. 48 S. 504 Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतकतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (कतवः) are sanctified (पूताः).'

४९४ । वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः । ४ । १ । ३७ ॥

एषाभुसन्त ऐ आदेशः स्यात् डीप् च । वृषाकपेः स्त्री वृषाकपायी । हरिविष्णु वृषाकपी इत्यमरः, वृषाकपायी श्रीगौर्योरिति च । अग्नयायी । कुसितायी । कुसितायी । कुसिदशब्दो ह्रस्वमध्यो ननु वार्धमध्यः ॥

494. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udâta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसिद ॥

Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛṣhâkapi' or Hara or Vishnu's wife (Amar III 3. 129 and 155) namely Lakshmi or Gauri अग्नौ-यी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of Agni', कुसितायी the wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी

'the wife of Kusida'. In the above the udātta falls on the syllables कौ, मां, तौ and कौ respectively. The last word is कुसिद् and not कुसीद् as in some texts.

४६५ । मनोरो वा । ४ । १ । ३८ ॥

मनुष्यस्योकारदेशः स्यादुदात्त एकारश्च वा । ताभ्यां संनियोगशिष्टो ङीप् च । मनोः स्त्री मनायी । मनावी । मनुः ॥

495. औ is the substitute of the final of मनु, or the udātta ऐ optionally, and to the remaining base so formed, is added ङीप् in the feminine.

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'.

४६६ । वर्णादनुदात्तास्तोपधास्तो नः । ४ । १ । ३९ ॥

वर्णवाची योऽनुदात्तान्तस्तोपधस्तन्तादनुपसर्जनात्प्रतिपदिकाद्वा ङीप् स्यान्नकारस्य नकारादेशश्च । एनी । एता । रोहिणी । रोहिता । वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानामिति फिट्सूत्रेणाशुदात्तः । इयेण्या च बाल्येति गृह्यसूत्रम् । ग्रीयेतानि यस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । अनुदात्तात्किम् । श्वेता । घृताशीनां चेत्यन्तोश्च कोऽयम् । अत इत्येव । शितिः स्त्री । * पिशङ्गादुपसर्जयानम् * ॥ पिशङ्गी । पिशङ्गा ॥ किंतु * असितपलितयोर्न * असिता । पलिता ॥ * छन्दसि क्लमेके * ॥ असिक्ली । पलिक्ली ॥ अवशातशब्दस्तु न वर्णवाची । विशुद्धवाची चेन्न अवशाता इत्येव ॥

496. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter : and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated.' रोहिणी or रोहिता, so इयेता or इयेनी 'black,' हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udātta accent, on the first vowel, by the P'hiṭ sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानाम् 'of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or नि or त्, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel") as they are formed by तन् &c. (Uṇ III. 36). Thus इयेण्या च बाल्ये (Gṛihya Sūtra). The word tryenyā is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning "she who has three variegated".

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color,' yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by the rule of P'hiṭ sūtra I. 21 घृताशीनां च "the words gṛhita &c., have udātta on the final").

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter त् in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिः स्त्री 'a black woman.' Here शितिः is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त्,

has anudatta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end in अ, its feminine is not formed with णिप्.

Vart:—The affix णिप् comes also after the word पिशाङ्ग; as, पिशाङ्गी or पिशाङ्गा 'of tawny color.'

Vart:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पालत; as असिता 'black' and पालिता 'grey.'

Vart:—According to some, the substitute कम् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिकी (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिकी R. Veda V. 2. 4. The word अवदातः does not denote 'color,' but "purity" hence its feminine is अवदाता ॥ Amarkosha is wrong when it says "अवदातः means white clear,"

४६७ । अन्यतो डीष् । ४ । १ । ४० ॥

लोपभित्राद्वर्णवाचिनोऽनुदात्तान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीष् स्यात् । कल्पाषी । सारङ्गी । लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बहुवचो गुरुष्विति मध्योदात्तावेतौ । अनुदात्तान्तात्किम् । कृष्णा । कपिला ॥

497. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudatta accent, and which has no त as penultimate.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism *i. e.* after words which have *not* त् as penultimate. The difference between णिप् and णिश् affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्पाषी ॥ Both these words have acute on the middle by Phit Sūtra II. 19 (A word whose final syllable is light, or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable wherever that may be).

Why do we say "ending with a syllable which is gravely accented"? Because when the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

४६८ । त्रिद्वौरादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४१ ॥

षिङ्गो गोरादिभ्यश्च डीष् स्यात् । नर्तकी । गोरी । अनडुही । अनड्वाही ॥ विप्लव्यादयश्च ° ॥ आकृतिगणायम् ॥

498. The affix डीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष् and after the words गार and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 S. 2907 the affix ष्वन् is added to a

root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take *hish*. As, नर्तकी 'an actress.' So also the words गौर &c; as गैरी, अनङ्गी अनङ्गी ॥

In the Gaurādi class is to be included the Pippalādi words also (see Gaṇapāṭha at the end.) This is an Ākritigana, no complete list being given any where.

४६९ । सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः । ६ । ४ । १४९ ॥

अङ्गस्थोपधाया यस्य लोपः स्यात्स चेद्यः सूर्याद्यवयवः ॥ *मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम् * ॥ *सूर्यागस्त्ययोऽङ्गे च ङ्यां च * ॥ ° तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नञ्चानाणि यलोप इति वाच्यम् * ॥ मत्सी । मातरि बिभेति बिभ्वोऽपि सिद्धे गौरादिषु मातामहीशब्दपाठान्नित्यः । बितां ङीष् । वंष्ट्रा ॥

499. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य and मत्स्य (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate *y* is also elided before the long *ई* and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणकारिङ् = सौरी (सूर्य + अङ् under IV. 3. 112 S. 1492 = सौर्य, then ई of ङीष् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी राज्ञिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यापत्यं स्त्री = आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117). आगस्तीयः; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with ङीष् as it belongs to the Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 41 S. 498).

Vart :—The *y* of मत्स्य is elided before the feminine *ई* only : therefore not here मत्स्यस्येव मांसं = मात्स्यम् ॥

Vart :—Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes छ्, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरियः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चरं निर्वपेत्, अगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114)

Vart :—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण शुक्रः कालः = तैषः, तैषः (IV. 2. 3 S. 1204).

By the *varṭika* मातरि बिभ given under IV. 2. 36, S. 1242 the affix आमह in मातामह is treated as having an indicatory *y* ॥ The word मातामह will take ङीष् because it is बिन्; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of ङीष् application, because a word is बिन्, is not universal (अनित्यः बिल् लक्षणा ङीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like वंष्ट्रा &c.

५०० । जानपदकुण्डगोणस्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककबराद्वृत्त्यम-
आवपनाकृत्रिमाश्राणास्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनायां विकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु । ४ ।
१ । ४२ ॥

अथ एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः क्रमाद्वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु ङीष् स्यात् । जानपदी वृत्तिश्चेत् । अन्या तु जानपदी । उत्सादिस्वादिभ्यन्तत्वेन दिङ्ङेति ङीष्याद्युदात्तः । कुण्डी अमत्रं चेत् । कुण्डान्या । कुडि हाहे । शुगंश्च हल इति अग्रस्थयः । यस्तु अमृते आरजः कुण्ड इति मनुष्यजातिवचनस्ततो जातिलक्षणो ङीष् भव-
त्येव । अमने हि स्त्रीविषयत्वाभावादप्राप्तो ङीष् विधीयते न तु नियम्यते । गोणी आवपनं चेत् । गोणान्या ।

स्थली अकृत्रिमा चेत् । स्थलाऽन्या । भाजी भ्राणा चेत् । भाजाऽन्या । नागी स्थूला चेत् । नागाऽन्या । गजवाची नागशब्दः स्थूल्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्त उदाहरणम् । सर्पवाची तु वैष्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्तः प्रत्युदाहरणम् । काली वर्णश्चेत् । कालाऽन्या । नीली अनाच्छादनं चेत् । नीलाऽन्या । नील्या रक्ता शाटीस्थ-
र्थः । नील्या अन्वक्तव्य इत्यन् । अनाच्छादनं न सर्वत्र कितु ॥ *नीलावैषधौ* ॥ नीली ॥ *प्राणिनि च* ॥ नीली गोः ॥ संज्ञायां वा * ॥ नीली । नीला । कुशी अयोविकारश्चेत् । कुशाऽन्या । कामुकी मेथुनेच्छा
चेत् । कामुकाऽन्या । कबरी केशानां संनिवेशश्चेत् । कबराऽन्या चित्रत्यर्थः ॥

500. The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words jānapada &c, in the sense of profession &c. respectively ; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल, 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10 कामुक, and 11 कबर ; the affix ङीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'pro-
fession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keep-
ing grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground' ; 5. 'a cooked
food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-
coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10 'a
libidinous female' 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair' ; respect-
ively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जौनपदी, the difference being in
accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix जप् to janapada,
by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsādi class of words: in forming the
feminine the affix ङीष् will be added in this latter case by IV. 1. 15 S. 470
thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डौ 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'an adulteress'.
To the root 'कुडिस्ते' the affix ञ् is added by III. 3. 103. S. 3280. The
nasal being added, because the Verb is read with an indicatory इ in the
Dhātupātha. The कुण्डः when meaning the son of a woman by a man other
than her husband, while the husband is alive, is a word denoting caste or class
and will therefore take ङीष् in the feminine by IV. 1. 63, S. 518. and therefore
the feminine will be कुण्डी and कुण्डा ॥

In denoting a vessel in the feminine, there would have been no
ङीष् in the feminine by any rule, so this rule ordains ङीष् and it does not make
a niyama rule with regard to कुण्ड ॥ For, had it been a niyama rule, we could
not have obtained the form कुण्डी meaning 'a female bastard'.

(3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular
name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement' ; otherwise
स्थला as स्थल्योर्वक् परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा. (6) नागी 'a
stout elephantess', otherwise नागा "a long she-serpent". When नाग denotes

‘an elephant’ and the quality of stoutness is applied to it, then only its feminine will be नागी under the present sūtra. But when नाग denotes a serpent, and the length is only indicated, there the counter-example is नागा ॥

(7) काली ‘a-black female’, otherwise काला ‘a name of a female where the name itself has no particular meaning.

(8) When cloth is not denoted, we have नीली ॥ But when cloth is meant, the feminine will be नीला which means ‘a blue colored cloth.’ This word is formed by adding the affix अन् denoting ‘colored’ by the Vārtika under sūtra IV. 2. 2. S. 1203 and thus the base is नीलम् to which आप् is added in forming the feminine.

The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses indicated below i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals’.

Vārtika :—ङीष् is added in forming the feminine of नाल when a medicinal plant is meant, as नीली ‘an indigo plant’.

Vārtika :—So also when an animal is meant as नीलीगौः The Nilgāi.

Vārtika :—Optionally so, when it is a proper name, as नीली or नीला ॥

(9) कुशी ‘a plough share’, otherwise कुशा ‘a rope or a kind of grass’

(10) कामुकी ‘a libidinous or lustful woman’ otherwise कामुका ‘a woman desirous of wealth’. (11) कबरी ‘a fillet or braid of hair’, otherwise कबरा ‘mixed, variegated’.

५०१ । शोणात्प्राचाम् । ४ । १ । ४३ ॥

शोणी । शोणा ॥

501. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word श ण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा ‘a red or bay mare’.

५०२ । वोतो गुणवचनात् । ४ । १ । ४४ ॥

उन्ताद्गुणवाचिनो वा ङीष् स्यात् ॥ मृद्वी । मृदुः । उतः किम् ॥ शुचिः । शुणेति किम् । आसुः ॥

* खरसंयोगोपधानम् * ॥ खरः पतिवरा कन्या । पाण्डुः ॥

502. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word expressive of a quality and ending in short उ ॥

Thus मृदुः or मृद्वी ‘soft’. Why do we say ‘ending’ in a short उ ? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी ‘this Brahmana lady is pure’. Why do we say

“expressive of a quality ?” Observe **बाखुः** ‘a mouse’ (both masculine and feminine).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated after the word **खरु**, and after words ending in short **उ**, which have a conjunct consonant as penultimate. As **खरुरियं ब्राह्मणी** ‘a Brahmapī who chooses her own husband’. Similarly **पाण्डु** is common gender, as **ण्ड** is a conjunct consonant. As **पाण्डुरियं ब्राह्मणी** ॥

५०३ । बह्नादिङ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४५ ॥

एभ्यो वाङीष् स्यात् । बह्वी बहुः ॥ * कृषिकाराङ्क्तिनः * ॥ रात्रिः । रात्री ॥ सर्वतोऽक्तिन्नर्या दि
त्येके ॥ शक्तिः । शक्ती । अक्तिन्नर्यात्किम् । अजननिः । क्तिन्नन्तत्वात्प्राप्ते विध्यर्थे पद्धतिशब्दो
गणे पठ्यते । हिमकाषिहतितुं चत पद्मावः । पद्धतिः पद्धती ॥

503. And the affix **ङीष्** is optionally employed in the feminine after the words **बहु** and the rest.

As **बहुः** or **बह्वी** ॥

Vartika :—So also after the vowel **इ** of a *kṛit* affix, not **क्तिन्** (III. 3. 94), as **रात्रिः** or **रात्री** ॥

Vartika :—Some : say that the feminine affix *nīsh* may come after any word ending in **इ**, if it has not the force of the affix **क्तिन्** ॥ As **शक्तिः** or **शक्ती** ॥

Why do we say ‘not **क्तिन्**’ ? Observe **अजननिः** ॥

The word **पद्धति** is read in the Gaṇapāṭha, to make it a *viḍhi*, although it is formed with the affix **क्तिन्** ॥ This word is formed in accordance with the rule laid down in VI. 3. 54. S. 992. Thus :—**पाद + हति + क्तिन् = पद्धति** ॥ Its Feminine is either **पद्धतिः** or **पद्धती** ॥

५०४ । पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ४८

या पुमाख्या पुंयोगात् स्त्रियां वर्तेत ततो ङीष् स्यात् । गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी ॥ * पालकान्ताम्
* ॥ गोपालिका । अश्वपालिका ॥ * सूर्यादेवतायां चाप् वाच्यः * ॥ सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या ।
देवतायां किम् । सूर्यी कुन्ती । मानुषायम् ॥

504. The feminine affix **ङीष्** comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Thus the wife of Gopa is **गोपी**.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words ending in **पालक** ॥ Thus **गोपालिका** ‘the wife of a cow-herd’; also **अश्वपालिका** ॥

Vart:—The affix **चाप्** comes after **सूर्ये** in denoting the wife of *Sūrya*, when she is a celestial being. As **सूर्या** ‘the celestial wife of the god *Sūrya*.’ Why do we say ‘a celestial being’ ? Observe **सूर्यी** denoting the human wife of *Sūrya*, such as, **Kuntī**.

५०५ इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ।
४।१।५९॥

एषामानुगागमः स्यात् ङीष् च । इन्द्रादीनां षण्णां मातुलाचार्ययोश्च पुंयोग एवेच्यते ।
तच्च ङीषि सिद्धे आनुगागममात्रं विधीयते । इतरेषां चतुर्णामुभयम् ॥ इन्द्राणी ॥ * हिमारण्ययोर्महस्वे * ॥
महद्भिर्म हिमानी । महत्वरण्यम् अरण्यानी ॥ * यवाद्दोषे * ॥ दुष्टो यवो यवानी । * यवनालिप्त्याम् ।
यवनानां लिपिर्यवनानी ॥ * मातुलोपाध्याययोरानुष्ठा * ॥ मातुलानी । मातुली । उपाध्यायानी ॥
उपाध्यायी ॥ * या तु स्वयमेवाध्यापिका तत्र वा ङीष् वाच्यः * ॥ उपाध्यायी । उपाध्याया ॥
आचार्यादणत्वं च * ॥ आचार्यस्य स्त्री आचार्यानी । पुंयोग इत्येव । आचार्या स्वयं व्याख्यात्री ॥
आर्यक्षत्रियाद्यां वा स्वार्थे ° ॥ अर्याणी । अर्या । स्वामिनी वैद्या वेत्यर्थः । क्षत्रियाणी । क्षत्रिया ।
पुंयोगे तु । अर्थी । क्षत्रिधी । कथं ब्रह्माणीति । ब्रह्माणमानयति जीवयतीति कर्मण्यण् ॥

505. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns
इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow,'
अरण्य 'a forest,' यव 'barley,' यवन 'a Yavana,' मातुल 'a mater-
nal uncle,' and आचार्य 'a preceptor,' before the feminine affix
ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment
आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words,
in the case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed,
i. e. the Proper Nouns upto मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of
the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of
the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both
these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी the wife of Indra.'

Vart:—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in
the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow,' अरण्यानी 'a great
forest.' Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vart:—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the aug-
ment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating bar-
ley while not being a barley. In fact, the word denotes a new and inferior
sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat."

Vart:—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added
in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the
Yavanas.'

Vart:—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and उपाध्याय 'a pre-
ceptor,' when the feminine affix comes to express the wife there of, the aug-
ment आनुक् is optional. Thus मातुलाना or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle'
उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vartika:—But when the female herself is a teacher (not necessarily the wife of a teacher) then the addition of डीष् is optional. Thus उपाध्यायी or उपाध्याया.

Vart:—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2 S. 197), after the word आचार्य. Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vart:—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally: when the matrimonial relation is not intended, but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class,' क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.' When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya,' क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya.'

How do you explain the form ब्रह्माणी? It is derived from the derivative word ब्रह्माण by adding डीष्. The word ब्रह्माण is formed by adding the affix अण् to the root ब्रश् "to breathe" in the sense of object by III. 2. 1. S. 2913, ब्रह्म + अन् + अण् = ब्रह्माण् : f ब्रह्माणी.

५०६ । क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् । ४ । १ । ५० ॥

क्रीतान्तादन्तात्करणदिः स्त्रियां डीष् स्यात् । वस्त्रक्रीता । काचिन्न । धनक्रीता ॥

506. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means where with the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण of 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth.' The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

५०७ । कादल्पपाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ५१ ॥

करणदिः कान्तात् स्त्रियां डीष् स्यादल्पत्वे द्यात् । अश्वलिप्ती घोः ॥ अल्पाख्यायाम् किम् चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गना ॥

507. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting "the means where with," is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

Thus अश्वलिप्ती घोः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds',

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दन-लिप्ताङ्गना "a lady covered with sandal essence?"

Note :—The word कर्णपूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting 'the means where with', of the last Sūtra governs this also. The participle in क् must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क् to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection there with. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word.

५०८ । बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् । ४ । १ । ५२ ॥

बहुव्रीहेः कान्तादन्तोदात्तादवन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ॥ * जातिपूर्वाविति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तेन बहु-
नम्सुकालसुखादिपूर्वात् । ऊरुभिन्नी । नेह । बहुकृता ॥ * जातान्ताम् * ॥ वन्तजाता । * पाणिगृहीती
भार्यायाम् * ॥ पाणिगृहीतान्या ॥

508. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

Note :—The word कान्त् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svānga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svānga* word, then the application of the rule is optional.

Vārt :—It should be stated that the rule applies to those compounds only which have a word denoting jāti (class-name) as first member. As

ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh' but not in 'बहुकृता' on account of the following *Vārtika* :—

Vārt :—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words :—बहु, नम, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, &c,

Vārt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born,' which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus वन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'.

Vārt :—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निसाक्षिकं यस्या.पाणिर्गृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Note :—Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

५०९ । अस्वाङ्गपूर्वपदाद्वा । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वेण नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पोऽयम् । सुरापती । सुरापती । अन्तोदात्तात्किम् । वल्लच्छन्ना । अना-
च्छादनादिभ्युदात्तनिषेधः । अत एव पूर्वेषां न ङीष् ॥

509. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the

feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्ताशरीरात् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus सुरापीती or सुरापीता ॥

Note :—Why do we say ‘when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word’? Observe शंखाभिन्नी, कुरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

Why do we say when the final is acutely accented? Observe बखच्छन्ता which is not acutely accented on the final (see VI. 2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170, and therefore it will not take ङीष् even by the preceding sūtra.

५१० । स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनादसंगोगोपधात् । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

असंगोगोपधुपसर्जनं यस्वाङ्गं तदन्तादन्तात्मातिगदिकाद्वा ङीष् । केशानतिक्रान्ता अतिकेशी । अतिकेशा । चन्द्रघुली । चन्द्रघुला । संगोगोपधात्तु सुयुक्ता । उपसर्जनात्किम् । शिला । स्वाङ्गं विधा ।

अङ्गं मूर्तिमस्वाङ्गं प्राणित्यनविकारजम् * ॥

सुखेवा इवत्वात् । सुप्तानां भूर्तत्वात् । सुमुखा शाला अप्राणित्यत्वात् । सुशोभा विकारजत्वात् ॥

अतस्थं तच्च दृष्टं च * ॥

सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या । अप्राणित्यस्यापि प्राणिनि दृष्टत्वात् ॥

तेन चेतत्तया युतम् * ॥

सुस्तनी सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा प्राणिवस्त्राणिसदृशे स्थितत्वात् ॥

510. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (*i. e.* the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant.)

Thus अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा ; चन्द्रघुली or चन्द्रघुला ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान्. and केश is upasarjana by I. 2: 44.

Note :—The *anuvritti* of the words बह्व्री इः, कान्तादन्तोदात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvritti* of the word वा ‘optionally’ does extend to this Sūtra.

Why do we say “subordinate in a compound”? Witness अशिला “without crest” (where the शिला is not subordinate or epithetical). Why

do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुयुक्ता, सुबावो) ॥

The स्वाङ्ग which is of three sorts, has a technical meaning, as given in the following verse :—

अद्रवं मूर्तिवत्स्वाङ्गे प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।
अतस्थं तद्वदृष्टं च तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which (1) not-being-a-fluid (अद्रवं) is capable of being perceived by the senses, because of its having-a-form (मूर्तिवत्) is svāṅga; it must exist-in-a-living-being, (प्राणिस्थ), but not produced by a change from the natural state (अविकारज) (2) Or though found elsewhere actually (अतस्थ lit. not actually there in the body) had previously been known as existing in only a living being (तद्वदृष्टं lit. was seen in the body); (3) Or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being तेन चेत् तत् तथा युतम् ॥

Thus of the first kind of Svāṅga, the counter-examples are सुस्वेदा "she who has good sweat:" here "sweat" is "liquid" and so it is not a svāṅga; सुज्ञावा "who has good knowledge"; here "knowledge" has no form, and so it is not a svāṅga, सुमुख्या शाला "a hall having a good front," here मुख though lit. "face," is applied to an inanimate object, and so is not svāṅga; so that the following is wrong फलमुखी कारणमुखी चानवस्था; similarly सुशोफा "she who has a good deal of swelling or tumours." Here "swelling" or "tumours" are not natural members of body but excrescences; and hence it is not a svāṅga.

Of the second kind of svāṅga words, the example is सुकेशी सुकेशा चारथा "A chariot well-cushioned with hair." Though chariot is a non-living being yet hair is always found in a living being.

Of the third kind of svāṅga, we have सुस्तनी or सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा "a statue having good breasts." Here the breasts have the same relation to the statue as they have in an animate being.

५११ । नासिकोदौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

एभ्यो वा ङीष् स्यात् । भाष्यार्थवद्भ्रूलक्षणो निषेधो बाध्यत । पुरस्तादपवादव्यायात् । ओष्ठादीनां पञ्चानां तु असंयोगोपधागति पर्युदासे प्राप्त वचनम् । मध्यमपवादव्यायात् । सहनश्रूलक्षणस्तु प्रतिषेधः परस्वादस्य बाधकः । तुङ्गनासिका । तुङ्गनासिका इत्यादि । नेह । रुहनासिका । भनासिका । अत्र वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गनाभकण्ठेभ्यो वक्तव्यम् * ॥ स्वङ्गी स्वङ्ग्यादि । एतच्चातुक्तसमुच्चयार्थेन चकारेण संप्रसारमिति कचित् ॥ भाष्याद्यतुक्तत्वावप्रमाणमिति प्रामाणिकाः । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥ पुच्छाश्च * ॥ सुपुच्छो । सुपुच्छा ॥ कबरमणिविशारभ्या नित्यम् * ॥ कबरश्चित्र पुच्छ यस्याः सा कबरपुच्छी मयूरी इत्यादि ॥ उपमानास्पक्षा पुच्छाश्च * ॥ नित्यामित्येव । उलूकपत्नी शाला । उलूकपुच्छी सेना ॥

511. And the feminine ङीष् comes optionally after

compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip,' जङ्घा 'leg,' दन्त 'a tooth,' कर्ण 'ear,' and शृङ्ग 'horn'

The first two words नासिका and उदर are words of more than two syllables, and so would have been governed by the following sūtra. This sūtra debars the application of IV. 1. 56, which follows it on the maxim पुरस्त
"Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the Apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules."

While the five words ओष्ठ &c., were excluded from the operation of the preceding sūtra by the incidental negation (paryudāsa) of असंश्लेषेण ॥ This present sūtra makes an exception to that exception with regard to these five words. This is on the maxim : मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधते नोत्तरान्
"Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that PRECEDE, not those that follow them." Therefore though the sūtras IV. 1. 54 and 56, are superseded by the present sūtra, not so the sūtra IV. 1. 57, which supersedes this because of its being *subsequent* but one.

Thus तुङ्गनासिकी or तुङ्गनासिका; &c; but we have only one form as सङ्गनासिका, अनासिका by the operation of IV. 1. 57 S. 513.

In the opinion of Kātyāyana, the affix ङीष् optionally comes after अङ्ग, नाम, कण्ड &c. Thus स्वङ्गी or स्वङ्गा &c.

According to others, all this as well as that which is not mentioned here may be taken as read into the sūtra by the force of the connecting particle च ॥ While on the other hand those who are very particular about authority, say that we cannot do so, because these are not mentioned in the *Bhāṣya*. Hence the following *Vartikas* :—

Vārt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail.' As सुपुच्छा or सुपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कब्र meaning variegated, picturesque मणि, त्रिष and शर ॥ As, कब्रपुच्छी 'a peahen.' मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी; 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words वक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकवक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

५१२ । न क्रोडादिबहुवचः । ४ । १ ॥ ५५ ॥

क्रोडादिबहुवचश्च स्वाङ्गात् ङीष् । कल्प्येणक्रोडा । अश्वानामुः क्रोडा । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ।
सुखयना ॥

512. The feminine affix ङीष् does not come after

a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

क्रोडा means 'the breast of a horse.' The krodādi class is ākritigana. So is also सुजघना which is a word of more than two syllables.

Note:—According to Ganaratnamahodadhi the word क्रोड without any gender is read in the Ganapāṭha: implying that examples can be given with all the three genders. Mādhava derives it from krud with घञ्; krodā meaning the breast of a horse and according to him क्रोडा is read in Ganapāṭha: and it forms Bahuvrīhi when it has the sense above given. Otherwise as a general svānga word we have डीष् as कल्याणक्रोडी मयूरी ॥

Note:—The class क्रोड &c. is akriti-gana, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोणा, कल्याणसुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याण बाला, कल्याण शफा, कल्याण घाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगता, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पशुजघना, महा-ललाटा ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pūngvad-bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

५१३ । सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च । ४ । १ । ५७ ॥

सहेत्यादिभिकपूर्वाच्च डीष् । सकेशा । भकेशा । विद्यमाननासिका ॥

513. The affix डीष् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सकेशा, भकेशा, विद्यमाननासिका ॥

Note:—The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54.

५१४ । नञ् सुखात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ५८ ॥

डीष् न स्यात् । शर्पणखा । गौरमुखी । सज्ञायां किम् । ताम्रमुखी कन्या ॥

514. The feminine affix डीष् is not employed after नञ्, and सुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शर्प + नञ् = शर्पणखा, 'Śurpaṇakhā the sister of Rāvaṇa'. The ण् is changed to ण् by VIII. 4: 3 S. 857 (पूर्वपदात् सज्ञायाम्) ॥ So also गौरमुखी, Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel'.

५१५ । दिक् पूर्वपदान् ङीप् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदास्त्वान्तात्मातिपदिकात्परस्य ङीपो ङीवर्द्धः स्यात् । माङ्गुली । आशुवाचं
परम् ॥

515. The feminine affix ङीप् replaces ङीष् after a Nominal stem denoting a part of the body which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

Thus माङ्गुली ॥ The accent here falls on the first syllable.

Note :—This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 510 to 514. Wherever by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix ङीप् being anudātta (III.1. 4. S. 3709). Thus माङ्गुली ॥

५१६ । वाहः । ४ । १ । ६१ ॥

वाहन्तात्मातिपदिकात् ङीष् स्यात् । ङीषेवावुवर्तेत न ङीप् ॥ दित्यवाद् च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

516. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह् ॥

The anuvṛtti of ङीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीष्, though the latter was nearer. Thus दित्यवाद् च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

Note :—The word वह् is formed from the root वह् with the affix णि (III. 2, 64). The word वाह् is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a “ word ending in vāh.” Thus दित्यौही ‘sustaining the demon.’ This form is thus evolved :—
दित्य + वाह् + ङीष् = दित्य + ऊह् + भाह् + ङीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह् ऊह्, Uth is the samprasāraṇa of vāh, when this is a bha) = दित्य + ऊह् + ङीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च ‘after a samprasāraṇa if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute’), = दित्यौही (VI. I. 89 S. 73 एतेभ्यश्चुद्भु vridhhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ūth* follow’). Similarly प्रद्यौही ‘a young heifer training for the plough.’

५१७ । सख्यशिन्धीति भाषायाम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

इतिशब्दः प्रकारे भाषायामित्यन्तर्गतः । छन्दस्यपि क्वचित् । सखी । अशिन्धी ।
भाषेनवो धुनवन्तामशिन्धीः ॥

517. The form सखी ‘a female companion’ and अशिन्धी “a childless woman,” are irregular forms ending in ङीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to Vaidic) Sanskrit.

The word इति in the sūtra has the force of प्रकार “thus” its syntacti-

cal position is after भाषायाम् ॥ Therefore we find sometime such use in the vaidic literature also.

Note.—Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्याः शिशुरस्तीति = अशिषी ॥ Why do we say in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखासप्तपदी भव and अशिषुमिव नामयं शिषुरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिषी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

५१८ । जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोपधात् । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

जातिवाचि यत्र च स्त्रियां नियतमयोपधं ततः स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ।

आकृतिग्रहणा जातिः * ॥

अनुगतसंस्थानव्यङ्ग्येत्यर्थः । तदी ॥

लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ॥

सकृदाख्यातनिर्माणा * ॥

असर्वलिङ्गस्ये सत्यकक्षां व्यक्तौ कथनाद्व्यक्तधन्तरे कथनं विनापि सुमहा जातिरिति लक्षणान्तरम् । वृषली । सत्यन्तं किम् । शुक्ला । सकृदित्यादि किम् । देवदत्ता ॥

गोत्रं च चरणैः सह * ॥

अपत्यप्रत्ययान्तः शाखाध्येतवाची च शब्दो जातिकार्यं लभत इत्यर्थः । औपगवी । कडी । बह्वृची । ब्राह्मणीत्यत्र तु शार्ङ्गरवादिपाठात् ङीनीं ङीष् बाध्यते । जातेः किम् । सुण्डा । अस्त्रीविषया-
स्किम् । बलाका । अयोपधास्किम् । क्षात्रिया ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे ह्ययगदयमुक्तयमनुष्यमस्थानामप्रतिषेधः * ॥
इथी । गवथी । मुकथी । हलस्तद्धितस्येति यलोपः । मानुषी । मत्स्यस्य ङणाम् ° ॥ मत्सी ।

518. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species, when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति is thus defined :—

आकृति ग्रहणा जातिर्लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ।

सकृदाख्यात निर्माणा गोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

(This verse is split up into three parts by Bhattoji and thus explained): आकृतिग्रहणाजातिः whatever is distinguishable from another (*species*) on account of its possessing certain form or figure (common to individuals of that class) is a jāti. Or a jāti noun is that which expresses a distinguishing feature. Thus तदी 'a bank, a place near the river.' But :—(2) लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् "Provided that it is not a word used in all genders" (for then it will be a genus and not *species*), सकृदाख्यात निर्माणा, but though not used in all genders, yet while employed to denote a single individual and therefore in singular number, it will apply to other individuals of the class without their being

specially mentioned. Such a word would also be jāti. Thus वृषलो "a low caste woman," which implies her sons, brothers &c. Why do we say not having all genders? Observe शुक्ल ॥ Why do we say "singly used implying others"? Observe देवदत्ता (3) गोत्रं च चरणैः सह "A word denoting Gotra descendant denoted by a grammatical affix and charan (or school) is also a jāti word." That is to say, a word formed with a Patronymic affix, and expressive of a person belonging to a particular branch of Vedic school, who studies a particular portion of the Vedas As आपनवी, कठी बह्वृची ॥ In ब्राह्मणी the ङीष् is debarred by ङीन् as it is read in sarhgaravādi class. (IV. 1. 73)

Why do we say "expressive of jāti"? Observe वृषला 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality.) Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness बलाका 'a mistress, a beloved woman.' Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate"? Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.'

Vart:—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words (which have a penultimate य्) *vis.*, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans,' हय 'horse,' मुकय 'a sort of animal' मत्स्य 'a fish,' and मनुष्य 'a man.' Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 S. 472 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The य् of *Matsya* is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङङाच्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. S. 499 All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41 S. 498) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vārtika.

Note:—The Loukika Gotra should not be confounded with the Grammatical Gotra. Charana is one who studies a particular śākhā of a Veda. Some explain however, that the word Gotra here means the Laukika Gotra of Clans. The above examples of कठी meaning "a woman who reads the Veda as belonging to the Katha Śākhā" and बह्वृची "a woman who must read Rik verses," show that women were not debarred from the study of *Vedas* even in Pānini's time. The present day prohibition is of recent origin, not more than a thousand years or so. For we read:—

पुरा कल्पेषु नारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते ।

अध्यापन च वेदानां सावित्रीवस्त्रं तथा ॥

"In ancient times women were invested with the sacred thread and girdle of a Brahmacharin and they were [taught the Vedas and the Gayatri."

५१९ । पाककर्णपणपुष्पफलमूलबालोत्तरपदाश्च । ४ । १ । ६४ ॥

पाकाद्युत्तरपदाञ्जातिवाचिनः स्त्रीविषयादपि ङीष् स्यात् । आननपाकी । बाङ्कुकर्णी ॥ शालपर्णी । लङ्गपुष्पी । शसांकला । र्धमुली । गोशाली । आवाधिवशेष कदा एते ॥

519. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jāti, followed by the following पाक 'cooked,' कर्ण 'ear,' पर्ण 'leaf,' पुष्प 'flower,' फल 'fruit,' मूल 'root,' and बाल 'youth.'

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females, and, therefore, were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus ओदनपाकी संकुकर्णी, घालपर्णी, संखपुष्पी, दासीफली, हर्ममूली, and गोबाली all these are rūdhi words expressing medicinal herbs.

When, however, the affix ङीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4 S. 454 ; such as संफला, भस्मफला, सस्युष्पा, भसूला &c.

५२० । इतो मनुष्यजातेः । ४ । १ । ६५ ।

ङीष् स्यात् । दासी । घोषधावपि । उदनेयस्यापत्यं औदनेयी । मनुष्येति किञ् । तित्तिरिः ॥

520. 'The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti,' कुन्ती 'women of Kunti,' दाक्षी 'Dakshī.' Thus अवन्ति + ङ्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) 'आवन्त्यः men of Avanti.' In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 is elided. दाक्षी "the female descendant of Daksha." Why do we say "ending in short इ"? 'Witness विद् 'Vaishya,' दरत् 'Darat.' Why do we say "of men"? Witness तित्तिरिः 'part-ridge.'

Though the anuvritti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1. 63, S. 518 its repetition here indicates that ङीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is इ. Thus औदनेयी ॥

Vart:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इम् (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292) though they do not denote a jāti. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचित्ती ॥ The affix इम् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 and ordained to come after सुतंगम &c., and does not denote a jāti.

५२१ । ऊकुतः । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उकारान्ताद्यापधान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । कुकः ॥ कुम्भादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ तस्य स्त्रियामवन्तीत्यादिना लुक् । अयोपधात्किञ् । अध्वर्युः ॥ अग्निजातभारद्वज्जवाहीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ रज्ज्वादिपर्युषासादुवर्णान्तेभ्य एव । भलाढ्या । कर्कण्ड्या । अनयोर्दीर्घान्तत्वेऽप नोङ्धात्वारिति वि-
भक्तपुषाश्चमातिविध ऊकुः फलम् ॥ प्राणिजातेस्तु कृकवाकुकः । रज्ज्वोदस्तु रज्जुकः । इवुः ॥

521. After a nominal-stem ending in short उ not having the letter य as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is अङ्.

The anuvritti of the words अनुप्यजाति and अद्योपधात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कूरः 'a female of the country of the Kurus,' ब्रह्मबन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called," जीवबन्धूः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class."

Thus कूर + प्य = कौरप्यः IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 in the feminine.

Note :—The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form करू (कूर + उ = कूरू) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, S. 891 in Bahuvrihis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

The indicatory letter ड् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sūtras like नोङ् धास्योः (VI. 1. 175 S. 3721), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sūtra VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 would have run as नो धास्योः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there. Thus in ब्रह्मबन्धूः we could not have known the accent.

Why do we say "not having the letter इ as its penultimate"? Witness भव्युर्ब्राह्मणी 'a woman versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vārt :—The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus भलाढूः 'the bottlegourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Though these two words have ऊ in the masculine also, yet the addition of another long ऊ in the feminine indicates the difference of *accent*, though not of form, as भलाढ्वा and कर्कन्धा are svarita accented on the final by VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकुः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c." Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c. The example भलाढ्वा is Instrumental singular, and it is here that the rule of accent can be illustrated, and not in the Nominative or Accusative.

५२२ । बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

विज्यामूङ् स्यात् । भद्रबाहुः । संज्ञायां किम् । वृत्तबाहुः ॥

522. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhādrabāhū'. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहुः 'a woman having rounded arms,' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

५२३ । पङ्गोश्च । ४ । १ । ६८ ॥

पङ्गुः । श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च * ॥ चादृङ् । पुंयोगलक्षणस्य ङीष्ोऽपवादः । लिङ्गविशिष्ट-
परिभाषया स्वाद्यः । श्वभूः ।

523. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गुः 'a female lame'.

Vart :—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter अ of the word. As श्वभूः 'mother-in law'. This debars the पुंयोग ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504 The case affixes are added to the base श्वभू on the maxim प्रातिपदिक ॥ &c. see IV. 1. 1. S. 182.

५२४ । ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये । ४ । १ । ६९ ॥

उपमानवाचिपूर्वपदमूक्तत्तरपदं यत्प्रातिपदिकं तस्मादृङ् स्यात् । करभोरुः ॥

524. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री "a woman with round thighs". The word करेणुकरेणु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचकरे च करेणुकरेणुभिः ॥

५२५ । संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च । ४ । १ । ७० ॥

अनौपम्यार्थे लक्षणम् । संहितोरुः । शैव शफोरुः । शफो खुरौ ताविव संश्लिष्टत्वादुपचारात् । लक्षणशब्दादर्शभाष्यम् । लक्षणोरुः । वामोरुः ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हितेन सह संहितौ ऊरु यस्याः सा संहितोरुः । संहिते इति सहौ ऊरु यस्याः सा सहोरुः । यद्वा । विद्यमानवचनस्यै सहशब्दस्य ऊर्वतिशयप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगः ॥

525. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)', शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cows foot'. लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked', वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs.' The word lakshana here is a Taddhita-formed word meaning "she who has the mark". The affix अङ् is added to lakshana by its belonging to अर्थादि class V. 2. 129. S. 1933.

Vart:—So also with the words सहित and सह ॥ As सहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥ The word सह here has the force of denoting largeness or excessiveness though it literally means mere existence.

५२६ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ७२ ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्योः संज्ञायां स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् कद्रुः । कमण्डलुः । संज्ञायां किम् । कद्रुः कमण्डलुः । अच्छन्त्यर्थे वचनम् ॥

526. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु ॥

This rule applies to other than Vaidic forms. Thus कद्रुः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa,' कमण्डलुः 'Kamaṇḍalû.' Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रुः 'the tawny color,' कमण्डलुः 'a water-gourd.'

५२७ । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन् । ४ । १ । ७३ ॥

शार्ङ्गरवादिञो योऽकारस्तदन्ताच्च जातिवाचिनो ङीन् स्यात् । शार्ङ्गरवी । बैरी । जातेरित्यनुवृत्तेः पुंयोगे ङीषेव । नृनरयोर्वृद्धिर्भेति गणसूत्रम् । नारी ॥

527. The feminine affix ङीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरवा and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Śârîgrava woman.' So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् as, बैरी 'a female descendant of Bida.' This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debarb the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 63 S. 518. &c., where it came after jāti-vāchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504.

The नृ would have taken ङीष् by IV. 1. 5 S. 306 and नर would have taken ङीष् as it denotes a jāti. These words take vṛddhi before ङीन्, the form being नैरी in both cases. This is by force of the sūtra नृनरयो &c. read in the following list. Such sūtras are called gaṇa-sūtras.

The following is a list of Śârîgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैव, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अञ्, the first four being formed by the अञ् of (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) from शृंगरु, कपट, गुग्गुलु and ब्राह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अञ् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. S. 498 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मणकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशीकेय ॥ These are formed by ङक् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) except kâmaṇḍaleya which is formed by ङञ् (IV. 1. 135 S. 1141.) 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मांडूक्यायन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. and IV. 1. 99,

S. 1101. and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेव is also formed by इक् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126.) 15 काव्य, 16 वौव्य are formed by उयङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189.) 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह् 'to try', and परि + आ + इह् (Uṇ IV. 117 सर्वधातुभ्य इन्) 19 आस्.रुय is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). : ० औहपान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76 S. 1455). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वतण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवन्, 25 गौरिवन् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुप्, and are consequently वगिन्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). This ordains ङीन् ॥

५२८ । यङ्ङाप् । ४ । १ । ७४ ॥

यङ्ङात् स्त्रियां चाप् स्यात् । यङ् इति व्यङ्ग्यङो सामान्यग्रहणम् । आम्बष्ठया । कारीष-
गन्ध्या ॥ पाद्यमृषाप् वाच्यः * ॥ पौतिमाष्या ॥

528. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix यङ् or व्यङ् (with final acute VI. 1. 163.)

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes व्यङ् (as taught in IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 and व्यञ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) as it is common element of both. Thus आम्बष्ठया 'a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya.'

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्ध्या, &c.

Vart :—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यञ् when the letter ण immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Śārkārāksha,' पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pūti-māshya.'

५२९ । आवट्याप् । ४ । १ । ७५ ॥

अस्माच्चाप् स्यात् । यञ्चेति । ङीपोऽपवादः । अवट्याङ्गो गर्गादिः । आवट्या ॥

529. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word अवट्य ॥

The word अवट belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) which after taking यञ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16 S. 471.) Thus आवट्या 'are female descendant of Avaṭa.'

५३० । तद्धिताः । ४ । १ । ७६ ॥

आपञ्चसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

530. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book of Pāṇini, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita.

Note:—Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवातेः The word so formed is called Pratipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the word प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1. S. 180) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य आम्नो ॥ अग्नादि पश्चाद् ङिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, अग्निम्, आग्निम्. पश्चिम ॥ See Vart IV. 3, 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृततद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

५३१ । युनस्तिः । ४ । १ । ७७ ॥

युवन्शब्दान्तिप्रत्ययः स्यात्स च तद्धितः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया सिद्धे तद्धिताधिकार उत्तरार्थः । युवातिः । अनुपसर्जनादित्येव । बहवो युवानो यस्यां सा बहुयुवा । युवतीति तु यौतेः शबन्तान् ङीप् बोध्यम् ॥

531. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवातिः 'a young maid.' By IV. 1. 5. S. 306 ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debars it. The word युवाति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 65, S. 520 for the affix ति its elf is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita : or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 S. 520 would not apply. But when upasarjana we get the form बहुयुवा "a city containing many youths." The form युवती is by ङीप् added to the Present Participle युवन् ॥ and is a different word altogether.

अथ कारकादिविभक्ति प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KĀRAKAS.

५३२ । प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः । पात्रशब्दस्य प्रत्येकं योगः । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रः लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यं परिमाणमात्रे संख्यामात्रे च प्रथमा स्यात् । उच्चैः । नीचैः । कृष्णः । श्रीः । ज्ञानम् । अलिङ्गा नियतालिङ्गाश्च प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र इत्यस्योदाहरणम् । अमियतलिङ्गास्तु लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यस्य । तटः । तटी । तटम् । परिमाणमात्रे, द्रोणो ब्रीहिः । द्रोणरूपं यत्परिमाणं तत्प्रातिपदिकार्थो ब्रीहिरित्यर्थः । प्रत्ययार्थे परिमाणे प्रकृत्यर्थोऽभेदेन संसर्गेण विशेषणम् । प्रत्ययार्थस्तु प्रच्छिन्नपरिच्छिन्नकभावेन ब्रीहौ विशेषणमिति विवेकः । वचनं संख्या । एकः । द्वौ । बहवः । इहोक्तार्थत्वाद्भिन्नैरप्राप्तौ वचनम् ॥

532. Where the sense is that of the Crude form (I. 2. 45 S. 178) or where there is the additional sense of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

By the word "prātipadikārtha" (sense-of- the-crude form) is meant that meaning or connotation which is invariably present with the word. The word mātra "only" is to be taken in connection with each term severally in the sūtra.

Thus—where the sense is only that of the Prātipadika—उच्चैः "aloft," नीचैः "below," कृष्णः Kṛishṇa, श्रीः Sṛī, ज्ञानम् "knowledge".

These words have either no gender (as uchchais &c.) or a fixed, constant gender, having no corresponding opposite gender, as Kṛishna &c.

While the words which have no fixed gender, will in addition to their own sense, denote gender also. As तटः, तटी or तटम् "the (river) bank".

Where there is the additional sense of measure, we have द्रोणो ब्रीहिः "rice of the measure of a Drona"—which means that quantity of rice whose measure is that of a Drona. Now "Droṇa" by itself denotes measure, the Nominative affix सु is added to it in the sense of measure—the latter has a *general* sense of measure, the first is a particular kind of measure. The two—the base and the affix—have been united together in denoting an indivisible single thing, where the sense of the *base* (Droṇa) qualifies (limits) the general sense of the affix (su). But though the force of the affix सु after ब्रीहि is also that of measure—yet here the connection between the base and the affix is not abheda-saṃsarga, as it was in the case of droṇa and su; but on the

contrary, in the case of *vr̥hi* and *su*, the sense of the *affix* qualifies or limits the general sense of the base *vr̥hi*, it is the Divider of a particular quantity out of a big mass—the relation between the affix and the base here being that of *parichchhedaka* (measurer) and *parichchhedyā* (measurable).

The word “*vachana*” means number ; as एकः one, द्वौ two, बहवः many.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini ; they apply to the triads of *सुप्* affixes, कर्त्तुं करोति ‘he makes the mat,’ ग्रामं गच्छति ‘he goes to the village’.

५३३ । संबोधने च । २ । ३ । ४७ ॥

इह प्रथमा स्यात् । हे राम ॥

533. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Thus हे राम O Rāma.

—————:O:—————

५३४ । कारके । १ । ४ । २३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

534. The phrase ‘*kāraka*’ (meaning ‘in the special relation to a word expressing an action’) is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Note:—Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a *kāraka*. Thus in ‘cooking,’ the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus ‘Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.’ Here Rama is agent *kāraka*; ‘food’ is object *kāraka*; ‘vessel’ is a locative *kāraka*, fire is an instrumental *kāraka*, ‘furnace’ is the ablative *kāraka* and ‘master’ is the dative *kāraka*.

The word ‘*kāraka*’ thus is synonymous with the word cause (*hetu*) and occasion (*uimitta*). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be *kāra*kas. Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a *kāraka* to a verb.

५३५ । कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म । १ । ४ । ४९ ॥

कर्तुः क्रियया आप्तुमिष्टतमं कारकं कर्मोऽंशः स्यात् । कर्तुः क्रिय । माषेष्वथ बध्नाति । कर्मण इप्सिता माषा नतु कर्तुः । तमश्चग्रहणं क्रिय । पथरा आसनं भुङ्क्त । कर्मैत्यनुवृत्तौ पुनः कर्मग्रहणमाधारोऽनवृत्त्यर्थम् । अन्यथा गृहं प्रविशेतादिव स्यात् ॥

535. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कट करोति "He makes the mat". गानं गच्छति "he goes to the village". Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe गावस्वद्वय बन्धाति "he ties the horse in the gram field." Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word गाव takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पशुसौदनं सुङ्क्ते "he eats the food along with the milk." Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, it takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from the sūtra I. 4. 46 S. 542 the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvṛitti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because we do not take the anuvṛitti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvṛitti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गेहे प्रविशति "he enters the house," we could not say भोजनं पचति "he cooks the food," सक्तुं पिबति "he drinks saktu." By repeating the word in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karaka takes the second case-affix.

५३६ । अनभिहिते । २ । ३ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

536. The word 'anablihihte' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word in the following sūtras.

Note:—Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned by the voice of the verb, or by a Taddhita affix &c.

५३७ । कर्मणि द्वितीया । २ । ३ । २ ॥

अनुक्ते कर्मणि द्वितीया स्यात् । हरिं भजति । अभिहिते तु कर्मणि प्रातिपदिकार्यमात्र इति प्रथमैव । आभिधानं तु प्रायशः तिङ्कृतद्धितसमासः । तिङ्, हरिः सेव्यत । कृत्, लक्ष्म्या सेवितः । तद्धितः, ज्ञातेन क्रीतः शालः । समासः, प्राप्त आनन्दो यं स प्राप्तानन्दः । क्वचिन्निपातेनाभिधानं यथा । विषयवृत्तौऽपि संवर्ध स्वयं छेत्तुमसांप्रतम् । सांप्रतमित्यस्य हि युज्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

537. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, &c. *i. e.* when the verb &c. does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

Thus हरिं भजति "he worships Hari.", But when the karma relation is specified by the verb &c., then the word will take the affix of the first case by the general rule II. 3. 64.

The force of a case-affix is generally denoted either by *first* the conjugational affixes तिङ्; *secondly*, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, *thirdly*, by the secondary affixes तद्धित; or *lastly* by compounds. (Thus this sūtra declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कं करोति 'he makes the mat': ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.') But the object can be denoted otherwise. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as हरिं सेव्यते "Hari is served." Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. S. 2679 and 2152. So also by the kṛit affix, as लक्ष्म्या सेविनः "served by Lakshmi" sūtra III. 4. 70. S. 2833. So also by a Taddhita affix as शतयः or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः. Similarly by samāsa, as प्राप्त आनन्दोयं प्राप्तानन्दः "Whom happiness has reached."

Sometime the case-relation may be shown by a preposition or Nipāta: as विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्द्धं स्वयम् छिन्नुमसाम्प्रतम् ॥ Here विषवृक्षः is equal to विषवृक्षम् ॥ साम्प्रतम् means, "is proper." It is not proper to cut himself the poison-tree that one has grown.

५३८ । तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम् । १ । ४ । ५० ॥

ईप्सिततमवत्क्रियया युक्तं नीप्सितमपि कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति । भोदनं भुञ्जानो विषं भुङ्क्ते ॥

538. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act, becomes, however, similarly connected with the action, it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anīpsita or object of aversion. Thus भोदनं बुभुक्षुः विषं भुङ्क्ते "he eats poison while he was hungry for rice" ग्रामम् गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति "going to the village, he touches the grass."

Here विषं and तृणं are in the Accusative case or karma-kāra, though they certainly are not the things *desired* by the agent: but as they are *similarly* connected with the action, as the most desired things 'rice' and 'village,' so they also take the accusative case.

५३९ । अकथितं च । १ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपाशनादिविशेषैराविवक्षितं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् ।

दुह्यापचष्ट्ठरुधिप्रच्छिन्निल्लुशासुजिमधुषम् ।

कर्मयुक् स्यादकथितं तथा रेखात्रीदृष्टं वहांम् ।

दुहादीनां द्वादशानां तथा नामभूतानां चतुर्णां कर्मण्ययव्युज्यते तदेवाकथितं कर्मेति परिगणनं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । मां रोहि पयः । बलिं याचते वसुधाम् । अविनीतं विनयं याचते । तण्डुलानोदनं पचति । गर्गाम् शतं दण्डयति । अजमवरुणद्वि गमम् । माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति । वृक्षमवचिनाति फलानि । माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा । शतं जयति देवदत्तम् । सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति । देवदत्तं शतं द्रुणाति । ग्राममजां नयति हरति कर्षति वहति वा ।

अर्थानिबन्धनेन सज्ञा । बलिं भिक्षते वसुधाम् । माणवकं धर्मं भाषते अभिधत्ते वक्तीत्यादि । कारकं किम् । माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति ॥

अकर्मकधातुभिर्योगे देशः कालो भावो गन्तव्येऽध्वा च कर्मसंज्ञक इति वाच्यम् * ॥ कुरुन् स्वपिति । मासेमास्ते । गोदाहमास्ते । क्रोशामास्ते ॥

539. And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming under any one of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

Kārikā :—In the case of the twelve roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू 'to tell,' शास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मथ् 'to churn' द्रु 'to steal,' and also in the case of the four verbs नी, ह, कृष, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case.

As, मां रोहि पयः 'he milks the cow': बलिं याचते वसुधां 'He begs the earth of Bali'; अविनीतं विनयं याचते "he supplicates for tolerance from the intolerant," similarly तण्डुलानोदनं पचति, "He cooks the raw rice into boiled rice." गर्गाम् शतं दण्डयति, "He fines the Gargas a hundred pieces money." अजमवरुणद्वि गमं "He shuts up the cow (in) the cow-pen." माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति, "He asks the boy (which is) the road." वृक्षमवचिनाति फलानि, "He gathers fruits from the tree." माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा "He expounds Dharma to the boy or teaches him Dharma." शतं जयति देवदत्तं, "He wins hundred from Devadatta." सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति, "He churns out ambrosia from the ocean of milk." देवदत्तं शतं द्रुणाति; "He steals a hundred from Devadatta." ग्राममजां नयति-हरति-कर्षति वहति वा "He leads the goats to the village or takes them or drags them or drives them." are examples of the other roots in order.

Since it is the *sense* of the verb that causes these nouns to get the designation of "Indirect Object," it follows as a necessary corollary that other verbs also, though not mentioned in the above list, but being synony-

mous with those verbs, will take two objects. Thus बलिं भिक्षतेऽसुधां or माणवकं धर्मं भाषते, अभिषत्ते or व्यञ्जि &c.

Why do we say "a kāraka?" Observe माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छात् "He asks the father of the boy which is the road." Here माणवकस्य not being a kāraka retains the Genitive.

Vārtika. The Intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over. As कुरुन् स्वपिति "He sleeps in the land of the Kurus." मासमास्ते "He stays for a month." गोरोहमास्ते "He is engaged in milking cow." क्रोशमास्ते "He goes over one Krosa (two miles)."

५४० । गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्मकर्मकाणामणि कर्ता सणौ । ११४ । ५२ ॥

गत्याद्यर्थानां शब्दकर्मणामकर्तृकाणां चाणौ यः कर्ता स णौ कर्म स्यात् ॥

शत्रून् गमयत्स्वर्गं वेदार्थं स्वानं वदयत् ।

आशयच्चाश्रुतं देवान् वेदमध्यापयद्विधिम् ॥ १ ॥

आसयत्सलिलं कूर्चार्थं यः स मे श्रीहरिर्गतिः ॥

गतीत्यादि किम् । पाचयत्योवनं देवदत्तेन ॥ अग्रयन्तानां किम् । गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं तमपरः प्रयुङ्क्ते । गमयति देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं विष्णुमित्रः ॥ नीवह्यार्न * ॥ नाययति वाहयति वा भारं भृत्येन ॥ नियन्तृकर्तृकस्य वहरनिषधः * ॥ वाहयति रथं वाहान् सूतः ॥ आरिख्याद्यार्न * ॥ आरयति खारयति वान्रं बटुना ॥ भक्षरहिसार्थस्य न * ॥ भक्षयत्यन्नं बटुना । अहिसार्थस्य किम् । भक्षयति बलीवरान् सस्यम् ॥ जल्पति प्रभृतीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ जल्पयति भाषयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः ॥ दृशेध * ॥ दर्शयति हरिं भक्तान् । सूत्रे ज्ञानसमान्यार्थानामेव ग्रहणं न तु तद्विशेषार्थानामित्यनेन ज्ञाप्यते । तेन स्मरति जिघ्रसीत्यादीनां न । स्मारयति घ्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन । ॥ शशयतेन * ॥ शशयति देवदत्तेन । धात्वर्थसंगृहीतकर्मत्वनाक्रमकत्वात्प्राप्तिः । येषां देशकालादिभिन्नं कर्म न संभवति तेषां कर्मकाः । न स्वादिबक्षितकर्मणां ऽपि ॥ तेन मासमासयति देवदत्तामित्यादौ कर्मत्वं भवत्येव । देवदत्तेन पाचयतीत्यादौ तु न ॥

540. That which was Agent of the Non-causal verb becomes the Karma (object) of the causal verb, when the verb has the sense of "to move," "to know," "to make sound" or "to teach" or is an Intransitive verb.

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

Thus in the verse above given :—

Causal.

Non-Causal

शत्रून्-भगमयत् स्वर्गम्

शत्रवः स्वर्गम् अगच्छन्

He sent the enemies to Heaven.

The enemies went to Heaven.

वेदार्थं स्वान् अवहेत्यत्

He explained the sense of the Vedas to His own.

स्वे (स्वक्रीयाः) वेदार्थमविदुः

His own understood the sense of the Vedas.

आवायत् च अमृतं देवान्

He made the Devas drink ambrosia.

देवा अमृतम् आमन्

The Devas drank ambrosia.

वेदम् अध्यापयद् विधिम्

He taught the Veda to Brahmā.

विधिः वेदमध्यैत

Brahmā learnt the Vedas.

आसयत् सलिले पृथ्वीम्

He fixed the Earth in Water.

सलीले पृथ्वी आस्त

The Earth floated on water.

Why do we say 'verbs of motion &c.'? Observe पाचयति भावनं देवदत्तेन "He gets the food cooked by Devadatta."

Why do we say "of the Non-Causal"? Observe that in गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं Devadatta makes Yajnadatta go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Devadatta to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं गमयति 'Vishnumitra prompts Devadatta to cause Yajnadatta to go.' Here Devadatta is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. भृत्या भारं नयति वहति वा "A servant carries a load" becomes in causal भृत्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart—But वह, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as. बाहयति रथं वाहान् सूतः "The driver drives the chariot and the horses."

Vart:—The causals of the roots अद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुर्नमस्ति खादति वा "The boy eats his food," becomes in the causal, बटुर्नान्नमादयति खादयति वा ॥ "(He) causes the boy to eat his food".

Vart:—भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति भन्नं बटुना Why do we say "not in the sense of injury"? Observe भक्षयति वलीं वर्यान् सस्यम् ॥ "He makes the bullocks to injure the crops".

Vart:—Enumeration should be made of जल्पयति &c. as जल्पयति आवायति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta teaches his son the dharma'.

Vart:—So also with दर्शयति; as दर्शयति हरिं भक्तान् "He shows Hari to the devotees".

These vārtikas imply that the "verbs of knowledge" of the sūtra are general verbs, and not verbs denoting particular kinds of knowledge.

Therefore, the rule will not apply to verbs like स्मरति 'he remembers', जिन्रति 'he smells' &c. As स्मारयति प्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ "He makes Devadatta to remember or to smell".

Vart.:—Not so with the verb शब्दायति as; शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन "He causes Devadatta to make sound".

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above, is meant such roots, as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is quite evident; as. किकरः पचरः पचति ॥ Here पचति, though transitive is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किकरेण पाचयति and not किकरं ॥ Thus in मासमासयति देवदत्तं, the word मासम् is in the accusative case; but not so in देवदत्तेन पाचयति &c.

Note.:—Patanjali, in his Mahabhashya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sūtra गतिबुद्धि &c. शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दो येषां क्रिया or शब्दो येषां कर्म ॥

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्वयति (ह्वे) कंरति (कंर) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule; as, ह्वयति देवदत्तं ह्वाययति देवदत्तेन; कंरति-शब्दायते-देवदत्तः; कंरयति-शब्दाययति-देवदत्तेन ॥ And the roots भृ. ज्ञा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, भृणोति विज्ञानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः आश्रयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तम् ॥ When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प्, भाष् with आ and लप् with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषत-देवदत्तः, जल्पयति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तं ॥

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged *o. g.*

Primitive.	Causal Active.	Causal Passive.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति ॥	रामं ग्रामं गमयति ॥	रामो ग्रामं गम्यते ॥
Rama goes to a village.	(He) causes Rama to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
भृत्यः कटं करोति ॥	भृत्येन भृत्यं वा कटं कारयति ॥	भृत्यः कटं कार्यते ॥
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमासते ॥	गोविंदं मासमासयति ॥	गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥
Govind sits for one month.	(He) makes Govind sit &c.	Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa,

e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he makes the boy know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मो बोध्यते 'The boy is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to the boy'; बटुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food : ' बटुमोदनं भोजयते or बटुमोदनं भोज्यते (S. K.).

With regards roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i. e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive verb, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो बलिं वसुधायाचते (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं वसुधां याचयति ' (God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth'. गोपेऽजां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हरयति ॥ ' (The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

५४१ । हृक्रोन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

हृक्रोरणौ यः कर्ता स णा वा कर्म स्यात् । हरयति कारयति वा भृत्यं भृत्येन वा कटम् ॥ अभिवादिहृषो रात्मनेपदे वेति वाच्यम् * ॥ अभिवादयते दर्शयते देवं भक्तं भक्तेन वा ॥

541. The agent of the verb in its non-causal form, in the case of hri "to lose" and kri "to make," is optionally called karma or object when these verbs are causal.

Primitive.

Causal.

As हरति भारं भृत्यः ॥

हारयति भारं भृत्यं or भृत्येन ॥

The servant takes the load.

He causes the servant to take the load.

करोति कटं भृत्यः ॥

कारयति कटं भृत्यः or भृत्येन ॥

The servant makes the mat.

He causes the servant to make the mat.

Vart :—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and हृष् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the Causal : as.

Primitive.

Causal.

अभिवदति देवं भक्तः ॥

अभिवादयते देवं भक्तं or भक्तेन ॥

The devotee bows down to the Deity. He makes the devotee bow down to the Deity.

पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् ॥

दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानम् or दर्शयते भृत्यैः ॥

The servants see the king.

He makes the servants see the king.

५४२ । अधिशीङ्स्थांस्तं कर्म । १ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अधिपूर्वाण्यनिषामाधारः कर्म स्यात् । अधिषेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वेकुण्डं हरिः ॥

542. That which is the site of the verbs शी 'to lie down,' स्था "to stand," आस "to sit," when preceded by

the preposition **अधि** is, however, called *karma kāraka* or object.

This ordains Accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As **अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥** "Hari lies down in, occupies or rules the Vaikuṇṭha".

५४३ । अभिनिविशश्च । १ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अभिनीत्येतत्संचातपूर्वस्य विशनेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् । परिक्रयणे संश्लेषानमिति सूत्रादिह मण्डूकप्लुत्याऽन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणमनुवर्त्य व्यवस्थितविभाषाभयणात्कश्चिन्न । पापेऽभिनिवेशः ॥

543. That which is the site of the verb **अभिनिविश्** 'to enter,' is also called *karma-kāraka*.

As **अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम्** 'he resorts to the good path'. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra I. 4. 44. S. 580 should be read into it, though between I. 4. 44 S. 580 and the present sūtra I. 4. 47 S. 543 two other sūtras intervene, in which the anuvritti of option is not read. This leaping over intermediate sūtras and exerting its influence on a remote sūtra is based on the maxim of "frog-leap." The option however, will be a settled option—"vyavasthita vibhāṣā".

Thus we have the following forms also **पापेऽभिनिवेशः** "resorting to sin." **कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः** "resorting to good". The rule here is that of *vyavasthita vibhāṣā*.

५४४ । उपान्वध्याङ्वसः । १ । ४ । ४८ ॥

उपादिपूर्वस्य वसनेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । उपवसति अनुवसति-अधिवसति आवसति वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥ अभुक्त्यर्थस्य न * ॥ वने उपवसति ॥

उभसर्वतसां कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ॥

द्वितीयाऽऽर्धेऽन्तान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यन्ते * ॥

उभयतः कृष्णं गोपाः । सर्वतः कृष्णम् । धिक कृष्णाभक्तम् । उपर्युपरि लोके हरिः । अध्यधि लोकम् । अधोऽधो लोकम् ॥

अभितः परितः समयानिकषाहाप्रतिशोभेऽपि * ॥ अभितः कृष्णम् । परितः कृष्णम् । धामं समया । निकषा लङ्काम् । हा कृष्णाभक्तम् । तस्य शोच्यते इत्यर्थः । बुभुक्षितं न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् ॥

544. That which is the site of the verb **वस्** 'to dwell,' when preceded by *upa*, *anu*, *adhi*, and *ân*, is called *karma-kāraka*.

As **उपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति** or **आवसति वैकुण्ठं हरिः** 'Hari dwells in Heaven'.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means “fasting,” or does not denote “lying in a locality”. As वने उपवसति “he fasts in the forest”. Here the verb “upavasati” governs the locative case and not the accusative.

Vartika:—The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽधः, अध्याध, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative; sometimes other cases also. As उभयतः कृष्णगोपाः ‘on both sides of Krishna are the gopas’ सर्वतः कृष्ण ‘on all sides of Krishna’; धिक् कृष्णभक्तम् ‘fie to non-devotee of Krishna’. उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः ‘just over the lokas is Hari, अध्याधि or अधोऽधो लोकम् ‘just below the loka’.

Vart:—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning ‘round,’ समया, निकषा both meaning ‘near’ and हा ‘woe be to,’ and प्रति ‘to,’ govern, the accusative case; as, अभितः or परितः कृष्णम् ‘round Krishna’ ग्रामं समया ‘near the village’ निकषा लङ्काम् “near the Lankā”. हा कृष्णभक्तम् ‘woe be to non-devotee of Krishna, बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् ‘to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind’.

५४५ । अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते । २ । ३ । ४ ॥

भाभ्यां यागे द्वितीया स्यात् । अन्तरा त्वां मां हरिः । अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखम् ॥

545. A word joined with (or governed by) the word antarā, or antareṇa takes the second case-affix.

Note:—The anuvritti of dvitīya is understood here and not that of tritīya. Both these words antara and antareṇa are Nipatas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antara means ‘between,’ while antareṇa means ‘besides that,’ ‘without,’ ‘exception,’ ‘with reference to,’ ‘regarding’.

As. अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखं ‘there can be no happiness without Hari’
अन्तरा त्वां मां हरिः ‘Hari is between thee and me’.

Why do we say ‘when joined with?’ Observe अन्तरा तत्तद्विलांश्च पादलिपुत्रं बुभुक्ष्य प्राकारः ॥

—:O:—

KARMAPRAVACHANIYAS.

५४६ । कर्मप्रवचनीयाः । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

546. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanīya.

Note :—These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed *upasarga* and *gati*. As सुस्तुतं भवता "well praised by you." सु सिक्तं भवता "you have sprinkled well." Here सु is a *karma-pravachanīya* and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an *upasarga*, for had it been so, it would have changed the स् into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270). The word *karma-pravachanīya* is a big term compared with other technical terms, such as, टि, चि, घु, &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word *karmapravachanīya* is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

५४७। अनुर्लक्षणे । १। ४। ८४ ॥

अनुर्लक्षणेऽनुर्लक्षणाः स्यात् । गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञापवादः ॥

547. The word *anu* when it denotes a sign, is called *karma-pravachanīya*.

The word *lakshana* means a sign; an attendant circumstance, an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of,' or 'being indicated by'.

This debars the designation of *gati* and *upasarga* with regard to *anu* meaning *lakshana*.

५४८। कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । २। ३। ८५ ॥

एतेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । जपमनु प्रावर्षत् । हेतुभूतजपोपलक्षितं वर्षणमित्यर्थः । परापि हेनाविति तृतीयाऽनेन बाध्यते । लक्षणस्थं भूतव्याप्तिना सिद्धं पुनः संज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात् ॥

548. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a *karmapravachanīya* (I. 4. 83).

As जपमनुप्रावर्षत् 'it rained after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers'. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachanīya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

The third case affix ordained by the *subsequent* sūtra II. 3. 23. S. 568 even is debarred by the present sūtra, so far as अनु is concerned. This is because, though अनु would have been a *karmapravachanīya* by I. 4. 90 S. 552 it has been read again in I. 4. 84 S. 547.

Note :—Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been *karma pravachanīya* even by force of sūtra 552 following, where also the word *lakshana* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachanīyas* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8 S. 548) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23. S. 568). Otherwise Rule 568 would have set aside Rule 548 i. e. the

present sūtra, by the maxim of परस्व I. 4. 2. S. 175 and would have caused a karma pravachanīya to govern an instrumental case, where the sense was that of hetu.

So also शाकल्येय संहितामनु प्रावर्षत् = शाकल्येय सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत् ॥ "The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Sakalya". The force of a karmapravachanīya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga, whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun, which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशम्य understood.

५४९ । तृतीयार्थे । १ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अस्मिन् घोलेऽनुवृत्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । नदीमन्ववसिता सेना । नद्या सह संबन्धेत्यर्थः ॥ बिम्बन्धनेक्तः ॥

549. The word अनु is karma-pravachanīya, when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or 'along with.' As नदीमन्ववसिता सेना "the army lying along side the river".

The word अवसिता is derived from बिम्ब meaning 'to bind', with the past participial affix क्त ॥

५५० । हीने । १ । ४ । ८६ ॥

हीने घोलेऽनुः प्राग्वत् । अनु हरिं सुराः । हरिर्हीनाइत्यर्थः ॥

550. The word अनु is karma pravachanīya, when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

As अनुहरिंसुराः 'The gods are inferior to Hari'

Note :—The word हीन् means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकदायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Sakatayana'.

५५१ । उपोऽधिके च । १ । ४ । ८७ ॥

अधिके हीने, च घोले उपेऽप्यव्ययं प्राक्संज्ञं स्यात् । अधिके सप्तमी वक्ष्यते । हीने, उप हरिं सुराः ॥

551. The word उप when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachanīya.

That is, when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as **उप हरिं सुराः** "The gods are inferior to Hari." In this sense **उप** governs the accusative case.

When **उप** means 'superior,' then it governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior; examples of this will be given hereafter.

५५२ । लक्षणेत्यंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यन्तवः । १ । ४ । ६० ॥

एष्वर्थेषु विषयभूतेषु प्रत्याख्य उक्तसंज्ञाः स्युः । लक्षणे, वृक्षं प्रति पर्यन्तु वा विद्योतते विद्यु-
त् । इत्यंभूताख्यानं, भक्तो विष्णुं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । भागं, लक्ष्मीं हरिं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । हरिभाग इत्यर्थः ।
वीप्सायां, वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा सिञ्चति । अन्नोपसर्गत्वभावाच्च षत्वम् । एषु किम् । परिषिञ्चति ॥

552. The words *prati*, *pari* and *anu* are *karma pravachaniya* when used in the sense of (1) 'sign' 'in the direction of' (2) 'mere statement of a circumstance' ('as regards') (3) division 'share of' and (4) 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति—परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree'. (2) भक्तो विष्णुम् प्रति—परि-अनु "devotee towards Vishnu" (3) हरिं प्रति लक्ष्मीं 'Lakshmi fell to the lot of Hari'. So with परि and अनु ॥ (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति "he sprinkles one tree after another". So with परि and अनु ॥ Here these words, not being *upasargas*, do not change the *स* of सिञ्चति to ष, as required by VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270. Why in these senses only? Observe परिषिञ्चति ॥

५५३ । अभिरभागे । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

भागवर्जे लक्षणाश्रयिभिरुक्तसंज्ञाः स्यान् । हरिमांश्च वर्तते । भक्तो हरिमांश्च । देवदेवमांश्च सिञ्चति ।
अभागे किम् । यदत्र समाभिष्यात्तदीयताम् ॥

553. The word *abhi* is *karma-pravachaniya*, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, or 'share of'.

The illustrations given under the last *sūtra mutus mutandi* apply here also, with the exception of those given under head ३ ॥ As हरिमांश्च वर्तते, भक्तो हरिमांश्च ; देव देवमांश्च सिञ्चति ॥ Why do we say 'when it does not mean division or the share of'? Observe यदत्र समाभिष्यात्तदीयताम् 'give that which falls here to my share'. Here *abhi* is an *upasarga*, and therefore *स* of *स्य* is changed into *ष* by S. 2270.

५५४ । अधिपरी अनर्थको । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

उक्तसंज्ञौ स्तः । कुतोऽध्यागच्छति । कुतः पर्यागच्छति । गतिसंज्ञाबाधाङ्गतिर्गताविति निपातो न ॥

554. The words अधि and परि are karma-pravachanīya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽध्यागच्छति "whence has he come"? or कुतः पर्यागच्छति ॥ These words, though mere surplusages, have been called karma-pravachanīya, so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati, and thus produce results peculiar to those words. (See VIII. 1. 70. S. 3977) for by that rule they would produce accentlessness of the subsequent words. This is prevented.

५५५ । सुः पूजायाम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

सुसिक्तम् ॥ सुस्तुतम् । अनुपसर्गत्वात् सः । पूजायां क्रिय । सुसिक्तं किं तवाच । क्षेपोऽयम् ॥

555. The word सु is karma-pravachanīya in the sense of "respect," (when it means 'excellently').

As सुसिक्तं भवता, "excellently sprinkled by your honor." सु स्तुतं भवता "Well praised by your honor." By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुसिक्तं किं तवाच "has this your place been well sprinkled to-day". This is meant here as an irony.

५५६ । अतिरतिक्रमणे च । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अतिक्रमणं पूजायां चातिः कमप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् । अतिरेवान् कृष्यः ॥

556. The word अति, in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachanīya.

As अतिरेवान्कृष्यः "Krishṇa is above all gods".

Note :—The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is 'necessary' for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last.

५५७ । अपिः पदार्थसंभावनाऽन्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

एषु योऽर्थोऽपि हस्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् । अनुपसर्गत्वात् सः । संभावनायां लिङ् । तस्या एव विषयभूते भवने कर्तृशैलभ्यप्रयुक्तं शैलभ्यं योतयन्नपि शङ्कः स्यादित्यनेन संबध्यते । सर्पिष इति षष्ठी तु आपशङ्कबलेन गम्यमानस्य बिन्दोद्वयदात्रयाविभावसंबन्धे । इयमेव अपिशब्दस्य पदार्थयो-
क्तकता नाम । द्वितीया तु नेह प्रवर्तते सर्पिषो बिन्दुना यांगो न स्वपिनेत्युक्तत्वात् ॥ अपि स्तुत्याद्विष्णुम् ॥ संभावनं शक्त्युत्कर्षमात्रवृत्तुर्गर्हाः ॥ अपि स्तुतिः । अन्ववसर्गः कामचारानुज्ञा ॥ चिन्देवत्तमपि स्तुत्याद्वृषलम् । गर्हा ॥ अपि ऽसञ्च अपि स्तुतिः समुच्चयः ॥

557. The word अपि is a karma-pravachanīya, when it implies, “the sense of word understood”, (‘somewhat’) or possibility (e. g., ‘even’ in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, (‘if you like’), or censure (‘even’ in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection (‘and’).

In the above senses of “somewhat,” “even” “if you like”, “even”, and “and”, the word अपि gets the designation of Karma-pravachanīya.

As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् “there may be a drop of ghee.” Here since अपि is not an upasarga, the स of स्यात् is not changed to ष् (VIII. 3. 87. S. 2472).

There is Potential Mood with the force of संभावना in the above example. When there is such a doubt or uncertainty with regard to the existence of the agent of the verb, that is to say, when owing to the scarcity of the agent, it is doubtful whether it exists or not, there the word अपि denoting ‘scarcity’ is related with the verb syāt. The word सर्पिषः in the above example is in the Genitive case, and by force of the word अपि, it denotes that the word बिन्दु “a drop” which is understood here is related to सर्पिः, as a part is related to its whole. The full sentence will be सर्पिषोऽपि बिन्दुः स्यात् ॥ The force of the genitive, therefore, here is to denote the general relation of part to the whole, of a “drop” to the whole “Ghee.” This is the only way in which the word अपि can denote an *object* (padārtha): namely, to express scarcity owing to the scarcity of a drop even. The second case-affix ordained by II. 3. 8. S. 548, does not apply here, and so the word सर्पिः is not put in the accusative case. This is because, it has already been said above, that the word सर्पिः is syntactically connected with the word बिन्दुः understood, and not with the Karma-pravachanīya अपि.

Secondly, when अपि has the force of sambhāvana; as अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् ॥ Vishṇu who is not to be expressed by word or comprehended by mind, is being praised. The meaning is that a person who is capable of praising Vishṇu the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Unutterable, is certainly able to praise other Divinities lower in rank. It is needless to say that he can praise others. Here the word अपि expresses “possibility” itself; while in the first example, it expressed the scarcity of the object of possibility. The word अपि being a Karma-pravachanīya, the स is not changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 65. S. 2270.

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed, but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् ‘there may be perhaps a

drop of ghee,' मधुनोऽपि स्यात् ॥ Here some word like bindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little,' mâtṛā 'a measure' &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिञ्चन् मूलकसहस्रं क्षणैकैः 'possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment'. अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् "he can praise even Vishnu". In the above cases, it is used with the Potential mood. अव्यसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिञ्च 'you may sprinkle, if you like.' अपि स्तुहि 'you may praise, if you like.' The word गर्हा means 'censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग द्वेवृत्तमपि स्तुयाद् वृषलम् ॥ The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिञ्च 'praise as well as sprinkle,'.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into ष ॥

५५८ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

इह द्वितीया स्यात् । मासं कल्याणी । मासमधीते । मासं शुडधानाः । क्रोशं कुदिला नदी । क्रोशमधीते । क्रोशं गिरिः । अत्यन्तसंयोगे किम् । मासस्य द्विरधीत । क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

558. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), मासं शुडधानाः । क्रोशं कुदिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं गिरिः 'the hill through one full kos'.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity' ? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

Here ends the Accusative Kāraka.

-:0:-

KARTĀ

OR

THE AGENT KĀRAKA.

५५९ । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । १ । ४ । ५४ ॥

क्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षितोऽर्थः कर्ता स्यात् ॥

559. What ever the speaker chooses as the in-

dependent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartâ or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks.' स्थाली पचति 'the pot cooks.'

THE INSTRUMENTAL KĀRAKA.

५६० । साधकतमं करणम् । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

क्रियासिद्धौ प्रकृष्टोपकारकं करणसंज्ञं स्यात् । तमप्रमहणं किम् । गङ्गायां घोषः ॥

560. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kâraṇa.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः "the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges." कूपे.गर्गकुलम् "the family of frogs in the well, i. e. on the sides of the well."

५६१ । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया । २ । ३ । १८ ॥

अनभिहिते कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया स्यात् । रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली ॥

प्रकृत्यादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ प्रकृत्या चारुः । प्रायेण याज्ञिकः । गोत्रेण गार्ग्यः । समेनैति । विषमेयेति । । द्वित्राणेन धान्यं क्रीणाति । सुखेन दुःखेन वा यातीत्यादि ॥

561. In denoting the agent or the instrument the third case-affix is employed.

As रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली 'Bâli was killed by Râma by an arrow.'

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्वित्राणेन, पंचक and साहस्र as प्रकृत्याचारुः प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण एति, द्वित्राणेन धान्यम् क्रीणाति सुखेन दुःखेन वा याती स्यादि. &c.

५६२ । दिवःकर्म च । १ । ४ । ४३ ॥

दिवः साधकतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्याच्चात्करणसंज्ञम् । अक्षरेत्यान्वा दीव्यति ॥

562. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव 'to play' is called karina (object), as well as karaṇa, (instrument)

*Note:—*The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this.

As अस्नात् वीव्याति or अस्ने वीव्याति 'he plays the dice or with the dice.'

५६३ । अपवर्गे तृतीया । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अपवर्गः कलपान्तिस्तस्य चोत्थार्य कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया स्यात् । अद्वा क्रोशेन वाऽनुवाकोऽधीतः । अपवर्गे किम् । मासमधीतो नायातः ॥

563. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

Thus ; अद्वा क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

Why is the word अपवर्ग read in the sūtra ? It means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनायातः 'learnt for a month, but not yet prepared the Anuvaka.'

५६४ । सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

सहायेन युक्त अप्रधाने तृतीया स्यात् । पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता । एवं साकं सार्धं समयोगेऽपि । विनापि सयोगं तृतीया । वृद्धोऽयनेत्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥

564. - When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

As पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son,'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह such as साकं, सार्धं, समं &c ; as, पुत्रेण सार्धं 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 S. 931 वृद्धो युना &c.

*Note:—*Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्वगौः.

५६५ । येनाङ्गविकारः । २ । ३ । २० ॥

येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गतो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया स्यात् । अक्षणा काणः । अक्षिसंवाधिकार्य-स्वाविशिष्ट इत्यर्थः । अङ्गविकारः किम् । अक्षि काणमस्य ॥

565. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अङ्गा काणः 'blind of one eye' पादं खंजः 'lame of foot,' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body. Whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here. Why do we say 'defect of a limb'? Observe आक्षिकाणमस्य "His eye is blind."

५६६ । इत्थंभूतलक्षणे । २ । ३ । २१ ॥

कचिस्पर्कारं प्राप्तस्य लक्षणे तृतीया स्यात् । जटाभिस्तापसः । जटाज्ञाप्यतापसत्वाविशिष्टस्यर्थः ॥

566. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'

Note:—अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्राक्षीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिक्षात्रः 'a student has kamandalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhûta? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतनं ।

५६७ । संज्ञाऽन्यतरस्या कर्मणि । २ । ३ । २२ ॥

संपूर्वस्य जानातः कर्मणि तृतीया वा स्यात् । पित्रा पितरं वा संजानीते ॥

567. After the verb sam-jñâ, the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.'

५६८ । हेतौ । २ । ३ । २३ ॥

हेत्वर्थे तृतीया स्यात् । द्रव्यादिताधारणं निर्व्यापारसाधारणं च हेतुत्वम् । कारणत्वं तु क्रिया-पात्रविषये व्यपारनियतं च । दण्डेन घटः । पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः । फलमपीह हेतुः । अध्ययेन वसति । गम्यमानां विद्या कारकविभक्तौ प्रयोजिका । अले श्रमेण । श्रमेण साध्यं नास्तीत्यर्थः । इह साधनक्रियां तति श्रमेः कारणम् । क्षतेन क्षतेन वत्सान्पाययानि पयः । क्षतेन परिच्छिद्यत्यर्थः ॥ आशिष्टव्यवहारे क्षणः योगे चतुर्थ्यर्थे तृतीया * ॥ वाक्या संयच्छते कामुकः । धर्मे तु भार्यार्थं संयच्छति ॥

568. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix. -

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, 'family';' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical *hetu* (I. 4. 55 S. 2575.) which is "agent." Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called *hetu*, where the thing produced is a substance, or a quality (गुण): or action (क्रिया), but where the *action* is not primarily taken into consideration.

The difference between *hetu* and *Karāṇa* is this, that any substance, quality or action in general, by which any object in general is accomplished, without referring to any action necessarily is a *hetu*; while *karāṇa* is confined to *action* only, and its scope is always limited to that action necessarily. This is expressed by the following verse:—

द्रव्यादि विषयो हेतुः कारकं नियतक्रियम् ।
कर्ताश्रितं तु व्यापारं निमित्तं हेतुर्निश्चये ॥

As an example of substance (द्रव्य) being a *hetu*, we have दण्डेन घटः = दण्डहेतुकोषटः "A pot made by the stick." Here the stick is used to make the potter's wheel revolve. But it is not absolutely necessary. The wheel might be moved by *hand* as well. So the *stick* not being absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the act, gets the name of *hetu*. As an example of *guṇa-hetu*, we have पुण्येन शौरवर्णः "white races get that color by their merit—while black races are sinners." Here "*white*" is an attribute or quality, the *hetu* of which is *punya*, but white colour may be acquired by other things than *punya* also. In short, *hetu* is that which effects something in the shape of a substance or action or quality; and which is not immediately connected with any *verb*. The *karāṇa* is always so connected with a *verb*, and gives rise only to *action*, and not to a substance or quality.

*As an example of action (क्रिया) we have पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः "Hari is seen through virtue." Here *punya* means the highest merit (apūrva) acquired by deeds, and not any particular sacrifice &c. So it is not a *karāṇa*, for it is not absolutely necessarily implied in the idea of seeing.

The FRUIT ALSO is *hetu* in the sense of this sūtra. As अभ्यस्यनेन वसति "He dwells with the Guru with the object of getting instruction."

An action not expressly mentioned in a sentence, but which may be inferred, may be the cause of giving rise to *kāraka*-inflection. As अलं श्रमेण "no necessity of exertion." Here *Srameṇa* is in Instrumental *kāraka*, without any *verb* expressed, the understood verb being साध्यं नास्ति ॥ Here श्रम or exertion is *karāṇa* or instrument to the verb साधन "accomplishment" understood. The full sentence being "by exertion, accomplishment is not possible, so do not exert." So also शक्तेन शक्तेन वत्सान् पाययति "He makes the calves

to drink by hundred, that is, he waters the calves, by dividing them into groups of hundreds.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative, in connection with the verb दा 'to give,' when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्य संयच्छने काशुकः "The profligate gives to the slave to entice her." यच्छ replaces दा by VII. 3. 78. S. 2440. But when proper conduct is meant, we use the Dative, and Parasmaipada, as भार्योय संयच्छति "He gives to his wife." See I. 3. 55 S. 2728, for the use of the Atmane and Parasmai Padas.

In the above vārtika the words दाणः प्रोक्त 'when the verb दा is employed' are redundant. Because, by I. 3. 55 S. 2728, दा alone takes the Instrumental case, with the force of the Dative, under certain circumstances.

—————:O:—————

THE DATIVE KĀRAKA.

५६९ । कर्मणा यमभिप्रेति स संप्रदानम् । १ । ४ । ३२ ॥

दास्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रेति स संप्रदानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

569. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of the verb दा 'to give' is called Sampradāna or recipient.

Note:—Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb दा to give; and this we infer from the word संप्रदान which has the root दा in it.

Note:—As उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति "he gives the cow to the teacher." माण्डवकाय भिक्षाम् ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

५७० । चतुर्थी संप्रदाने । २ । ३ । १३ ॥

विप्राय गां ददाति । अनभिहित इत्येव । दानीया विप्रः ॥

क्रियया यमभिप्रेति सोऽपिसंप्रदानम् * ॥ पत्यं ज्ञेति ॥

कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा * ॥ पशुना ह्रस्वं यजते । पशुं ह्रस्वाय ददातीत्यर्थः ॥

570. In denoting the śampradāna-kāraḥ (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

As विप्राय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the learned.' The word अनभिहिते is understood here also. See II. 3. 1 S. 536. Therefore we have the form दानीयोविप्रः also, where the affix अनीयर् is used with the force of sampradāna.

Vart:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As पत्न्ये शेते 'she sleeps for her husband.'

Vart:—After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना रुद्रं यजते or पशुं रुद्राय ददाति 'he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra,' which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

५७१ । रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

रुच्यर्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थः संप्रदानं स्यात् । हरये रोचते भक्तिः । अन्य-
कर्तृकोऽभिलाषो रुचिः । हारनिष्ठप्रीतेर्भक्तिः कच्ची । प्रीयमाणः किम् देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः
पथि ॥

571. In the case of verbs having the signification of the root रुच 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradāna.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As हरये रोचते भक्तिः "devotion pleases Hari." Here bhakti is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Hari.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. "Devadatta likes sweet-meat in the way." The word 'pathi' is here in the 7th case.

५७२ ॥ श्लाघलुङ्स्याशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः । १ । ४ । ३४ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे बोधयितुमष्टः संप्रदानं स्यात् । गोपी स्मरात्कृष्णाय श्लाघते हृते तिष्ठते शपते वा ।
ज्ञीप्स्यमानः किम् । देवदत्ताय श्लाघते पथि ॥

572. In the case of verbs ślāgh 'to praise,' hnu 'to take away,' sthā 'to stand,' and śap 'to curse,' the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, those actions, is called Sampradāna.

The word ज्ञीप्स्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As गोपीस्मरात् कृष्णाय श्लाघते "Gopi praises Kṛṣṇa," i. e. while praising

Krishna she wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As कृष्णाय हुते "she hides from the co wives for the sake of Krishna," (wishing that Krishna should know of it) कृष्णाय तिष्ठते "she stays or waits for Krishna." कृष्णाय क्षपते 'she reviles Krishna.'

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय भ्लाषति पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

५७३ । धारेरुत्तमर्णः । १ । ४ । ३५ ॥

धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः । उत्तमर्णः किम् । देव-
दत्ताय क्षतं धारयति ग्रामे ॥

573. In the case of the verb dhâri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word उत्तमर्ण is compounded of two words उत्तम 'best' and कृण 'debt' meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्ण 'debtor.' As भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः "Hari owes salvation to His devotee."

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय क्षतंधारयति ग्रामे 'he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village.' Here village is in the Locative case.

५७४ । स्पृहेरीप्सितः । १ । ४ । ३६ ॥

स्पृहयतेः प्रयोगे इष्टः संप्रदानं स्यात् । पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति । ईप्सितः किम् पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति ।
ईप्सितमात्रे इयं संज्ञा । प्रकर्षविवक्षायां तु परस्वात्मसंज्ञा । पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

574. In the case of the verb sprîh 'to desire,' the thing desired is called Sampradâna.

The verb स्पृह 'to desire,' belongs to the ChurĀdi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers.'

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers in the forest.' Here वने is in the Locative case, the Sampradâna being confined to the object desired only.

This definition of the Dative is only confined to the thing desired. But where superiority or excellencce is to be expressed, then by the next sūtra, the thing desired will get the designation of karma and will be in the objective case, as पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

५७५ । कुत्रद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रति क्रोपः । १ । ४ । ३७ ॥

कुत्रार्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रति क्रोपः स उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । हरेः कुत्रयति । हृष्याति । ईर्ष्याति वासु-
धाति । यं प्रति क्रोपः किम् । भार्यामीर्ष्याति मैनामन्योऽद्वाक्षीविति । क्रोधोऽपकारः । ईर्ष्याऽक्षमा ।

असूया गुणेषु शोषादिस्करणम् । ब्रुहादयोऽपि कोपप्रभवा एव गृह्यन्ते । अतो विशेषणां सामान्येन यं प्रति कोप इति ॥

575. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* 'to be angry,' *druh* 'to injure,' *īrshya* 'to envy,' *asūyā* 'to detract,' the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sāmpradāna*.

As हरये कृध्यति, ब्रुह्यति, ईर्यते or असूयति "he is angry upon, (i. e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds the faults with Hari." Here Hari is in the Dative case.

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *īrshya* jealously; and *asūya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भावामीष्यति 'he is jealous of his wife,' i. e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word 'bhāryā' is in the accusative case. The words ब्रुह &c., here should be taken as given birth to by 'anger.' Therefore they are all qualified by the common adjective "यं प्रति कोपः" in the sūtra.

५७६ । क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्म । १ । ४ । ३८ ॥

कोपसर्गयोरनयोऽर्थे प्रति कोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । क्रूरमभिकुध्यति अभिब्रुह्यति ॥

576. But in the case of the verbs '*krudh*' and '*druh*,' when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *karma kâraka* or object.

क्रूरमभिकुध्यति अभिब्रुह्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवराजाय कृध्यति.

Note :—This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word *upasrishta* means having an *upasarga* or preposition.

५७७ । राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः । १ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एतयोः कारकं संप्रदानं स्यात् । यदीयो विविधः प्रश्नः क्रियते । कृष्याय राधीति ईक्षते वा । पृष्टो वर्णः शुभाशुभं पर्यालोचयतीत्यर्थः

577. In the case of the verbs *rādh*, 'to propitiate,' and *īksh* 'to look to,' the person about whose good or bad

fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word viprasna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus कृष्णाय राध्यति-ईक्षते गर्गः 'Garga is favorable to or looks to Krishṇa' the sense is that being casually asked by Krishṇa, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Krishṇa.

Note :—Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राधोति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

५७८ । प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां परस्य श्रुणोतोर्योगे पूर्वस्य प्रवर्तनरूपव्यापारस्य कर्ता संप्रदानं स्यात् । विप्राय गां प्रति-
श्रुणोति आश्रुणोति वा । विप्रेण मह्यं वेदीति प्रवर्तितः प्रतिजानीत इत्यर्थः ॥

578. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit : the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

As विप्राय गां प्रतिश्रुणोति —आश्रुणोति "he promises a cow to a learned man."

Note :—The compound verb प्रातश्च and आश्रु means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing, who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case.

५७९ । अनुप्रतिगृणश्च । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

आभ्यां गृणातः कारकं पूर्वव्यापारस्य कर्तृभूतमुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् । होत्रेऽनुगृणाति प्रतिगृणाति ।
होता प्रथमं संसति तन्मन्त्र्युः प्रोत्साहयतीत्यर्थः ॥

579. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रेऽनुगृणाति or प्रतिगृणाति. They encourage the Hotri i. e., the Hotri priest invokes first, the Adhvaryu then follows him in invocation and by so doing encourages him.

Note :—The words अनुगरः and प्रतिगरः mean encouraging the invoker.

५८० । परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ४४ ॥

नियतकालं भृत्या स्वीकरणं परिक्रयणं तस्मिन् साधकतमं कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । शतेन वाताय वा परिक्रीतः ॥ तादृश्यं चतुर्थी वाच्यः * ॥ मुक्तये हरिं भजति ॥ क्लृप्तिं संपद्यमानं च * ॥ भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते संपद्यते जायते इत्यादि ॥ उत्पातेन ज्ञापिते च * ॥ वाताय कपिला विशुन् ॥ हितयोगे च * ॥ ब्राह्मणाय हितम् ॥

580. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikrî, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called Sampradâna.

As वाताय परिक्रीतः or शतेन परिक्रीतः ॥

Note :—This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्रयणे means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time.

Vart :—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof'; as मुक्तये हरिं भजति 'he worships Hari for the purpose of getting emancipation.'

Vart :—The verb क्लृप्ति and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते-संपद्यते-जायते &c, 'devotion tends to produce knowledge.'

Vart :—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as, वाताय कपिला विशुन् ॥ 'The reddish lightening portends wind.'

Vart :—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word हितः as ब्राह्मणाय हितं 'good for the Brahmanas.'

५८१ । क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः । २ । ३ । १४ ॥

क्रियार्था क्रिया उपपद यस्य तस्य स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य तुमुनः कर्मणि चतुर्थी स्यात् । फलेभ्यो याति । फलान्याहर्तुं यातीत्यर्थः । नमस्कुर्मो नृसिंहाय । नृसिंहमनुकूलदितुमित्यर्थः । एवं स्वयंभुवे नमस्कृत्यत्याश्रयिषि ॥

581. 'The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there with another verb, denoting action performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10 S. 3175)

. In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,] is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

Thus फलंभ्यो याति = फलान्वाहते याति 'he goes for fruits i. e. to bring fruits.' This debars accusative case. So also we have नमस्कृत्यो नृसिंहाय "we salute Man—Lion to propitiate Him." So also in स्वयम्भुवे नमस्कृत्य &c.

५८२ । तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् । २ । ३ । १५ ॥

भाववचनाच्चाति संज्ञा यो विहितस्तदन्ताच्चतुर्थी स्यात् । यागाय याति । यष्टुं यातीत्यर्थः ॥

582. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11. S. 3180) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

As यागाय याति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं याति ॥

Note :—The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्' ॥

५८३ । नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलंघयच्छयोगाच्च । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभिर्योगे चतुर्थी स्यात् । हरये नमः ॥ * उपपश्विभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्वलीयसी ॥ नमस्करोति देवान् । प्रजाभ्यः स्वस्ति । अग्रये स्वाहा । पितृभ्यः स्वधा । अलमिति पर्याप्त्यग्रहणम् । तेन देव्यभ्यां हाररत्न प्रभुः समर्थः शक्त इत्यादि । प्रभवादियोगे षष्ठ्यापि साधुः । तस्मै प्रभवति स एषां मामणोरिति निर्देशात् । तेन प्रभुर्बुधूषुषुवनचयत्येति सिद्धम् । वषडिन्द्राय । अकारः पुनर्विधानार्थः । तेनाक्षीविषद्यायां परामपि चतुर्थी चाशिषीति षष्ठी बाधित्वा चतुर्थ्यैव भवति । स्वस्ति गोभ्यां भूयात् ॥

583. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with words namaḥ 'salutation,' svasti 'peace,' svâhâ, svadhâ (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashaṭ a term of oblation.

As हरये नमः But in नमस्करोति देवान्, the word देवान् is in the Accusative case in accordance with the following Paribhâshâ.

Paribhâshâ—"A case-termination, which if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base is instrumental in bringing about the action denoted by the Verb of a sentence, possesses greater force than a case-termination which might be added to the same base, because of the presence in the same sentence of a word requiring the

addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter ”.

*Note :—*Accordingly देवान् has received the termination of the Accusative case by II. 3. 2. S.537' because the Accusative, namely the Devas are the object of the action denoted by नमस्करोति, and it has not received the termination of the dative which case is governed by the word नमः ॥ उपपदविभक्तिः कारक विभक्तिर्वलीयसी The meaning of उपपदविभक्ति is “that case which is used in connection with a certain word and has not any direct relation with the verb in the sentence.” Such as the dative case in हृदये used in connection with नमः ॥ Here the dative has no connection with the verb and is brought about by the force of नमः ॥ कारकविभक्ति is the Vibhakti added on to the word which denotes the person or thing taking part in an action. The maxim says Karaka Vibhakti is stronger then Upapad-vibhakti.

स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाऽग्ने, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं मत्तो मत्ताय 'Salutation to Gods'; 'svâhâ to Agni'; 'svâdhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c., The word अलं, includes its synonyms also, as प्रभुः, शक्तः &c. ; as दैत्येभ्यो हरिरलं, प्रभुः, समर्थः, शक्तः &c.

The use of Genitive is also valid in connection with प्रभु &c. Because we find sentences like तस्मै प्रभवति (V. 1. 101 S. 1765) स एषां आमनीः (V. 2. 78 S. 1878) Therefore this is valid :—प्रभुर्ब्रह्मसुवनत्रयस्य ॥ So also वषट्पिन्नाय ॥

The च indicates that the Dative, will debar the Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73 S. 631 in the case of these words, though used benedictively ; as, स्वस्तिगोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

५८४ । मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु । २ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्राणिवर्जं मन्यतेः कर्मणि चतुर्थी वा स्यात्तिरस्कारे । न त्वां तृणं मन्ये तृणाय वा । इयना निर्देशात्तानादिकयोगे न । न त्वां तृणं मन्ये । अप्राणिवित्यपनीय नौकाकान्तशुक्रभृगालवज्जैविति वाच्यम् ॥ तेन न त्वां नावमन्नं वा मन्ये इत्यप्राणिवित्येऽपि चतुर्थी न । न त्वां शुने मन्ये इत्यप्राणिवित्येऽपि अत्येव ॥

584. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वां तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्य So also the sūtra uses the form मन्य, with the vikarana इयन्, indicating that it is Divādi that governs a dative, and not the Tanādi भव्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां तृणं मन्ये ॥

The words “which is not an animal” in the sūtra are useless

and should be removed. Because even when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative :—as न त्वां शुने मन्ये "I do not regard thee even as a dog." See the Vārtika given below.

* *Vart.* :—Instead of using अमानिषु in the sūtra, the word अनावारिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvādi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये; never in the Dative :—नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक्र 'parrot,' and भृगाल 'jackal.'

Hence नाव and अन्न although inanimate are not put in the dative in नत्वां नावमन्नं मन्ये ; नत्वां शुने मन्ये ॥

५८५ । गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि । २ । ३ । १२ ॥

अध्वनिश्चे गत्यर्थानां कर्मणि एते स्तथेष्टायाश्च । ग्रामं ग्रामाय वा गच्छति । चेष्टायां क्रिय । मनसा हरिं व्रजति । अनध्वनीति क्रिय । पन्थानं गच्छति । गन्त्राधिष्ठितेऽध्वन्येवायं निषेधः । अवा ह्यस्यात्पन्था एवाक्रमितुमिष्यते तदा चतुर्थी भवत्येव । उत्पयेन पथे गच्छति ॥

585. In the case of roots implying motion, the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case; in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

As, ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' Why do we say 'when physical motion is meant? Observe मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari.' Why do we say 'when the object is not a word expressing road'? Observe पन्थानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way').

The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the Dative will be employed, as उत्पयेन पथे गच्छति ॥

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THE ABLATIVE KĀRAKA.

५८६ । ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । १ । ४ । २४ ॥

अपावो विस्तरेस्तस्मिन्साध्ये ध्रुवमवधिभूतं कारकमपादानं स्यात् ॥

586. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point, from which departure takes place, is called apādāna or ablation.

५८७ । अपादाने पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २८ ॥

ग्रामाद्याति । धावतोऽभ्यास्यति । कारकं किम् । वृक्षस्य पर्णे पतति ॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रमाश-
र्यानामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पापाञ्जुगुप्सते विरमति धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति ॥

587. When the Apâdâna-kâraka is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

As, ग्रामाद्याति 'he comes from the village'; धावतोऽभ्यास्यति 'he falls off a galloping horse.'

Why do we say कारक in explaining the sūtra? Observe वृक्षस्य पर्णे पतति ॥ The leaf of the tree falls. (Here 'वृक्ष' has no direct connection with the Verb, hence it is not कारक) ॥

Vârtika :—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus पापाञ्जुगुप्सते or विरमति, 'he dislikes or ceases from sin.' धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति, 'he deviates from the path of Virtue.'

५८८ । भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः । १ । ४ । २५ ॥

भयार्थानां चाणार्थानां च प्रयोगे भयहेतुरपाशनं स्यात् । चोराद् बिभेति । चोरान् ज्ञायते । भयहेतुः किम् । अरण्ये बिभेति ज्ञायते वा ॥

588. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger,' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apâdâna.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चोराद् बिभेति "he is afraid of the thief," चोरान् ज्ञायते or रक्षति "He protects or saves from the thief."

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu), is put in the ablative case? Observe अरण्ये बिभेति or ज्ञायते "he fears or protects in the forest."

५८९ । पराजेरसोढः । १ । ४ । २६ ॥

पराजेः प्रयोगेऽसह्योऽर्थोऽपाशनं स्यात् । मध्ययनात्पराजयते । ग्लायतीत्यर्थः । असोढः किम् । क्षातृन्पराजयते । अभिभवतीत्यर्थः ॥

589. In the case of the verb parâjî, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdâna.

When the verb जि "to conquer," with the preposition परा has the

sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable,' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते "he finds study unbearable."

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते "he defeats the enemies."

५६० । वारणार्थानामिप्सितः । १ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रवृत्तिविघातो वारणम् । वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे इप्सितोऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति । इप्सितं किम् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति क्षेत्रे ॥

590. In the case of verbs having the sense of "preventing," the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off, is called Ablation or Apādāna.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vāraṇa or prevention. As यवेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति "he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley."

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case'? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे "he wards off the cow in the field."

५९१ । अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति । १ । ४ । २८ ॥

व्यवधानं सति यत्कर्त्तव्यस्यात्मनो दर्शनस्याभावमिच्छति तदपादानं स्यात् । मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः । अन्तर्धौ किम् । चौरान् दिदृक्षते । इच्छतिग्रहणं किम् । अवर्त्तनेच्छायां सत्यां सत्यपि दर्शने यथा स्यात् ॥ देवदत्ताद् यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

591. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apādāna.

Thus मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः "Krishna conceals or hides from his mother," so that the mother may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षते "he does not wish to see the thieves." Here the term chaurān is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apādāna kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he is seen. As देवदत्ताद्यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

५९२ । आख्यातोपयोगे । १ । ४ । २९ ॥

नियमपूर्वकविद्यास्वीकारे वक्ता प्राक्संज्ञः स्यात् । उपाध्यायार्थीति । उपयोगे किम् । नटस्य नायां भृजोति ॥

592. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apādāna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

Note:—The word आख्यानं means “teacher,” and उपयेन means acquiring knowledge in the regular way.

Thus उपाध्यायादधीते “he learns from the preceptor.”

Why do we say ‘when meaning to learn’? Observe नदस्य गायते शृणोति ‘he hears the song of the player,”

५९३ । जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः । १ । ४ । ३० ॥

जायमानस्य हेतुरपाशानं स्यात् । ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते ॥

593. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan “to be born,” is called Apâdâna.

As ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते the creatures come out of Brahma.’

Note:—That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan is put in the ablative case.

५९४ । भुवः प्रभवः । १ । ४ । ३१ ॥

भवनं भूः । भूकर्तुः प्रभवस्तथा । हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति । तत्र प्रकाशत इत्यर्थः ॥

ल्यप्लोपे कर्मण्यधिकरणे च * ॥ प्रासादान्प्रेक्षते । आसनात्प्रेक्षते । प्रासादमारुह्य आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षत इत्यर्थः श्वशुराजिज्ञेति । श्वशुरं वीक्ष्येत्यर्थः ।

गम्यमानाऽपि क्रिया कारकविभक्त्यानां निमित्तम् । कस्मात्त्वं नद्याः ॥

यत्तथाध्वकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी * ॥ तद्युक्ताध्वनः प्रथमासप्तम्यौ * ॥ कालास्तप्तनी च वक्तव्या * ॥ वनाद्गमो योजनं योजने वा । कार्तिक्या आमहायणी मसि ॥

594. The source of the agent of the verb bhû, “to become,” is called Apâdâna.

The phrase ‘of the agent’ (kartuh,) is understood here. The word प्रभव means “the source or that from which anything arises.” As हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति “the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas.”

The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते ‘he sees from a palace.’

Vart:—And under similar circumstances, in denoting the location, the place where an action is performed, is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते ‘he sees from the seat.’ So also श्वशुराजिज्ञेति = श्वशुरं वीक्ष्य “He becomes shy at the sight of his father-in-law.”

A verb understood is also a cause that gives rise to kâraka inflection. As कस्मात्त्वं नद्याः ॥ *

Note:—In questions, and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:— कुतो नद्यात् ? पटलीपुत्रात् ‘whence is your Honor coming ? From Pataliputra.’

Vart :—That point of time or space, from which distance in time or space is measured, is put in the Ablative case :—as, वनात् ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा “The village is one or two yojanas from the forest.”

Vart :—After a word denoting time, the seventh case is also employed in the sense of ablation. As कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे ‘Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika.’ The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case here as मासे ॥

Vart :—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative ; as गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ॥

५९५ । अन्यारादितरतै दिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

एतैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अन्य इत्यर्थग्रहणम् । इतरग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्यम् । अन्यो भिन्न इतरो वा कृष्णात् । आराधनात् । कृते कृष्णात् । पूर्वो ग्रामात् । दिशि दृष्टः शब्दो दिक्शब्दः । तेन संप्रति देशकालवृत्तिना योगेऽपि भवति । चैत्रात्पूर्वः फाल्गुनः । अवयववाच्ययोगे तु न । तस्य परमाश्लेषितमिति निर्देशात् । पूर्वं कायस्य । अञ्चूत्तरपदस्य तु दिक्शब्दत्वेऽपि षष्ठ्यतस्येति षष्ठी बाधितुं पृथक्ग्रहणम् । प्राक्, प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् । आच्छ, वक्षिणा ग्रामात् । आहि, वक्षिणाहि ग्रामात् । अपादाने पञ्चमीति सूत्रे कार्तिक्याः प्रवृत्तीति भाष्यप्रयोगात् प्रवृत्त्यर्थयोगे पञ्चमी । भवात्प्रवृत्ति आरभ्य वा सेव्यो हरिः । अपपरिवहिरिति समासविधानाज्ज्ञापकाद्बहिर्योगे पञ्चमी । ग्रामाद्बहिः ॥

595. When a noun is joined with words meaning ‘other than’ or with ârât ‘near or remote’ or itara ‘different from’ or rite ‘without,’ or words indicative of the ‘directions’ (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu ‘to bend’ as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

The word अन्य in the sūtra includes all words having the sense of अन्य, i. e. all words meaning ‘other than.’ इतर must be synonymous with अन्य for the application of this sūtra. Its use in the sūtra is therefore only illustrative. When इतर means नीच “low,” then the sūtra does not apply.

As अन्यो, भिन्नो. इतरो, कृष्णात् “different from Krishṇa,” आराद् वनात् “remote from or near to the forest’. (The word ârât meaning ‘near or remote’ would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 611, but this enjoins 5th case-affix) कृते कृष्णात् ‘excepting Krishṇa.’ पूर्वो ग्रामात् ‘east of the village’ The word दिक् ‘direction’ includes here every word which is employed primarily in denoting direction and nothing else. Therefore, the rule applies when such a word is used in connection with point of time, as चैत्रात्

पूर्वः फाल्गुनः, "The month Phalguṇa is anterior to Chaitra." Here the direction denoting word पूर्वः governs the Ablative. But when it means "member," it does not govern the ablative.' for Panini himself shows this in the construction of the sūtra तस्य परं आश्रितम् VIII. 1. 2. S. 83. Here परं does it not govern the ablative, and the sūtra is not तस्मात् परं &c. Thus पूर्व कायस्य, here पूर्व does not govern the ablative.

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añch are also विकृष्टः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the sūtra 609 does not come after them. उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer.' With añchu we have प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village,' with आच् we have दक्षिणा-ग्रामात् ॥ and with āhi we have दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् both meaning 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

In commenting on the sūtra II. 3. 28. S. 587 Patanjali gives the example कार्तिक्याः प्रश्रुति, which shows that प्रश्रुति and its synonyms also govern the ablative case. Here प्रश्रुति means आरभ्यः ॥ Thus भवात् प्रश्रुति आरभ्यो वा सेव्यो हरिः "Hari is to be served by all commencing with Bhava downwards."

The word बहिस् governs the ablative, and this we infer from II. 1. 12 S. 666, which says "The words अप, परि बहिस् and indeclinables ending in अञ्चु may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case." This rule of samāsa implies that बहिस् governs fifth case : as ग्रामाद् बहिस् ॥ This rule being inferred by implication is not universal, on the maxim शापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्र ॥ Therefore we have करस्य करभावाद् and not करात् ॥

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The three particles अप, पर and आह् govern the ablative, when they are Karmapravachaniya. The next two sūtras describe when they are Karmapravachaniya.

५९६ । अपपरी वर्जने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतो वर्जने कर्मप्रवचनीयो स्तः ॥

596. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachaniya, when meaning 'exclusion.'

Note :—The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपविगतैर्भ्यो वृष्टो देवः "it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta." So also परि विगतैर्भ्यो वृष्टो देवः ॥ In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma pravachaniya. As ओषधं परिचिञ्चति ॥ "He waters the rice

thoroughly." Here it is an upasarga, meaning thoroughly and hence changes the स into ष ॥

५९७ । आह् मर्यादा वचने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आह् मर्यादायादुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । वचनग्रहणादभिविधावपि ॥

597. The word *ân* "as far as", is *karma-pravachanīya* when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (but excluding) Pāṭaliputra" आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (including) Pāṭlīputra," आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः ॥ आसांकाद्यात्, आ मथुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix, it does not get this name.

The मर्यादा is the limit exclusive (विना तेन), while अभिविधि is the limit inclusive (सह तेन) ॥ The construction of the sūtra would have been better if it had been the same as II. 1. 13 S. 667 आह् मर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥

५९८ । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः । २ । ३ । १० ॥

एतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्व्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अपहरं परिहरेः संसारः । परिरच वर्जने । लक्षणायां तु हरिपरि । आमुक्तेः संसारः । आसकलाद्ब्रह्म ॥

598. The fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the *karmapravachanīya* *apa*, *ân* or *pari*.

अप or परि हरं संसारः "The *samsāra* is outside of *Harī*" Here the force is that of exclusion.

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 83) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृक्षं परि विद्यातंत विद्युत् (I. 4. 90 S. 552), or हरिं परि where the meaning is that of "sign" &c. mentioned in I. 4. 90 S. 552.

So also आमुक्तः संसारः = मुक्तिं मर्यादीकृत्य "the *samsāra* has its sway up to *mukti*, but not with it or beyond it." आसकलाद्ब्रह्म "Brahma is in every thing." Here *आ* has the force of inclusion, = सकलमभिव्याज्य ॥

५९९ । प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोः प्रतिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

599. The word *prati* is *karma-pravachanīya* when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

*Note:—*That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि ॥ Giving in return for what is obtained. is प्रतिदान ॥

६०० । प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् । २ । ३ । ११ ॥

अत्र कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात्प्राति । तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति माषान् ॥

600. The Fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed after whatsoever is governed by the karmapravachanīya प्राति when used in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

As प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात् प्राति " Pradyumna is the representative of Kṛishṇa." तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति माषान् " he exchanges mîshâs for the sesamum.'

६०१ । अकर्तृयुगे पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २४ ॥

कर्तृवर्जितं यदयं हेतुभूतं ततः पञ्चमी स्यात् ॥ शताद्वज्रः । अकर्तरि किम् । शतेन बन्धितः ॥

601. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

As शताद्वज्रः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe शतेन बन्धितः, 'a debt of hundred' has thrown him in prison'; here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

६०२ । विभाषागुणेऽस्त्रियाम् । २ । ३ । २५ ॥

युगे हेतावच्छीलिङ्गे पञ्चमी वा स्यात् । जाड्याडजाड्येन वा बद्धः । युगे किम् । धनेन कुलम् अस्त्रियां किम् । बुद्ध्या हुक्तः । विभाषेति योगविभाषादयुगे स्त्रियां च क्वचित् । धूमादग्निमान् । नास्ति चोऽनुपलब्धेः ॥

602. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

As जाड्यात् जाड्येन वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' Why do we say 'when the noun expresses an attribute'? Observe धनेन कुलम् ॥ Why do we say 'not being of the feminine gender?' Observe बुद्ध्या हुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill.'

This sūtra may be divided into two distinct sūtras, e. g. विभाषा and युगेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ Thus we get two rules :—

1. The ablative is used optionally when the noun expresses the cause of a thing, whether material or attributive; whether feminine or masculine. This rule is of limited scope.

Therefore a feminine word even will also govern the ablative. As *धूमावग्निमान्*, "By reason of the smoke, (we infer the mountain to be) fiery." *नास्ति घटोऽनुपलब्धे*: "There is no pot here, because it is not perceived."

2. The ablative is employed when a word expresses attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

६०३ । पृथग्विनानानामिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३२ ॥

एभिर्योगे तृतीया स्यात्पञ्चमीद्वितीये च । अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणं सप्रत्ययार्थम् । पञ्चमीद्वितीयेऽनुवर्तेते । पृथग् रामेण रामात् रामं वा । एवं विना नाना ॥

603. When joined with the words *prithak* 'without,' *vinâ* 'without' and *nânâ* 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

As *रामाङ्गमेण रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा* 'without or different from Râma.'

Note :—This sūtra may be divided into two parts :—(1) *पृथग् विना नानाभिः* (2) *तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्* ॥ By this arrangement we can read dvitīya into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षं विशुद्धपतनं विना ।

विना हस्ति कृतान्दोषान् केनैव पातितौ द्वौ ॥

The word *anyatrasyām* in the sūtra is for the sake of "collecting"—i. e. it includes the dvitīya as well as *pañchamī-vibhaktis*. In the *Ashtādhyāyī*, the arrangement of the sūtras are 1. *अपादाने पञ्चमी*, 2. *अन्यतरादितरत* &c. 3. *तस्य* &c. 4. *एनपा द्वितीया* 5 *पृथग् विना* &c.

Now in case the third case-affix is not employed, then the second case-affix *alone* would be employed, because dvitīya is used immediately in the preceding sūtra. But if the second case-affix will come optionally, then the fifth will also come. But fifth is necessary (not optional); and thus the *simultaneous* employment of the three (5th, 2nd 3rd) will be impossible. Hence we say that the word *anyatarasyāma* of the sūtra must mean "aggregation or collection". Thus by *frog-leap* we draw in the *anuvritti* of *pañchamī* from sūtra II. 3. 28, S 587 while we draw in dvitīya from the sūtra immediately preceding the present. *नाना* has also the sense of exclusion, as said in the *Amarakosha* *हिरूहं नाना च वर्जने* (*avyaya varga* verse 3) as in *नाना नारी निष्कला लोकयात्रा* ॥

The rule applies to these *three* synonyms only. Therefore not here हिङ्ग देवदत्तस्य 'without Devadatta.'

६०४ । करणे च स्तोकात्पञ्चकृत्कतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य । २ । ३ । ३३ ॥

एभ्योऽङ्गव्यवचनेभ्यः करणे तृतीयापञ्चम्यौ स्तः । स्तोकेन स्तोकाद्वा युक्तः । इव्ये तु स्तोकेन विषेय्य हतः ॥

604. When expressing an instrument-kâraka, after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' krichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the third as well as the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects (i. e. they are used as adverbs and not as adjectives).

As स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा युक्तः and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c.' But स्तोकेन विषेय हतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance.

६०५ । दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च । २ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीया स्याद्यात्पञ्चमीतृतीये । प्रातिपदिकार्यमात्रे विधिरयम् । मामस्य दूरं दूरात् दूरेण वा । अन्तिकम् अन्तिकात् अन्तिकेन वा । असत्त्ववचनस्येत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दूरः पन्थाः ॥

605. After the words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

As. दूर दूराद् दूरेण वा मामस्य and अन्तिकात्, अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं मामस्य ॥

This rule applies only when these words have their original prâtipadika singification, and do not qualify a substance, because the anuvritti of "when they do not denote (or qualify) material objects" is understood here also. Therefore the proper case-affix is employed here as दूरः पन्थाः ॥

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THE GENITIVE.

६०६ । षष्ठी शेषे । २ । ३ । ५० ॥

कारकप्रातिपदिकार्यव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिभावादिसंबन्धः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी स्यात् । राज्ञः पुरुषः । कर्माक्षिनामपि संबन्धमात्रविवक्षायां षष्ठेऽप्य । सतां गतम् । सर्विषो जानीते । मातुः स्मरति । एषो दकस्यापस्कुर्वते । भजे शंभोश्चरणयोः । फलानां तृप्तः ॥

606. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c.

different from that of a word related to a verb (kâraka), and from that of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika)

As, राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

The sixth case should also be employed when the *mere* relationship of kârkas like karma (Accusative) &c. is intended to be expressed. As सतां गतम् = सत्पुरुष सम्बन्धिगमनम् "the going of the good, i. e. the going relating to the good." So also सर्पिषो जानीते "He knows about ghee" i. e. every thing relating to ghee, its price, manufacture, quality &c. Here sixth case is used with the force of the Instrumental = सर्पिः संबन्धिं प्रवर्तनं ॥ Others take it in the sense of karma, explaining it as सर्पिः संबन्धि ज्ञानं ॥

So also मातुः स्मरति ॥ "He remembers his mother." एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते (see 614). "Fuel does good to water i. e. purifies it. Or heats it." The word edhodaka is either a samâhâra compound of एधाश्च उदकेच; or एधांसिच दकेच ॥ The word दक is an abbreviated form of उदक ॥

So also भजे शंभोश्चरणयोः 'I worship the feet of Shambhu.' and फलानां हृत्तः "satisfied with fruits."

६०७ । षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्येषष्ठी स्यात् । अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

607. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word "hetu" is used along with such a word.

As, अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.' This ordains sixth case, where there would have been otherwise the third case.

६०८ । सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च । २ । ३ । २७ ॥

सर्वनाम्नो हेतुशब्दस्य च प्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये तृतीया स्यात् षष्ठी च । केन हेतुना वसति । कस्य हेतोः ॥

निमित्तपञ्चाशद्व्यागे सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् * ॥ किमिति वसति । केन निमित्तेन । कस्य निमित्तायेत्यादि । एवं किं कारणं को हेतुः किं प्रयोजनमित्यादि । प्रायमहणात्सर्वनाम्नः प्रथमाद्विधीयेत स्तः । ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हेतिः सद्यः । ज्ञानाय निमित्तायेत्यादि ॥

608. After a sarvanâman (I. 1. 27 S. 213) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word 'hetu' is used with it, the sixth case-affix is employed, as well as the third.

As कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' यस्य or कस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

Vart:—When the words निमित्ते or कारण or its synonyms are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed ; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तेन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति ॥ Similarly with the words kâraṇa and hetu. किं कारणं, को हेतुः, किं प्रयोजनं &c. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. I. 68 S. 25) but its synonyms also ; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति ॥

By the employment of the word प्राय, the First and the second-case-affixes do not come after non-sarvanama words. As, ज्ञानेन, निमित्तेन हरिः सेव्यः or ज्ञानाय निमित्ताय &c.

६०६ । षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन । २ । ३ । ३० ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । विक्वाद्धेति पञ्चम्या अपवादः । ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः पुरः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् ॥

609. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28 S. 1978).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28. S. 1978.

It debars the fifth case affix ordained by V. 3. 27 S. 1974.

As ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् वा 'to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village.'

६१० । एनपा द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ३१ ॥

एनबन्तेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । एनपेति योगविभागात्षड्यपि । दक्षिणेन ग्रामं ग्रामस्य वा । एवमुत्तरेण ॥

610. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35 S. 1984), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

As. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.' So also उत्तरेण ॥ By the rule of yoga-vibhâ, we get the sixth case-affix also.

६११ । दूरान्तिकार्थः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एतेद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात्पञ्चमी च । दूरं निकटं ग्रामस्य ग्रामाद्वा ॥

611. When in conjunction with words having the sense of 'dûra' 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is employed and also the Fifth.

As ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रकटं, अन्तिकं, अभ्यासं, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

६१२ । ज्ञोऽविद्वर्थस्य करणे । २ । ३ । ५१ ॥

आनातेरज्ञानार्थस्य करणे शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो ज्ञानम् ॥

612. Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्पिषोज्ञानम् ॥

Note.—The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of 'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रतिहतो वा ॥ Compare I. 3. 54.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्र जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

६१३ । अधीगर्थद्वयेशां कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । मातुः स्मरणम् । सर्पिषो दयनम् । ईशानं वा ॥

613. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As मातुः स्मरणम् 'he remembers the mother.' सर्पिषो दय नं ॥ ईशानं वा 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं नावाणामीदे 'he can not rule his limbs.

Note.—But not so here मातुर्युनैः स्मरति because युय here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मात्रं स्मरति is also allowed.

६१४ । कृजः प्रतियत्ने । २ । ३ । ५३ ॥

कृजः कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्याद्युयाधाने एधो दकस्थोपस्करणम् ॥

614. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

As एधोदकस्थोपस्करणम् 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, S. 2552 स is inserted).

Note.—When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कष्टं करोति ॥

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also एधोदकमुपस्कुरुते ॥

६१५ । रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामञ्ज्वरेः । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकर्तृकाणां उपरिबर्जितानां रुजार्थानां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । अञ्ज्वरिसंताप्योरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ रोगस्य चौरञ्ज्वरः । चौरसंतापो वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसंबन्धि उपरादि-कमित्यर्थः ॥

615. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा " the disease afflicts the thief " चौरस्यामयति भ्रामयः ॥

Vartika :—It should be rather stated " with the exception of *ज्वरय* or *संतापय* ॥'

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कुलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ॥

The word *ज्ञाष* is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजात रोगः ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथः । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीरर्थस्य नाथतेः शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो नाथनम् । आशिषीति किम् । माणवकनाथनम् । तत्संबन्धिनी आश्चेत्यर्थः ॥

616. Of the verb *nâth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्पिषो नाथनम् 'the blessing of the honey.' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe माणवकनाथनम् 'he entreats the boy.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

६१७ । जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हिंसार्थानामेषां शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्योज्जासनम् । निग्रो संहती विपर्यस्तो व्यस्तो वा । चौरस्य निग्रहयनम् प्राणहननम् । निहननम् प्रहयनं वा । नट भ्रतस्वन्दने चुरादिः । चौरस्योन्नादनम् चौरस्य क्रायनम् । वृषलस्य पेषणम् । हिंसायाम् किम् । धानपिषणम् ॥

617. The object of the verbs *jâsi* 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *नि* and *प्र*, jointly, severally or in any order, *nâṭ* 'to injure,' 'krath,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्योज्जासनम्, निप्रहणं, निहननं, प्रहणं, प्रणिहणं, उदावयति, काययति, विनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root नद् belonging to the Churādi class No. 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvādi. हन् with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root कथ takes in the causative vridhhi irregularly. This verb is Bhvādi and falls into the subdivision ghaṭādi, and is called there a मिन् verb; all मिन् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix यिच् (IV. 4. 92). Thus काय is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानोपपणम् 'the pounding of the barley.'

Note:—The word क्षेप is also understood here as चौरमुज्जासयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनस्ति. चौरं विहन्ति ॥

६१८ । व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः । २ । ३ । ५७ ॥

षे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । शून कथविक्रयव्यवहारं चानयोस्तुत्यार्थता । शतस्य व्यवहरणं पणनं वा समर्थयोः किम् । शलाकाव्यवहारः । गणनंत्यर्थः ॥ ब्राह्मणपणनं स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618. 'The object of the verbs vyavahri and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य व्यवहरणं or पणनं 'dealing in, or staking hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix आय्? It takes आय when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say samarthayos? Not so here शलाका व्यवहारः 'counting the dice,' ब्राह्मण पणनं 'praising the Brāhmaṇa.' The word क्षेप is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणतं 'he stakes a hundred.'

६१९ । दिवस्तदर्थस्य । २ । ३ । ५८ ॥

शूनार्थस्य क्रयविक्रयरूपव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिवः कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । शतस्य शिव्यति । तदर्थस्य किम् । ब्राह्मणं शिव्यति । स्तौतीत्यर्थः ॥

619. 'The object of the verb div, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य शिव्यति 'he stakes or deals in "hundred." Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking'? Observe ब्राह्मणं शिव्यति 'he praises the Brāhmaṇa.'

Note:—The *yoga vihbāga*, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the *anuvṛitti* of *div* runs, and not of others.

६२० । विभाषोपसर्गे । २ । ३ । ५९ ॥

पूर्वयोगापवादः । दत्तस्य दत्तं वा प्रतिदीव्यति ॥

620. The object of the verb *div*, when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an-upa-sarga.

As दत्तस्य दत्तं वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.'

Note:—But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism ; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, दालाकां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile.'

६२१ । प्रेक्ष्यभ्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने । २ । ३ । ६१ ॥

देवतासंप्रदानेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोः प्रेक्ष्यभ्रुवोः कर्मणो हविर्विशेषस्य वाचकाच्छब्दात्पठ्ये स्यात् । अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेवसः प्रेक्ष्य अनुहृहि वा ॥

621. The object of the verb *preshya* and *brūhi* (imperative singular of *Divadi* verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

As अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेवसः प्रेक्ष्य अनुहृहि वा 'send to fire as oblation the goat, the fat, and the marrow.'

Note:—But not here :—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपां मेवो जुहुहि. Because the verb is not *preshya* or *brūhi*. So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेक्ष्य, Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडासां प्रेक्ष्य. Because the recipient is not a deity. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as ; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविर्वपां मेवः प्रस्थितं प्रेक्ष्य 'send for Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

६२२ । कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे । २ । ३ । ६४ ॥

कृत्वोऽर्थानां प्रयोगे कालवाचिन्यधिकरणे शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । पञ्चकृत्वोऽहो भोजनम् । द्विरहो भोजनम् । शेषे किम् । द्विरहन्त्यध्ययनम् ॥

622. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (*adhikaraṇa*) after a word denoting time

(kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

As पंचकृत्वाऽहोभोजनम् 'eating five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरहोभोजनम् 'he eats twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच?'. Observe आहि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुक्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कांस्यापात्रां भुक्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is not meant as द्विरहो भुक्ते.

Why is शेष understood here? Observe द्विरहन्यध्ययनम्.

६२३ । कर्तृकर्मणेः कृति । २ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कृद्योगे कर्तारि कर्मणे च षष्ठी स्यात् । कृष्णस्य कृतिः । जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः ॥ गुणकर्मणि वेद्यते
* ॥ नेताऽश्वस्य सुप्तस्य सुप्तं वा । कृतं किम् । तद्धिते मा भूत् । कृतपूर्वी कटम् ॥

623. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1. 93), the anuvritti of शेषे ceases.

As कृष्णस्य कृतिः "the doing of Kṛishṇa."

जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः "Kṛishṇa is the creator of the world,"

But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.' Where it is neither agent nor object.

Ishti:—According to Patanjali, the employment of the sixth case is optional when the word is an Indirect object (of a verb that takes two objects), as नेता अश्वस्य सुप्तस्य सुप्तं वा ।

Why do we say 'kṛit'? Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्विकटं. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

Note:—Why do we say कृत्? Because the agent or the object will take the affix of the sixth case only in connection with kṛit, while in connection with a conjugated verb (तिङ्) the sixth case is debarred by II. 3. 69. S. 627; Observe कृतपूर्वी कटं ।

Here the object कृदं is not put in the sixth case, though it is not governed by a conjugated verb but by a Taddhita.

६२४ । उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ६६ ॥

उभयोः प्राप्तीर्वात्मिकृति तच्च कर्मण्येव षष्ठी स्यात् । आश्चर्य्यो गवां शोहोऽगोपेन ॥

स्त्रीप्रत्यययोरकाकारयोर्नायं नियमः ॥

भेदिका विभिस्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगतः ॥ शेषे विभाषा * ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यय इत्येके । विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरिहरिणा वा । कोचिद्विशेषेण विभाषामिच्छन्ति । शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्य्येणाचार्य्यस्य वा ॥

624. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by a kṛit-affix, are both used in a sentence, and the sixth case can be employed after EITHER, then the sixth case-affix is employed in the object only, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

Note :—" When a primary noun is accompanied at the same time by both its agent and its object, generally only the object is put in the genitive, the agent being denoted by the Instrumental. As आश्चर्य्यो गवां शोहोऽगोपालकेन wonderful is the milking of the cows, by one who is not a cow herd." (Keil horn).

आश्चर्य्यो गवांशोहोऽगोपेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.'

Vart :—" When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, and the restriction of the present sutra regarding object does not apply when the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender ending in भक or भ (III. 3. 111. and III. 3. 102. भेदिका विभिस्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगतः "The destruction or the desire of destroying the universe by Rudra." Here in भेदिका we have भक, and in विभिस्ता we have भ.

Vārtika :—" There is option in the remaining affixes. According to some when affixes are feminine other than भक or भ as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरिहरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' Some hold the option of this vārtika as unrestricted by any such condition ; as शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्य्येणाचार्य्यस्य वा "the dissertation on words by the āchārya." Here anuśasanam is neuter, and not feminine.

६२५ । कस्य च वर्तमाने । २ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वर्तमानार्थस्य कस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । न लोकेति निषेधस्याऽपवादः । राक्षां नरो दुष्टः पूजितो वा ॥

625. The past participle ending in क् when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

This sūtra debars sūtra 627 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishthā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

As राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' So also राज्ञामतो बुद्धोवा ॥

६२६ । अधिकरणवाचिनश्च । २ । ३ । ६८ ॥

क्तस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । इदमेषामासितं शयितं गतं भुक्तं वा ॥

626. The past participle in क् is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishthā contained in II. 3. 69. S. 627. As इदमेषामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेषां शयितं गतं भुक्तं वा 'this is their sleeping.'

६२७ । न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठास्त्रलर्थतृणाम् । २ । ३ । ६९ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । लोकेषां । कुर्वन् कुर्वाणा वा सृष्टिं हरिः । उ । हरिं विदुः । अलं करि-
ष्युर्वा । उक् । दैत्यान् पातुको हरिः ॥ कर्मरानिवेधः * ॥ लक्ष्म्याः कायुको हरिः । अव्ययम् । जगत् सृष्ट्वा ।
मुखं कर्तुम् । निष्ठा । विष्णुना कृता दैत्याः । दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णु । खलर्थाः । ईषत्करः प्रपञ्चो हरिणा ।
मृन्निति प्रत्याहारः शतृशानच्चाविति तृगब्धवारभ्यातृनो नकारात् । शानन् । सोमं पवमानः । शानश्च । आ-
स्मानं मण्डयमानः । शतृ । वेदमधीयन् । तृन् । कर्ता लोकान् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा * ॥ सुरस्य सुरं वा द्विषन् ॥ सर्वोऽ-
यं कारकपञ्चयाः प्रतिवेधः ॥ षोढे षष्ठी तु स्यादेव । ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् । नरकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

627. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle which is the substitute of ल, or when the word is formed by the affix उ, or उक्, or governed by an Indeclinable, or by a past Participle in क् and क्वतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक् = ल + कृक् = लोक.

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in शतृ, शानच् (III. 2. 124 S. 3100), कानच् (III. 2. 106 S. 3094) क्वत् (III. 2. 107

S. 3095) कि and किन् (III. 2. 172 S. 3151). Thus कुर्वन् or कुर्वाणो वा वृष्टिं हरिः ॥
भोजनं पचन्, पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवाङ्, पपिः सोमन्, हविर्गाः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168 S. 3148, as, हरिं विदुषुः "desirons of seeing Hari." The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term ; as, कन्यामलंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix उक् is ordained by (III. 2. 154 : S. 3134 as दैत्यान् घातुको हरिः ॥

Vart :—But there is no prohibition in the case of the word कायुक in secular Sanskrit, which governs the Genitive, as लक्ष्म्याः कायुको हरिः ।

4. Indeclinables formed by कृन् affixes, as, जगन् सृष्ट्वा सुखं कर्तुम् ॥

Vart :—This prohibition, however, does not apply, to the indeclinables formed by तोसुन् (III. 4. 16 S. 3443) and कसुन् (III. 4. 17 S. 3444,) as पुरा सूर्यस्योर्वेतोराधेयः, पुरा कूरस्य विसृपो विरष्णिन् (I. 1. 40.)

5. Nishṭhā i. e., क and क्वतु ; as विष्णुना हता दैत्याः । दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णुः ॥

6. The words formed by खलर्थ affixes (III. 3. 126. S. 3305), as, ईषत्करो प्रपञ्चो हरिणा, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता.

7. The तुन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the तु of शान् (III. 2. 124. S. 3100) and the final न of तन् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115), meaning the affixes शानन् (III. 2. 128 S. 3108) As सोमं पचमानः॥ चानद्या (III. 2. 129 S. 3109) आत्मानं मण्डयमानः॥ शान् (III. 2. 130 S. 3110), अधीयन् and तुन् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115). कर्ता लोकात् ॥

Vart :—Optionally so, when the root द्विष् takes the affix शान्, as, दुरं or दूरस्य द्विषन् ॥ The rule of this sūtra is a prohibition of kāraka Shashṭhī and not of Shesha Shashṭhī. That sixth-case affix will be employed. As ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, नरकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

६२८ । अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ण्ययोः । २ । ३ । ७० ॥

भविष्यत्त्वकस्य भविष्यदाधमर्ण्येनच योगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । सतः पालकोऽवतरासी । ब्रजं गामी ।
घातं दायी ॥

628. The sixth case affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting ' futurity ' and ' indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as ण्बुल, बुष्ट् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170. S. 3171, S. 3311), denotes both. Thus सतः पालकोऽवतरासी "He takes birth to protect the good." भोजनं भोजको ब्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, ब्रजं गामी 'he has to go to Braja.' घातं दायी 'he owes hundred.'

६२६ । कृत्यानां कर्तरि वा । २ । ३ । ७१ ॥

षटी वा स्यात् । मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः । कर्तरि क्तिन् । गेयो मानवकः साम्नाम् । भव्यं गेयति कर्तरि बाह्विधानादभिहितं कर्म । अत्र योगो विभज्यते ॥

629. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kritya).

By II. 3. 65, S. 623 primary nouns, (kr̥it-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those primary nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः.

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent?' In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो मानवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Here by III. 4. 68 S. 2894, the kritya word गेयः can denote the agent also, and is not necessarily confined to the object, like other kritya formed words (III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Hence the compulsory genitive. Of course, the objective may also be used, as गेयानि मानवकेन सामानि ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कृष्ट्वा माम् शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या व्रजं गावः कृष्येन.

According to Patanjali the present sūtra should be divided into two rules, by the method of Yoga vibhāga. As.

६२६ क ॥ कृत्यानाम् ॥

उभयप्राप्तविति नेति चानुवर्तते । तेन नेतव्या व्रजः गावः कृष्येन । ततः

629 A. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kritya affix are both used in a sentence and it is possible to employ the Genitive case after either of them, then the sixth case-affix is not used after the object.

Here the words उभयप्राप्तौ of II. 3. 66 S. 624 and न of II. 3. 69 S. 627 must be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The meaning of the aphorism therefore is as given above.

As नेतव्या व्रजं गावः कृष्येन ॥ Here we cannot employ the sixth case-affix, after the word व्रजं ॥

६२९ ख ॥ कर्तरि वा ॥

उक्तोऽर्थः ॥

629 B. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the *kritya* affix are both used in a sentence, then the sixth case-affix may optionally be used in denoting the agent.

As गेयः माणवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Patanjali:—Why have we used the word “kartari” in the sūtra? So that the affix may not come in the object. No, this cannot be the reason: for the *kritya*-affixes are employed in denoting *bhāva* Impersonal action and karma (Passive Voice) only, and never *kartā* (agent). (See. III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Thus being governed by the *kritya*, the object of the Passive Participle will never take the Genitive affix, but will take the first case-affix. To this Kātyāyana gives the following answer:—

Vārtika:—The word “Kartari” is used in the sūtra, because the *kritya* words of the sūtra III. 4. 68 S. 2894 (*viz.*, भव्य, गेय &c.) express agent also (are used in Active construction); and their object being not expressly taught, those *kritya* words do not govern any object directly. As गेयो माणवकः साम्नाम् ।

The object of the Passive Participles भव्य &c., not being taught, the “agent” of the *kritya* words is taken here.

How do you say “the object of the Participles bhavya &c., is not taught by the *kritya* affixes,” for do we not find them also governing an object, as in the following example? भाकटव्या भानं शाखा. The verb कृष् governs two objects, the Principal object is put in the accusative after the Participle. So it is necessary to use the word *kartari* in the sūtra.

If this be so, we shall divide the sūtra into two. First कृत्यानां and then कर्तरि च as given above.

६३० । तुल्यार्थैरनुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

तुल्यार्थेयौगे तृतीया वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी । तुल्यः सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य कृष्णेन वा । अनुलोपमाभ्यां क्रिय । तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

630. The third or the sixth case affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning ‘like to, or resemblance’; excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्योः सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य or कृष्णेन. Why do we say “excepting तुला and उपमा.” Here the Genitive must necessarily be employed. Observe तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

Note :—Though the anuvṛitti of वा was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired.

६३१ । चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रमद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः । २ । ३ । ७३ ॥

एतदर्थेयेणे चतुर्थी वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी आशिषि । आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय कृष्णस्य वा भूयात् । एवं मद्रं भद्रं कुशलं निरामयं सुखं वा अर्थः प्रयोजनं हितं पथ्यं वा भूयात् । आशिषि किम् । देवदत्तस्यायुष्यमस्ति । व्याख्यान/स्त्वध्वार्यमहयम् । मद्रमद्रयोः पर्यायत्वादन्यतरां न पठनीयः ॥

631. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional : in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart :—In the sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य ॥ Similarly मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, वा, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पथ्यं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं वदन्तस्व तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here here is no option allowed; and the Genitive case is only employed.

६३२ । आधाराऽधिकरणम् । १ । ४ । ४५ ॥

कर्तृकर्मद्वारा तन्निष्ठक्रियाया आधारः कारकमधिकरणसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

632. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed, by reason of the agent or the object being in that place, is called Adhikaraṇa or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called ādhāra. As दे आस्ते 'he is seated on the mat.' कटे शेते 'he is sleeping on the mat.' स्थास्यं अस्ति 'he cooks in the pot.' The Adhikaraṇa takes the 7th case-affix.

६३३। सप्तम्यधिकरणे च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अधिकरणे सप्तमी स्यात् । अकाराद्गुणान्तिकार्येभ्यः । औपम्येभ्यो वैषयिकोऽभिधायकत्वेत्याधार विधा । कटे भास्ते । स्यात्स्यां पचति । मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति । सर्वस्मिन्नास्ति । वनस्य दूरे अन्तिके वा ॥ दूरा-
न्तिकार्येभ्य इति विभक्तित्रयेण सह चतस्रोऽचविभक्तयः कलितः ॥

क्तस्येन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसङ्गनम् * ॥ अधीति व्याकरणे । अधीतमनेनेति विग्रहे इष्टादिभ्योति कर्तरिनिः ॥

साधुसाधुप्रयोगे च * ॥ साधु कृष्णो मातरि । असाधुर्मातुले ॥

निमित्तात्कर्मयोगे * ॥ निमित्तमिह फलम् । योगः संयोगसमवायात्मकः ॥

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति हन्तयोर्हन्ति कुञ्चरम् ।

केषु चर्मरि हस्ति रीप्ति पुष्कलको हतः ॥ १ ॥

हेतो नृसीत्याऽच प्राप्ता तन्निवारणार्थमिवम् । सीमाऽण्डकोष्ठः । पुष्कलको गन्धद्वयः ।

योगविशेषे किम् । वेतनं धान्यं लुनाति ॥

633. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location, as well as after the word meaning 'distant' or 'near.'

The location is of three sorts :—

1. Location of contact.
2. Location of object.
3. Location of pervasion.

As कट् भास्ते 'he sits on the mat' स्यात्स्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot. मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति. "He desires Liberation." सर्वस्मिन्नास्ति. आन्तिके दूरे वा वनस्य 'near or distant from the forest.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh. See II. 3. 35 S. 605.

Vart:—Words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object :—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in grammar.' It should be analysed as अधीतमनेन, and then is added इनि by See V. 2. 88 S. 1888.

Vart:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown ; as साधुः कृष्णो मातरि 'Krishna is well behaved towards his mother.' असाधुर्मातुले 'ill-behaved towards his uncle.'

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done. The nimitta here means "fruit"; yoga means samyoga and samavāya. As in the above verse :—

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

Here the third case-affix would have, otherwise, come in denoting "hetu". The present vārtika prevents that. The word सीमा in the above verse means "testicle." The word पुष्कलकः means musk-deer. According to Padamanjari pushkalaka means "a spear or dart." सीमिन् पुष्कलकोदतः "a bolt or dart fixed in the ground, for the sake of demarcation or fixing the boundary."

Why do we say in this vārtika "purpose for which anything is done"? Observe वेत्तेन धान्यं लुनाति "by wages he cuts the paddy."

६३४ । यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २ । ३ । ३७ ॥

यस्य क्रियया क्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततः सप्तमी स्यात् । गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः ॥

अर्हाणां कर्तृत्वेऽनर्हाणामकर्तृत्वे तद्वैपरीत्ये च * ॥ सस्यु तरस्यु असन्त आसते । असस्यु तिष्ठस्यु सन्तस्तरन्ति । सस्यु तिष्ठस्यु असन्तस्तरन्ति । असस्यु तरस्यु सन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥

634. By the action (bhāva) of what-so-ever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धात्स्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु दूयमानेषु गतः, हुतेष्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जटाभिः स धुङ्क्ते. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो धुङ्क्ते स देवदत्तः.

Vārtika:—In denoting the proper action of a person competent to perform it, in the same sentence with the non-performance of the same action by the person not competent to do it, or in the non-doing of the action by the person not competent to do it, in the same sentence with the performance of the action by the person competent to do it, the first part of the sentence is put in the Locative case and *vice versa*, when incompatibility of an action is denoted. As सस्यु तरस्यु असन्त आसते "The good crossing over, the bad remain sitting." &c.

६३५ । षष्ठी चानादरे । २ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनादराधिक्ये भावलक्षणे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । रुदति रुदनो वा प्रात्राजीत् । रुदन्तं पुष्पादिकमनादृत्य संन्यस्तवानित्यर्थः ॥

635. The sixth case-affix is employed, (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after

that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदति वा प्राज्ञाजीत् 'in spite of his weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all, that' &c., रुदन्त पुत्रादिकमनाहृत्स्व सन्वस्तवान् "disregarding the weeping sons and the rest, he became a San-yāsi,"

६३६ । स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतेः सप्तभिर्योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । षष्ठ्यामेवं प्राप्तायां पाक्षिकसप्तम्यर्थे वचनम् । गवां गोषु वा स्वामी । गवां गोषु वा प्रसूतः । ना एवानुभवितुं जात इत्यर्थः ॥

636. The sixth and the seventh case affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvar 'lord', adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir,' śākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety' and prasūta 'be-gotten.'

Thus गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वरः 'master of cows.' So also गवां गोषु वा प्रसूतः "born for the cows i. e. to help the cows."

Note:—These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

६३७ । आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् । २ । ३ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तस्तात्पर्येऽर्थे । आयुक्तो व्यापारितः । आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा ॥ आसेवायां किम् । आयुक्तो गोः शकटे । ईषयुक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

637. In conjunction with the words āyukta 'en-gaged,' and kuśala 'skillful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

As आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in worship of Hari.'

Why do we say 'deeply absorbed'? For when not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different. Observe आयुक्तो गोः शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

६३८ । यतश्च निर्धारणम् । २ । ३ । ४१ ॥

आतिगुणक्रियासंज्ञाभिः समुदायात्कृतेशस्य पृथक्करणं निर्धारणं यतस्तत षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । गवां

नृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा । गच्छतां गच्छस्तु वा धावन् शीघ्रः । छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः ॥

638. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class.)

A nirdhârana or specification is made by separating one from the many or a part from the whole, by reason of its genus, quality or action (II. 2. 10.)

As नृणां नृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः : "The Spiritual man is the best among men or of men."

As गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा: 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' गच्छतां गच्छस्तु वा धावन् शीघ्रः "Of walkers, the runner is the fastest." छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः "Among the pupils Maitra is most skillful."

६३९ । पञ्चमी विभक्ते । २ । ३ । ४२ ॥

विभागो विभक्तम् । निर्धार्यमाणस्य यत्र भेद एव तत्र पञ्चमी स्यात् । माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकंभ्यः आत्थताराः ॥

639. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debarb the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकंभ्यः आत्थताराः 'Mathuras are more rich than Pataliputra.'

६४० । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः । २ । ३ । ४३ ॥

आभ्यां योगे सप्तमी स्थादर्चायां न तु प्रतेः प्रयोगे । मातरि साधुनिपुणे वा । अर्चायां किम् । निपुणो राज्ञो भृत्यः । इह तत्त्वकथने तात्पर्यम् । अत्रस्यादिभिरिति वक्तव्यम्* ॥ साधुनिपुणे वा मातरं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा ॥

640. In conjunction with the words sâdhu 'good,' and nipuṇa 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case affix is employed ; provided that the word prati is not used.

Thus, मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्भूखोराज्ञः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

Vârtika :—The exception applies not only to प्रति, but to other prepositions, like परि, अनु &c., as साधुनिपुणे वा मातरं प्रति पर्यन्तु वा ॥

६४१ । प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च । २ । ३ । ४४ ॥

आभ्यां योगे तृतीया स्याच्चास्तप्तमी । प्रसित उत्सुको वा हरिणा हरौ वा ॥

641. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

We read the anuvritti of सप्तमी by force of the word च "and" in the sūtra.

As प्रसति उत्सको हरिणा हरौ वा.

६४२ । नक्षत्रे च लुपि । २ । ३ । ४५ ॥

नक्षत्रे प्रकृत्यर्थे यो लुप्तज्ञया लुप्यमानस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थस्तत्र वर्तमानाचतुतीयासप्तम्यो स्तोऽधि-
करणे । मूलेनावाह्येहोर्वी श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत् । मूले श्रवणे इति वा । लुपि किम् । पुष्ये शनिः ॥

642. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Thus 'मूलेनावाह्येहोर्वी श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्' or else मूले or श्रवणे.

Note:—पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमस्मीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मघाभिः पल्लोदं न मघासु पल्लोदनम्. But not so here पञ्चालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla.' Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe पुष्ये शनिः Here there is no elision.

But why not in अद्यपुष्ये, अद्यकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words, that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

६४३ । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये । २ । ३ । ७ ॥

शक्तिद्वयमध्ये यो कालाध्वानौ ताभ्यामने स्तः । अद्य भुक्त्वाऽयं द्यौर्ह्यद्वाहा भोक्ता ॥ कर्तृ-
शक्त्योर्मध्येऽयं कालः । इहस्योऽयं क्रोधो क्वांशाद्वा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् । कर्तृकर्मशक्त्योर्मध्येऽयं देशः ॥ अधिक-
शब्देन योगे सप्तमीपञ्चम्याविध्यते । तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति यस्मादधिकमिति च सूचनर्देशात् । लोके लोका-
द्वाधिको हरिः ॥

643. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and ano-

ther action (or implies an interval of time and space between to kârakas.)

Thus अद्य भुक्त्वां ग्रहे or ग्रहाद्वाभोक्ता 'having dined today, he will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽयं क्रोशात् क्रोशेवा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos or space is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

Ishti:—According to Patanjali, the word अधिक governs the fifth and the seventh case-affixes. This is inferred from the Jñāpaka of sūtras V. 2. 45 S. 1846, and II, 3. 9. S. 645 where Pāṇini uses the forms अस्मिन्नाधिकं and यस्मादाधिकं ॥ Thus लोके लोकाद्वा अधिको हरिः ॥

६४४ । अधिरीश्वरे । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

स्वत्वानिभावसंबन्धेऽधिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

644. The word adhi is karmapravachanīya when used in the sense of 'lord' ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

Note:—The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्मरत्नं पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्मरत्नः. Brahmadata rules over Panchālas.

६४५ । यस्मादाधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अथ कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्तं सप्तमी स्यात् । उपपदार्थे हरेर्युगाः । परार्थादधिका इत्यर्थः । ऐश्वर्ये तु स्वत्वानिभ्यां पर्यायेण सप्तमी । अधिभुवि रामः । अधिरामे भूः । सप्तमी सौण्डेरिति समासपक्षे तु रामाधीना । अथउक्तेत्यादिना त्रयः ॥

645. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the seventh case-affix (locative) is employed.

As उपपदार्थे हरेर्युगाः 'the qualities of Hari are more than billions.'

In denoting 'lordship,' the seventh case-affix is used either after the word denoting the thing possessed or after the possessor, indifferently. As अधि भुवि रामः or अधि रामेभूः "Rāma is lord of the world." By II. 1. 40 S. 717 there may be compounding also, as रामाधीना ॥ Here the affix ईन (technically ज्ञ) is added to the stem अधि by V. 4. 7. S. 2079.

६४६ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधिः करोतौ प्राक्संज्ञो वा स्यादीश्वरेऽर्थे । यद्वच नामधिकरिष्यति । विनिबोद्धवत इत्यर्थः । इह विनिबोद्धुरीश्वरत्व गम्यते । अगतित्वात्तिङि चांशान्तवतीति निघातो न ॥

946. The word adhi is optionally karmapravachaniya when the verb kri follows.

As यद्वच नामधि करिष्यति. Here adhikarishyati means "directs, controls &c." Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by VIII. 1. 71. S. 3978. otherwise not.

—:O:—

अथाव्ययीभावसमास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AVYAYĪ BHĀVA COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

ANOMALOUS COMPOUNDS.

६४७ । समर्थः पदविधिः । २ । १ । १ ॥

पदसंबन्धी यो विधिः स समर्थान्वितो बोध्यः ॥

647. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

*Note:—*This is a *paribhāṣā* or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a *पदविधि* is found, that must be understood to apply to *समर्थ* words. A rule relating to *पद* or complete words is called *पदविधि* ॥ The word *विधि* is formed by adding *वि* to the root *धा*म्; that which is ordained (*विधीयते*) is called *विधि* ॥ What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to *समास* or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to *विभक्ति* or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (*परिज्ञवद् भाव*) ॥

The word *समर्थ* means capable; and is of two sorts *vyapekṣā* and *ekarthī bhāva*. When a single word is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence, on analysis, it is called *ekarthībhāva Sāmarthyam*; while that which depends upon the words of a sentence as connected in sense; is called *vyapekṣa sāmarthyam*.—Thus *राजपुरुषः* a single compound word is an example of the first; while *राज्ञः पुरुषः* of the second. In this second case *राज्ञः* may be connected with other words also, as *राज्ञःपुरुषोऽश्वश्च* “The king’s man and horse”. But not so in the first case, there you cannot add any other word with *राज्ञ* ॥

Thus it will be taught in *sūtra* 24 ‘a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words *भित्त*, *अतीत* &c. and forms *tatpuruṣa* compound; ’as, *कष्टं भित्तः*=*कष्टभित्तः* ‘who has had recourse to pain.’ But when these words are not *समर्थ* or connected in sense, there can be no

compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कटं, भित्तौ विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pati, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कटं and भित्तौ though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थम् ॥

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्याविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्याविधि and not पदनिधि: and therefore, the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply there. Two words, however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यच्, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, इधि + भक्षान = इध्यक्षान ॥ This substitution of यच् for इक् will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as तिष्ठतु इध्यक्षान एवं शाक्रेण 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

६४८ । प्राकङ्कारात्समासः । २ । १ । ३ ॥

कङ्काराः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्राक्समास इत्यधिक्रियते ॥

648. From this point up to the aphorism kada-rākarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38 S. 751), all the terms that we shall describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word अथा when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense.

६४९ । सह सुपा । २ । १ । ४ ॥

सह इति योगो विभज्यते । सुबन्त समर्थेन सह समस्यते । योगविभागस्येष्टसिद्धयर्थत्वात्कालि-
पयतिष्ठस्तोत्रपरिषदस्य समासः । स च छन्दस्येव । पर्यभूषयत् । अनुव्यञ्जनत् ॥

649. The words 'saha supā' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words viz., सुप्, सह, सुपा ॥ All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sūtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely :—

649 A. सह. (सुप्, समस्यत समर्थेन) 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sūtra 2, समस्यते from sūtra 3, and समर्थेन from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुच्यवलन्, अनुप्रावर्षत, पर्यभूषन् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samāsa, the udātta accent is on the final.

649 B. सुपा (सह सुप् समस्यते) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word." The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनस्तूतं वासा वयं पुनर्निष्ठतो स्यः This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c.

६५० । सुपो भ्रातृप्रातिपदिकयोः । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोरेवयवस्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्व चरादिति निर्वशाद्भूतशब्दस्यै पूर्वनिपातः-
पूर्वं भूतो भूतपूर्वः ॥

इवेन समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च ॥ जीमूतस्येव ॥

650. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of -a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

In the sūtra भूतपूर्व चरद् (VI. 3. 53. S. 1999), the word भूतपूर्व is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member. पूर्व भूतः = भूतपूर्वः and not पूर्वभूतः, though both nouns are in the nominative case; and there is no express sūtra of Pāṇini, which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being upasarjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pāṇini is to the contrary.

Vartika :—There is no elision of the case-affix when a word enters into composition with इव 'like.'

Thus जीवूतस्त्वेव ॥ This samāsa, like the previous, is of rare occurrence.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8, S. 2657 "he wishes for a son of his own." A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46 S. 179); as कष्टम्वितः 'having recourse to pain'. राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टम्वितः = कष्टम्वितः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक ? Because when it gets any other name, such as अङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, प्लवः ॥

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SECTION II.

AVYAYĪBHĀVA.

६५१ । अव्ययीभावः । २ । १ । ५ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

651. From this forward, whatever we shall describe, will get the name of Avyayibhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

Note :—This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last.

६५२ । अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिवृद्ध्यर्थभावात्ययासंप्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भावपञ्चाद्यनानुपूर्व्ययोगपद्यसाहचर्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु । २ । १ । ६ ॥

अव्ययमिति शोभो विभज्यते । अव्ययं समर्थेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः ॥

652. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or 'of near to,' or 'prosperity,' or 'adversity,' or 'absence of the thing,' or 'departure,' or 'not now,' or 'the production of some sound,' or 'after,' or 'according to,' or 'order of arrangement,' or 'simultaneousness,' or 'likeness,' or 'possession' or 'totality,' or 'termination,' is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, which is connected with

it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhâva,

The words **सुप्** and **सुपा** are understood in this sūtra. The words **वचन** should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases. The examples of this sūtra will be found under 658.

This sūtra should also be divided into two, namely, the word **अव्ययं** should form a sūtra by itself.

652. A. अव्ययं ॥

An Indeclinable is compounded with any word with which it is connected in sense.

Thus the two words **अव्य** and **दिशम्** may be compounded, when meaning **दिशोर्नध्ये** ॥ In compounding, the following rules should be borne in mind; the actual compound is shown in sūtra 657.

६५३ । प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

समासशब्दे प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

653. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

Note :—This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया भिन्नातीत पतितगतास्तमाप्तापन्नेः) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word **द्वितीया** is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, "An accusative (द्वितीयाः)'s compounded with the words **भित्त**, **अतीतं**, **पतित**, **गत**, **अस्त**, **माप्त**, and **आपन्न** and forms Tat-purusha." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus **कष्टे + भित्तः = कष्टभित्तः** ॥ Here the word **कष्टे** being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30 S. 654 **उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्**, (In a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus **शङ्कुलाखण्डः**, **यूपहारः**, **वृक्षभवनम्**, **राजपुरवः**, **आशक्तौण्डः** ॥

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called **प्रधान** or principal.

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राकप्रयोज्यम् ॥

654. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) is to be placed first in a compound.

Note :—The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first.

६५५ । एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विभगे यमियतविभक्तिकं तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ननु तस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

Note :—A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i. e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix ; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions त्रिः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. As निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥ निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये. निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ

Similarly the word, निर्वाण्यसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी ; राजः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीम् ; राजः + कुमार्या, = राजकुमार्या, राजः + कुमार्यै = राजकुमार्यै ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I. 2. 48. S. 656.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाब्धीनिः ॥

३५६ । गोक्षीयोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोक्षीः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य द्वित्वः स्यात् । भव्यवीभावजे-
त्यव्ययत्वम् ॥

656. A short vowel is the substitute of that prātipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sūtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशाब्धी = निष्कौशाब्धीः ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणासिः ॥

Other examples are:—अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वः 'without a bedstead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभावाद्तोऽम् स्वपञ्चम्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अव्ययीभावोऽप्ययीभावस्तु न लुक् किन्तु तस्य पञ्चमी विना अमादेशः । विशयोर्मध्ये अपदिशम् ।
श्रीवेऽभ्ययं स्वपदिशं विशोर्मध्ये विशिक्ञ्यामित्यमरः ॥

657. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayībhāva compound that ends in आ; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debarb luk-elision which was to have taken place by the sūtra II. 4. 82. instead of luk-elision, we have अम् added to the words

ending in short अ ; as दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ This is neuter and an Indeclinable. But when दिश् is consonant ending, then also we have the same form As दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ The word दिश being read in the शरदादि class, takes the samāsānta इच् ॥ Another synonym of अपदिश is विदिश् which is, however, feminine. It means "an intermediate quarter" See Amarakosha (Chat I. Vyoma Varga verse 5)

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ' ? Because after an Avyayibhāva compound, ending in any other vowel, there is not अन् substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes ; as अधिहरि ॥

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अच् substitution ; as उपकुम्भादानम् ॥

६५८ । तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । २ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अन्ताद्व्ययीभावात्तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलमभावः स्यात् । अपदिशम् । अपदिशोन् । अपदिशम् । अपदिशो । बहुलमर्हणास्तुमङ्गुलमङ्गुलमित्यादौ सप्तम्या नित्यमभावः ।

विभक्तित्वादेरवयवार्थः । विभक्त्यर्थार्थादिषु वर्तमानमवयवम् सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः ।

विभक्तौ तावत् । हरो इत्यधिहरि । सप्तम्यर्थस्यैवात्र धोतकोऽधिः । हरि ङि अधि इत्यलौकिकं विग्रहवाक्यम् । अत्र निपातेनाभिहिते ऽव्यधिकरणे वचनसामर्थ्यास्तप्तमी ॥

658. 'The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

Thus Nominative and Accusative अपदिशम् ; Ins अपदिशान् or अपदिशाम्, Dat, Abl., and Gen. अपदिशम्, Loc. अपदिशो or अपदिशम् ॥

Vart :—The अच् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II. 1. 6. S. 652) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19 S. 673) ; as सुमङ्गम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras' ; सुमङ्गम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas' ; similarly वृन्मङ्गम् । लोहितमङ्गम् । एकाविंशतिभारङ्गम् ॥ The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vārtika.

—:0:—

The meaning of sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 is now being given. "An Indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity &c. is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is Avyayibhāva."

(1) Thus विभक्तिवचन example is अधिहरि ॥ Here अधि has the force of the seventh case-affix. The analysis of this compound is हरि + ङि + अधि

This is the grammatical (alaukika) as opposed to syntactical analysis. Here though the location is expressed by a particle (adhi), yet there is seventh case by force of the sūtra. Because *सुप्* is understood and it is the rule that a *सुबन्त* can be compounded with a *सुप्* ॥ Some explain *अधिहरि* as *हरो अधिकृत्य* ॥

The compound *अधिहरि* is Neuter by the next sūtra.

६५६ । अव्ययीभावश्च । २ । ४ । १८ ॥

अथ नपुंसकं स्यात् ॥ इत्यो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ गोपावतीति नाः पातीति वा गोपाः । तस्मिन्नित्यधिगोपम् । समीपे । कृष्णस्य समीपमुपकृष्णम् । समया भामम्, निकषा लङ्काम् । आराहनादित्यत्र तु नाव्ययीभावः । अभितः परितः अन्याराधिति द्वितीयापञ्चम्योर्विधानसामर्थ्यान् । मन्त्राणां सध्वजिः सुमन्त्रम् । यवनानां बृहज्जिबुर्वयनम् । विगता ऋज्जिर्बृहज्जिः । मक्षिकाणामभावो निर्मक्षिकम् । हिमस्याख्योऽस्तिहिमम् । अत्यगो ध्वंसः । निद्राऽसंप्रति न युज्यत इत्यतिनिद्रम् । हरिश्चन्द्रस्य प्रकाश इति हरिः । विष्णोः पञ्चावनुविष्णु । पञ्चाच्छब्दस्य तु नावं समासः । ततः पञ्चाक्षस्यते ध्वंस्ते इति भाष्यप्रयोगान् । योग्यतावीप्तापशार्थानतिवृत्तिसादृश्यानि शयार्थाः । अनुकूपम् । रूपस्य योग्यमित्यर्थः । अर्थमर्थं प्रति प्रत्यर्थम् । प्रतिपादस्य वीप्तायां कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात्तद्योगे द्वितीयागर्भे वाक्यमपि । शक्तिमनतिक्रम्य बयाशक्तिः । हरेः सादृश्यं सहृदि । वक्ष्यमाणेन सहस्य सः । ज्येष्ठस्यानुपूर्व्येणेत्यनुज्येष्ठम् । चक्रेण युगपदिति विभेदः ॥

659. An Avyayībhāva compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, *अधिहरि* ॥

Note :—But for this rule, an Avyayībhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound ; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of *च* is to include cases not mentioned already.

A crude-form is shortened by the rule S. 318 ; therefore, *पा* will be shortened to *प* when last member in a compound, as *अधि + गोपा = अधिगोप* which in Neuter becomes *अधिगोपम्* ॥ The word *गोपा* is derived either from *गोपावति* (*सुप्* 'to protect,') or from *पा* 'to protect' with the noun *गौ* ; as *नाः पाति = गोपा* "protector of cows."

The word *गोपा* when derived from *सुप्* *रञ्जि* is thus formed *सुप् + आञ्ज* (III. 1. 28 S. 2303) = *गोपाञ्ज* ॥ Now add to this root *क्लिप्*, thus *गोपाञ्ज + क्लिप् = गोपा* (the *ञ* of *ञ्ज* is dropped by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308 and the *ञ* is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873) *गोपा* "protector." The second *गोपा* (*नाः पाति*) is an upapada compound.

Now we give examples of *समीपवचन* &c. of S. 652 :—

(2) सनीपवचनं, as कृष्णस्य सनीपं=उपकृष्यात्, 'near to Krishna.' But in सनवासान्, निकषा लङ्गात्, आराद् वनात् there is no avyayibhāva. Because by the vārtika अभिः परितः &c. (S. 544) the words सनवा and निकषा govern Accusative case. If there were compounding, there would have been no necessity of that vārtika. Similarly by sūtra अन्यारात् &c. S. 595, आरात् governs the Fifth case, and therefore would give rise to no compounding.

3. सखिजिवचनं;—As सुमङ्गं 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमङ्गं 'well with the Magadhas.'

4. व्यजिवचनं;—As दुर्गवादिक् 'ill with the Gavadikas'; दुर्वचनं 'ill with the Yavanas.' The word vyridhi means विगता क्वादि "want of prosperity, adversity."

5. अभाववचनं;—As निर्मक्षिकम् 'free from flies'; निर्मक्षकम् 'free from mosquitoes.'

6. अत्ययवचनं;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather'; or अतिहिमम् ॥ Atyaya means "destruction, departure."

7. असम्प्रतिवचनं;—As अतितेसूक्कम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts,' so also अतिनिद्रम् "Past the time of sleeping," i. e. time to awake.

8. वाङ्मनादुर्भाववचनं;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे इतिहरि वर्तते 'In the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चाद्वचनं;—As विष्णोः पश्चात्=अनुविष्णु "after Vishnu." The word पश्चात् however itself cannot be so compounded; as Patanjali uses it separately in ततः पश्चात् संत्यजे see Mahābhāṣya on I. 1. 57 S. 50 and II. 2. 24.

10. अयार्थवचनं;—The meaning of the word अया is four-fold, viz., correspondence, 2. severalty or succession, 3. the not passing beyond something, 4. and likeness; thus (1) अनुकृपम् 'in a corresponding, or becoming or suitable manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according to each or several object of signification.' The word प्रति is a karmapravachanīya also when it denotes severalty, and so there will be no compounding but a sentence optionally having an accusative case, (3) अयाचक्षि 'according, to one's ability.' (4) सहृदि "like Hari." Here सहृ is changed to स, See also example 13 further on.

11. आनुपूर्व्यवचनं;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. योगपद्यवचनं;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel'

Here सचक्रं is formed from चक्रेण युगपत् or सहचक्रेण ॥ At this stage applies the next sūtra, by which सहृ which has the meaning of युगपत् is changed to स ॥

६६० । अय्ययीभावे आकाले । ६ । ३ । ८१ ॥

सहस्य सः स्वादृश्ययीभावे न तु काले । सचक्रम् । काले तु सहपूर्वाहुम् । सहसः सख्या
सास्ति । यथार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धे पुनः सादृश्यमहणं गुणभूतेऽपि सादृश्ये यथा स्वादित्येवमर्थम् । सखाणां
पत्तिः सक्षत्रम् । कज्जेराधिक्यं सचृद्धिः । अनुकूप आत्मभावः संपत्तिरिति भेदः । तृणमप्यपरित्यज्य
तृणमस्ति । साकल्येनेत्यर्थः । नत्यत्र तृणभक्षणे तात्पर्यम् । अन्ते । अग्निमन्यपर्यन्तमधीते सामि ॥

660. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayībhāva, when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रधेहि, but सहपूर्वाहुयम् when the second member is a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

13. सादृश्यवचन ;—As ससस्ति 'like a friend.' Though this could have been formed by example 10, as सहसि, the repetition of सादृश्य is for the sake of indicating that compounding will take place where sādriśhya is secondary even.

14. संपत्तिवचन ;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.' The difference between सचृद्धि and संपत्ति is this, that the former means "abundance of prosperity," the latter "acting according to one's nature, or befitting one's self."

15. साकल्यवचन ;—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' i. e. the whole, not leaving even a scrap, as in the sentence सतृणमस्ति 'He eats up every thing, even the straw.' The sense is not that he eats the straw, but that he eats everything.

16. अन्तवचन ;—As सामि 'he studies as far as the chapter of fire' (i. e. the whole Veda).

६६१ । यथाऽसादृश्ये । २ । १ । ७ ॥

असादृश्ये एव यथाशाब्दः समस्यते । तेनेह न । यथा हरिस्तथा हरः । हरेरुपमानत्वं यथाशाब्दो
प्रोक्तवति । तेन सादृश्य इति वा यथार्थ इति वा प्राप्तं निविष्टवते ॥

661. The indeclinable word yathâ, when it does not signify 'likeness', is invariably compounded, with a word ending in a case-affix, which is in construction with it, and the compound is called an Avyayībhāva Samāsa.

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामामन्त्रयस्व "invite every old Brāhmaṇa." So also यकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथाहरिस्तथा हरः 'As is Hari

so is Hara ' Here *यथा* denotes comparison with Hari. Thus the compounding under cl. (10) when *यथा* means *सादृश्य* or under cl. (14) having the same meaning is prohibited here by.

६६२ । यावद्वधारणे । २ । १ । ८ ॥

भावतः श्लोकास्तावन्तोऽप्युतप्रणामा यावच्छ्लोकम् ॥

662. The indeclinable word *yāvat*, when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

The word *अवधारण* means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, *यावद्वधं ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व* 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots': i. e., if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brāhmanas.' *यावच्छ्लोकम् प्रणामाः* "Bowing the head down so many times as there are the verses," i. e. saluting the God with every verse.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe *यावत्तं तस्य ह्यक्तम्* 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' i. e. I do not know for certainty how much I have eaten.

६६३ । सुप् प्रतिनामात्रार्थे । २ । १ । ६ ॥

साकस्य जेषाः साकप्रति । माषार्थे किम् । वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युम् ॥

663. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word *prati*, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called *Avyayibhāva*.

The word *माषा* means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, *साकप्रति* 'a little,' *सुपप्रति* 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe *वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युम्* 'it lightens in the direction of every tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Note :—Though the word *सुप्* was, by *anuvritti* from sūtra II. 1. 2, S. 3656. understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the *anuvritti* of the word *अव्यय* which began with sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras.

The word *प्रतिना* being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an *upasarjana* (I. 2. 43 S. 653) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 3). S. 654).

६६४ । अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा । २ । १ । १० ॥

युतव्यवहारे षण्णवे एकां समासः । अक्षेण विपरीतं वृत्तं अक्षपरि । शलाकापरि । एकपरि ॥

664. The words *aksha*, 'a die for playing with,' *śalākā* 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and *sankhyā* 'numeral' are compounded with the word *pari*, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

Note :—This *समास* is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called *panchikā*, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned downwards, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses.

This compound is confined to words denoting loss in gambling. Thus *अक्षपरि* 'an unlucky throw of dice.' *शलाकापरि*, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also *एकपरि* 'an unlucky throw by one over.'

६६५ । विभाषा । २ । १ । ११ ॥

अधिकारेऽयम् । एतस्मात्तर्ध्वदेव प्राचीनानां नित्यसमासश्च । सुप्सुपेति तु न नित्यसमासः । अन्वयनित्यादिसमास विधानाज्ज्ञापकाय ॥

665. The word *vibhāṣhā* or option governs all the succeeding *sūtras*.

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words, as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before this; for by the *jñāpaka* of this aphorism we infer that the compounds taught before must be *nitya* and not *vibhāṣhā*. There is, however, an exception with regard to *सुप्सुपा* compounding. It is not *nitya*, because of the *jñāpaka* of the *sūtra* II. I. 6. S. 652, for *सुपा* would have covered the case of *avyayas* also; but the enunciation of a separate rule about *avyayas*, indicates that the previous rule *सुप्सुपा* is an *anitya* rule, and the compound so formed may be expressed by a sentence. Compounds like *सुमङ्ग*, *अथावृत्तं*, *अक्षपरि* &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (*नित्य समास*), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

Note :—The compounds taught previous to this *sūtra*, like the technical terms *दि*, *घु*, *अ* &c., would be necessarily *nitya*, because no *वा* is read in those *sūtras*. But the author strengthens this inference, by clearly enunciating the present *sūtra* "option

ally." Q. If so, then सुप्सुपा should also be a *nitya*, as that has also been taught anterior to this sūtra ? Ans. Not so, the repetition of the injunction with regards to Indeclinables, as contained in II. 1. 6. S. 652 indicates that सुप्सुपा compounding is not *nitya* ; because the Indeclinables are also सुप् and would have been covered by the rule of सुप्सुपा &c.

६६६ । अपपरिवहिरङ्चवः पङ्चम्या । २ । १ । १२ ॥

अपविष्णु संसारः । अपविष्णोः । परिविष्णोः । बहिर्वनम् । बहिर्वनात् । प्राग्वनम् । प्राग्वनात् ॥

666. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahiḥ* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayībhāva*.

As अपविष्णु संसारः or अप विष्णोः संसारः "The *saṃsāra* is outside or away from *Vishṇu*." So also, परिविगर्तम् or परिविगर्तेभ्यः 'round about *Trigarta*,' बहिर्वनम् or बहिर्वनात् 'outside the village' प्राग् वानम् or प्राग् वानात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb अञ्चु 'to go,' are उदङ् 'north' प्राङ् 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpaka*) that the word बहिः also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29 S. 595). But this is not universal, as we see in करस्व करभोबहिः, here 'it governs the sixth case.

६६७ । आङ्मर्यादाभिविध्योः । २ । १ । १३ ॥

एतबोराङ् पञ्चम्यन्तेन वा समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । आद्युक्ति संसारः । आद्युक्तेः । आबालेभ्यः ॥

667. The word आङ् when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, आपादलिपुत्रं or आपादलिपुत्रात् वृष्टौ हेवः 'it rained up to *Pāṭaliputra*.' आकुमारं or आकुमारभ्यो वशः पाणिनेः 'the fame of *Pāṇini* extends even to the boys.' So also आद्युक्ति संसारः or आद्युक्तेः संसारः ; आबालं इतिभक्तिः or आबालेभ्यः ॥

६६८ । लङ्गणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये । २ । १ । १४ ॥

आभिमुख्येनाभिप्रती शिङ्खलादिना सह प्राग्वात् । अभ्यभि शलभाः पतन्ति । अभिनिभि । प्रत्याभि अभिप्रति ॥

668. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the goal which regulates or marks the direction ; and the resulting compound is *Avyayībhāva*.

The word *lakṣhaṇa* means a sign, goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 S. 547 and 552 for a further explanation of this word. As अग्निनि or अग्निमानि चलाभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रस्थानि or अग्निं प्राप्ति, the sense being, that making the fire their aim (लक्ष्यं) they fall towards it.

६६६ । अनुयत्समया । २ । १ । १५ ॥

यं पदार्थं समया घोष्यते तेन लक्षणभूतेनानुः समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । अनुवनमक्षनिर्गतः । वनस्य समीपं गत इत्यर्थः ॥

669. The word *anu* 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is *Avyayībhāva*.

As, अनुवनमक्षनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Note :—Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 652, because nearness is mentioned there also: it is repeated here in order to show that an *Avyayībhāva* compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

६७० । यस्य चायामः । २ । १ । १६ ॥

यस्य वैधर्म्यमुना घोष्यते तेन लक्षणभूतेनानुः समस्यते । अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी । गङ्गाया अनुः गङ्गावैधर्म्यसदृशवैधर्म्योपलक्षितेत्यर्थः ॥

670. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, अनुगङ्गं व. वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमुनं मथुरा Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

६७१ । तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च । २ । १ । १७ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । तिष्ठन्त्यो गावो बालिष्काले स तिष्ठद्गुर्दैनकात् । आद्यतीगवम् । इह वाचा-
देवः पुनश्चावविरहः समाप्तस्तत्र निपात्यते ॥

671. And the words *tishṭhadgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayībhāva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayībhāva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of च in the sūtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayībhāva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow :—

तिष्ठद्गु "the time when the cows stand still ; i. e. the milking time." वद्गु, आद्यतीगवम्. In *आद्यतीगवम्* there is the absence of the Present Participial affix क्तृ and in *आद्यति* (which is a conjugated verb), of the masculinisation and there is added the *samāsānta* affix न् ॥ All these are irregularities. खलेवम् खलेवुसम् खलेवुसम्, लुनयवम्, लुनयमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पूतयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रियमानयवम्, संहृतयुसम्, संह्रियमानयुसम्, समभूनि, समपशति, सुषमम्, विषमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरिसमम्, आद्यतीसमम्, प्राहृणम्, परयम्, प्रमृणम्, प्रहृषिणम्, अपरहृषिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इह कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. e. g. कषाकाच ॥

६७२ । पारे मध्ये पञ्चमा वा । २ । १ । १८ ॥

पारमध्यशब्दौ वृद्धन्तेन सह वा समस्येते । एतन्तत्त्वं चानयोरिपात्यते । पक्षे वृद्धतिपुरुषः । पारेगङ्गादानयः । गङ्गापारान् । मध्येगङ्गात् । गङ्गामध्यात् । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । गङ्गायाः पारान् । गङ्गाया मध्यात् ॥

672. The words *pāra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pāre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayībhāva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present sūtra ordains *Avyayībhāva* instead. The force of च in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, *पारेगङ्गादानय* or *गङ्गापारान्* 'bring across the Ganges.' *मध्येगङ्गात्* or *गङ्गामध्यात्* 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 665 this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase ; as *गङ्गायाः पारान्* or *गङ्गाया मध्यात्*.

६७३ । संख्या वंद्येन । २ । १ । १९ ॥

वंशो द्विधा विद्यया जन्मना च । तत्र भवो वंद्यः । तद्वाचिना सह संख्या वा सामस्यति । वे
द्विनी वंद्यो द्विगुनि । व्याकरणस्य त्रिगुनि । विद्यातद्वतामभेदविवक्षायां त्रिगुनि व्याकरणम् । एकविंशति
भारद्वाजम् ॥

673. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva.

The word वंश is of two kinds and means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source, whether through (1) birth or (2) knowledge. A succession of (1) teachers and pupils, or of (2) ancestors and descendants, would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंद्य or descendant.

As द्विगुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders *viz.*, Pāṇini and Patañjali.' So त्रिगुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives *viz.*, Pāṇini, Patañjali and Sākaṭāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विगुनि or त्रिगुनि व्याकरणम्.

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् 'Twenty-one Bhāradwājas.' These and the subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

६७४ । नदीभिश्च । २ । १ । २० ॥

नदीभिः सह संख्या प्राग्वत् ॥ समाहारे चान्दमिच्छते ॥ सप्तगङ्गम् । द्वियमुनम् ॥

674. A numeral (संख्या) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva denoting an aggregate.

Iṣṭi:—According to Patañjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनम् 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās.' See II. 4. 1, 17.

६७५ । अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । २१ ॥

अन्यपदार्थे विद्यमानं सुबन्तं नदीभिः सह नित्यं समस्यते संज्ञायाम् ॥ विभाषाधिकारेऽपि वाक्येन संज्ञानवगमादिह नित्यसमासः ॥ उन्मत्तगङ्गं नाम देशः । लोहितगङ्गम् ॥

675. A word ending in a case affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayībhāva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule : for no name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गम् 'the country called Unmatta Gangam.' So also लोहितगङ्गम् कृष्णगङ्गम्, शनैर्गङ्गम् II. 4. 18.

६७६ । समासान्ताः । ५ । ४ । ६८ ।

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

676. The following affixes are added to the ends of compounds without changing their sense.

Note :—This is an adbhikāra or regulating sūtra.

६७७ । अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १०७ ॥

शरत्तादिभ्यश्च स्यात्समासान्तोऽव्ययीभावे । शरद्. समीपमुपशरद्म् । प्रतिविपाशम् । शरद् । विपाश । अनस् । मनस् । उपानह । दिव् । हिमवत् । अनडुह । दिश् । दृश् । विश । चेतस् । चतुर् । त्यद् । तद् । यद् । कियत् । जरायाजरस् च । उपजरसम् । प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽक्ष्णः ॥ यस्येति च ॥ प्रत्यक्षम् । अक्ष्णः परमिति विभेदे समासान्तविधानसामर्थ्यादव्ययीभावः । पराक्षे लिङिति निपातनात्परस्यैकारादेशः । परोक्षम् । परोक्षा क्रियेत्यादि तु अर्शआद्याचि । समक्षम् । अन्वक्षम् ॥

677. The affix ṭach comes after the words śarat &c, when forming an Avyayībhāva compound.

Thus शरद्. समीपम् = उपशरद्म्, प्रतिशरद्म्, प्रतिविपाशम् ॥

Those words of शरत्तादि class which end in a ह्य consonant add invariably (नित्य) the ṭach, in spite of V. 4. 111. S. 682 The anuvṛitti of avayayībhāva extends upto V. 4. 113 S. 852

1 शरद्, 2 विपाश, 3 अनस्, 4 मनस्, 5 उपानह, 6 अनडुह, 7 दिव्, 8 हिमवत्, 9 दिक्, 10 विद्, 11 सद्, 12 दिश्, 13 दृश्, 14 विश, 15 चतुर्, 16 त्यद्, 17 तद्, 18 यद्, 19 कियत्, 20 जराया जरस् च (as उपजरसम्), 21 प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽक्ष्णः (as प्रत्यक्षं, परोक्षः, समक्षम्, and अन्वक्षम्, The second is Tatpurusha) 22 पथिच्, 23 सदृश् ॥

20. The word जरा assumes the form जरस् in the compound. As उपजरसम् ॥

21. The words प्रति, पर, सम and अनु are compounded with अक्षी ॥ As, प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ It is thus formed प्रति + अक्षि + टच् = प्रति + अक्ष् + टच् (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = प्रत्यक्षम् so also अक्ष्णः परम्... परोक्षम् ॥ Here ओ replaces the final अ of पर, because we find the form परोक्ष used by Pāṇini himself in III. 2. 115 S. 2171. The form परोक्षा in परोक्षाक्रिया &c. takes the affix अच् by V. 2. 127 S. 1933, so also समक्षम् and अन्वक्षम् ॥

६७८ । अनञ्च । ५ । ४ । १०८ ॥

अनन्ताद्व्ययीभावादटच् स्यात् ॥

678. The affix *ṭach* comes after an *Avyayībhāva* compound ending in *अन्*, as the final of the compound.

Thus उप+राजन्+टच् ॥ Now applies the following *sūtra*, by which the *अन्* of *राजन्* should be elided.

६७९ । नस्तद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १४४ ॥

नान्तस्य भस्य ढेलोपः स्यात्तद्धिते । उपराजम् । अध्यात्मम् ॥

679. Of the stem *bha*, the final *न्* with the vowel that precedes it, is elided before a *Taddhita* affix.

Thus उपराजम्, अध्यात्मम् ॥

६८० । नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ४ । १०९ ॥

अनन्तं यत्कीञ् तदन्ताद्व्ययीभावादटच् वा स्यात् । उपचर्मम् or उपचर्म ॥

680. The affix *ṭach* comes optionally after an *Avyayībhāva* compound, ending with a neuter word, whose final syllable is *अन्*

Note—The word *अन्* is understood here also. The word 'Neuter' qualifies, the second i.e. last term of the compound. This allows option, where as the previous *sūtra* had made it compulsory.

Thus उपचर्म or उपचर्मम् ॥

६८१ । नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ११० ॥

वा टच् स्यात् । उपनद्यम् । उपनदि । उपपौर्णमासम् । उपपौर्णमासि । उपग्रहायणम् । उपग्रहायणि ॥

681. The affix *ṭach* comes optionally after an *Avyayībhāva* ending in *nadī*, *paurṇamâsī*, and *âgrahâyaṇi*.

Thus नद्याः समीपम् = उपनद्यम् or उपनदि, उपपौर्णमासम् or उपपौर्णमासि, उपग्रहायणम् or उपग्रहायणि ॥

६८२ । झयः । ५ । ४ । १११ ॥

अनन्ताद्व्ययीभावादटच् । उपसमिधम् । उपसमिन् ॥

682. The affix *ṭach* comes optionally after an *Avyayībhāva* compound ending in a letter of *jhay* class (a mute letter).

Thus उपसमिधम्, or उपसमिन् ॥

Note :—The ऋच् here means the pratyāhāra ऋच् i. e. all the Mute consonants,

६८३ । गिरेश्च सेनकस्य । ५ । ४ । ११२ ॥

निर्यन्तावन्ययीभावाद्भवा स्यात् । सेनकमहणं पूजार्थम् । उपगिरिम् । उपगिरि ॥

683. The affix तच्च comes after an Avyayibhāva compound ending in 'giri', according to the opinion of the Grammarian Senaka.

Thus उपगिरिम् or उपगिरि ॥ The name of Senaka is mentioned for the sake of respect (pujārtha), for the anuvritti of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" was understood here already.

Here end the Avyayibhāva compounds.

अथ तत्पुरुष समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TATPURUSHA COMPOUNDS.

६८४ । तत्पुरुषः । २ । १ । २२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । प्राग्बहुव्रीहिः ॥

684. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, S. 829 the word Tat-purusha is the governing word and is understood in all the following sūtras.

Form this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 S. 829 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra.

Note :—The Karmadhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds.

६८५ । द्विगुश्च । २ । १ । २३ ॥

द्विगुरपि तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः स्यात् । इदं सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुश्चेति पठित्वा अकारबलेन संज्ञाद्वयसमावेशस्य सुवचत्वात् । समासान्तः प्रयोजनम् । पञ्चराजम् ॥

685. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

This sūtra could well have been dispensed with, by inserting a अ in the sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730, and so that aphorism would mean that a compound preceded by a Numeral would get the designation of Dwigu as well as Tatpurusha. The object of its being a Tatpurusha is that टच् affix of samāsānta may be added ; as पञ्चराजम् ॥

Note :—The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 S. 676 &c. should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra ; as sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730 already defines Dwigu. Thus पञ्चराजम् V. 4. 91 S. 788 fem पञ्चराज्ञी (IV. I. 15, 21 S. 470), an aggregate of 5 princes.' According, to Haradatta the feminine form is wrong, as अच् is not part of राज but of the whole compound.

ACCUSATIVE TATPURUSHA.

६८६ । द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नेः । २ । १ । २४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तं श्रितादिप्रकृतिकैः सुबन्तैः सह वा समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । कृष्णं श्रितः कृष्णश्रितः
दुःखमतीतो दुःखातीतः ॥ गम्यासीनामुपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ ग्रामं गमी ग्रामगमी । भन्नं बुभुक्षुः भन्नबुभुक्षुः ॥

686. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atīta 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कृष्ण + श्रितः = कृष्णश्रितः 'who has had recourse to Krishna.' So also दुःखं + भतीत = दुःखातीतः 'who has passed over sorrow.'

Vart :—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी ; भन्नं बुभुक्षुः = भन्नबुभुक्षुः ॥

६८७ । स्वयं क्तेन । २ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वितीयेति न संबध्यते भयोग्यत्वान् । स्वयंकृतस्यापत्यं स्वायंकृतिः ॥

687. The indeclinable word *swayam* 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया being inappropriate does not take place ; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. Because the word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं कृतस्यापत्यं = स्वायं कृतिः ॥

६८८ । खट्वा क्षेपे । २ । १ । २६ ॥

खट्वाप्रकृतिकं द्वितीयान्तं कान्तप्रकृतेन सुबन्तेन समस्यते निन्शयाम् । खट्वाकटो आत्मः
नित्यसमासोऽयम् । नहि वाक्येन निन्शा गम्यते ॥

688. The word *khatvā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when *censure* is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

As खट्वाकटः or खट्वाकृतः (literally lying on a bed) ; silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

Note :—The word क्षेप means ‘censure,’ ‘blame’ and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word, as a whole, and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds :—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

There is no compounding when ‘censure’ is not meant. As खट्वामारुहः ‘lying on a bed.’

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts :—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharya i. e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmâcharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachâris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वामारुहः ‘who had ascended the couch in an improper way.’ Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

६८६ । सामि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सामिकृतम् ॥

689. The indeclinable word sâmi meaning ‘half’ is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As सामिकृतम् ‘half-done.’

Note —The word सामि being an avyaya, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore, the anuvṛitti of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism.

६९० । कालाः । २ । १ । २८ ॥

कनेत्येव । अनत्यन्तसंयोगार्थं वचनम् । मासप्रमितः प्रतिपच्चन्द्रः । मासं परिच्छेदुमारब्धवानि-
त्यर्थः ।

690. The words denoting *time*, (but not duration thereof) being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As मासप्रनिवश्चन्द्रमासः ‘the new moon,’ (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month)

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word कालाः does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sûtra I. 1. 68, S. 25 the word-form काल but special words denoting काल ॥

६९१ । अत्यन्तसंयोगे च । २ । १ । २९ ॥

काला इत्येव । अन्तान्तार्थे वचनम् । मुहूर्ते सुखं मुहूर्तसुखम् ॥

691. Words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of *complete connection throughout* with the time (i. e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism ; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क् ॥'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.'

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.'

—————:O:—————

INSTRUMENTAL TATPURUSHA.

६९२ । तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन । २ । १ । ३० ॥

तत्कृतेति लुप्ततृतीयाकम् । तृतीयान्तं तृतीयान्तार्थकृतगुणवचनेनार्थशब्देन च सह प्राग्वद् । शङ्कुलया खण्डः शङ्कुलाखण्डः । धान्येनार्थो धान्यार्थः । तत्कृतेति किम् । अक्षणा काणः ॥

692. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

As शङ्कुलयाखण्डः = शङ्कुलाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' The word तत्कृत is an anomalous compound used only in sûtras and in which the 3rd case affix is elided. It is equal to तत्कृतेन ॥ Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case? Observe अक्षणा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्षणा in the 3rd case, is not the instrumental cause, that produced blindness, and hence there is no compounding.

Note : The words सुप, सुषा are understood here : and the whole of this sûtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with

a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः, provided that, the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case.

६६३ । पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः । २ । १ । ३१ ॥

तृतीयान्तमेतैः प्राग्वन् । मासपूर्वः । मातृसदृशः । पितृसमः । ऊनार्थे । माषानं कार्षापणम् । माषविकलम् । वाक्कलहः । आचारनिपुणः । युद्धमिश्रः । आचारश्लक्ष्णः । मिश्रग्रहणे सोपसर्गस्यापि ग्रहणम् । नाम्ना चानुपसर्गमसन्धाविश्यवानुपसर्गग्रहणात् । युद्धसंमिश्रा धानाः ॥ अवरस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ मासेन(त्परा) मासावरः ॥

693. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pūrva 'prior,' sadṛśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' ūnārtha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipuṇa 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and ślakṣha 'polished, sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣha.

From this sūtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्व = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषानम् कार्षापणं, माषविकलं 'a Karṣāpana coin less by a māṣā' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' युद्धमिश्रः 'mixed with juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Part:—The compounding takes place even when मिश्र is preceded by an Upasarga. This we infer from VI. 2. 154 S. 3888 "The word मिश्र is acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition and does not mean a compact." This shows that it takes upasarga also. Thus we have युद्धसंमिश्रा धानाः ॥

Part:—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

६६४ । कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् । २ । १ । ३२ ॥

कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृदन्तेन बहुलं प्राग्वन् । हरिणा ज्ञातो हरिजानः । नखैर्भिन्नोः नखभिन्नः ॥ कृदग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् * ॥ नखनिभिन्नः । कर्तृकरणे इति किम् । भिक्षाभिर्गृह्यत । हेतावेष्टा तृतीया । बहुलमग्रहणं सर्वोपाधिष्वभिचारार्थम् । तेन शब्देन दूतवानिश्चादौ न । कृता किम् । कृष्टे पचतितराम् ॥

694. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a kṛit

affix ; and the compound so formed is called Tatpuru-
sha.

As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखभिन्नः 'divided by the
nails,' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe,' हारीणाच्चातः = हरिच्चातः ॥

Vart:—The word कृन् here includes not only simple kridantas, but
words preceded by a Gati or a kārakā even. As not only नखभिन्नः but नखनिभिन्नः
also.

Why do we say 'when denoting the *agent* or the *instrument*'?
Observe भिक्षाभिरुषितः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that
of हेतुः mentioned in sūtra II. 3. 21 S. 566 and not that of II. 3. 18.' S. 561.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules
and conditions. Observe श्वेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परशुनाच्छिन्नवान्
'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is com-
pounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—
as, पावहारकः and गले चोपकः. Why do we say with a kridanta ? See कष्टिः पचति
तराम् where पचतितराम् is a verb and not a kridanta noun.

Paribhasha:—"A kṛit-affix denotes, whenever it is employed in
Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has
been added and which ends with the kṛit-affix ; but moreover, should a Gati,
or a noun such as denotes a case relation, have been prefixed to that word-
form, then the kṛit-affix must denote the same word-form together with the
Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it."

६९५ । कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने । २ । १ । ३३ ॥

स्तुतिनिन्नाफलकमर्थवादवचनमधिकार्थवचने तत्र कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृत्यैः प्राग्वत् । वात-
च्छेद्यं तुणम् । काकपेया नदी ॥

695. A word ending with the third case-affix when
it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded op-
tionally with a word ending in a *kṛitya* affix, when an *exaggera-
ted statement* (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and
the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

As वातच्छेद्यं तुणं 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by wind.) It
is praise, denoting softness, or it may be the reverse ; denoting weakness

So also काकपेयानदी 'a full river' (so full that a crow may dip his beak,
into it and drink while sitting on the bank. In this sense it is praise. It
may be censure also, and it will mean a shallow river, so shallow that a crow
may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink.)

६९६ । अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् । २ । १ । ३४ ॥

संस्कारकद्रव्यवाचकं तृतीयान्तमन्त्रेन प्राग्वत् । वध्ना भोजनो वध्योदनः । इष्टान्तभूतोपसेकक्रिया-
द्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

696. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a *condiment*, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying *food*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called व्यञ्जन, and that which prepares is वध्योदनः as वध्योदनः = दध्ना उपासित्वा भोजनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

६९७ । भक्ष्येण मिथीकरणम् । २ । १ । ३५ ॥

गुडेन धानाः गुडधानाः । मिश्रणक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

697. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *relish giving or refining ingredient*, is compounded with a word meaning, *victuals*, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with jaggery ;'

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य ; its refinement is called मिथीकरणम् ॥

Note :—The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

THE DATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९८ । चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः । २ । १ । ३६ ॥

चतुर्थ्यन्तार्थाय यत्तद्वाचिनाऽर्यादिभिश्च चतुर्थ्यन्तं वा प्राग्वत् । तदर्थेन प्रकृतिकृतिमात्र एव गृह्यते । बलिरेभिर्निर्महणाऽज्ञापकान् । शृपाय शरु शृपयान् । नेह । गन्धनाय स्थाली । अश्वत्थासायस्तु षष्ठीसमासाः ॥ अर्थेन निरत्यसमासो विशेष्यलिङ्गना चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ द्विजायाय द्विजार्थः सुवः । द्विजार्था यवावः । द्विजार्थं पयः । भूतबलिः । गोहितम् । गोसुखम् । गोरक्षितम् ॥

698. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words *artha* 'on account of,' *bali* 'a sacrifice,' *hita* 'salutary,' *sukha*

'pleasure' and *rakshita* 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुष्ठु, सुषा are understood in this sūtra : and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थ 'for the purpose there of,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is, by Patanjali here, held to be intended. This we infer from the jñāpaka of the words *bali* and *rakshita* used in this sūtra. As शूपाय शरः = शूपशरः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). But not so here. रन्धनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' So also or अवहननायोमुखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing.' The words like अवधवास &c. are Genitive compounds.

From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose there of.' The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable there to.' See VI. 2. 44. S. 3777. For accent see VI. 2. 45 S. 3779.

Vart:—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies ; as, द्विजार्थः सूपः "soup for the twice-born" ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans ;' and द्विजार्था यवागूः 'gruel for the twice-born.' So also भूत बलिः 'a sacrifice for bhūtas' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

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THE ABLATIVE TATPURUSHA

६६९ । पञ्चमी भयेन । २ । १ । ३७ ॥

चोराङ्गयं चोरभयम् ॥ भयभीतभीतिभीतिभारति वाच्यम् * ॥ वृकभीतः । वृकभीतिः । वृकभीः ॥

699. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word *bhaya* 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note :—The phrase सुष्ठु सुषा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As चोराङ्गयम् = चोरभयं 'fear from thieves'

Vart :—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः ॥

Note :—This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra II. 1. 32 S. 694 and an exposition of the word बहून् there. So that we may have the following compounds also : ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अधर्मं श्रुत्वा ॥

७०० । अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापन्नस्तैरल्पशः । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

एतैः सहास्यं पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । सुखापेतः । कल्पनापोढः । चक्रमुक्तः । स्वर्गपतितः । तरङ्गापन्नस्तः । अल्पशः किम् । प्रासादापतितः ॥

700. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words *apeta* 'gone away,' *apodha* 'carried away,' *mukta* 'freed' *pat'ta* 'fallen,' *apatrasta*, 'afraid of,' when the action takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापन्नस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32. S. 694.

Why do we use the word अल्पशः 'when the action is gradual'? It shows the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following case:—प्रासादान् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion.' For here the fall, is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

७०१ । स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि केन । २ । १ । ३९ ॥

स्तोकान्मुक्तः । अल्पान्मुक्तः । भक्तिकादागतः । अभ्याशादागतः । दूरादागतः । विप्रकृष्टादागतः । कृच्छ्रादागतः । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्य इत्यलुक् ॥

701. Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dūra* 'far,' and also the word *kricchhra* 'difficulty,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in *kta*, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकान् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance.' अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥

So also भक्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अभ्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रादागतः 'come with difficulty.' कृच्छ्रात् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2. S. 959 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

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THE GENITIVE TATPURUSHA

७०२ । षष्ठी । २ । २ । ८ ॥

राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः ॥

702. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राजः पुरुषो-राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.'

७०३ । याजकादिभिश्च । २ । २ । ९ ॥

एभिः बहुवचनं समस्यते । तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरीत्यस्य प्रतिप्रसवोऽयम् । ब्राह्मणयाजकः । देवपूजकः ॥ शुष्णाक्षरेण सरोपधेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तरबन्तं यद्गुणवाचि तेन सह समासस्तरप्प्रत्ययलोपश्च । न निर्धारण इति पूरणगुणंति च निषेधस्य प्रतिप्रसवोऽयम् । सर्वेषां श्वेततरः सर्वश्वतः । सर्वेषां महत्तरः । सर्वमहान् ॥ कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वाच्यम् * ॥ इध्मस्य व्रश्चनः इध्मव्रश्चनः ॥

703. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yājaka* 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmana's sacrificer.'

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by II. 2. 15 S. 309 in the case of याजक &c. ; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition.

(याजकादि)

1. याजक ॥ 2. पूजक ॥ 3. परिचारक ॥ 4. परिवेषक ॥ 5. परिषेचक ॥
6. आपक or छातक ॥ 7. अध्यापक ॥ 8. उस्ताहक or उस्तावक ॥ 9. उद्धर्तक ॥
10. होतृ ॥ 11. भर्तृ ॥ 12. रथगणक ॥ 13. पत्तिगणक ॥ 14. पोतृ ॥ 15. हर्तृ ॥
16. वर्तक ॥

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmana-caste.' चन्दनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree ; and सर the sign of comparison is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra and the one after next, which prohibit composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गाः 'a cow whitest among all.'

Vart—When a word takes the genitive case, because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix ; that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65 S. 623 states the conditions when a kṛit-formed word governs the genitive case. Thus इध्मव्रश्चनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter),

Why do we say so ? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by krit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact, the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pānini, other than II. 3. 50, S. 606 is a 'pratipadavidhāna' genitive ; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition ; see Vārtika under II. 2. 10 S. 704.

७०४ । न निर्धारणे । २ । २ । १० ॥

निर्धारणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्येत । नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना षष्ठी न समस्येत इति वाच्यम् ० ॥ सर्पिषां ज्ञानम् ॥

704. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhāraṇa).

As नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः 'The twice born is the best amongst men.'

Note :—With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhāraṇa.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41. S. 638.

Vart :—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50 S. 606. is never compounded. Namely the genitives formed by rules like 612, 613, 614, &c are incapable of Samāsa. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषां ज्ञानम्, मधुना ज्ञानम् ॥

७०५ । पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन । २ । २ । ११ ॥

पूरणाद्यर्थैः सहाविभिश्च षष्ठी न समस्येत । पूरणे । सतां षट् ।

गुणे । काकस्य काल्पयम् । ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः । यदा प्रकरणादिना वृत्ता इति विशेष्यं ज्ञातं तदेवपुनराहरणम् । अनित्याऽयं गुणन निषेधः । तद्विशेष्य संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादित्यादिनिर्देशात् । तेनार्थगौरवं बुद्धिमान्धमित्यादि सिद्धम् ।

सुहितार्थास्तृतीयार्थाः । फलानां सुहितः । तृतीयासमासस्तु स्यादेव । स्वरे विशेषः ।

सत् । द्विजस्य कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा । किकर इत्यर्थः ।

अव्ययम् । ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा । पूर्वोत्तरसादृश्यात्कृत्वव्ययमेव गृह्यते । तेन तदुपरीत्यादि सिद्धमिति रक्षितः ।

तव्यः । ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् । तव्यता तु भवत्येव । स्वकर्तव्यम् । स्वरे भेदः ।

समानाधिकरणेन । तक्षकस्य सर्वस्य । विशेषणसमासस्त्विह बहुलग्रहणात् । गोर्धेनोरित्यादिषु षोडशपरीत्यादीनां विभक्त्यन्तरे चरितार्थानां परत्वाद्वाधकः षष्ठीसमासः प्राप्तः सोऽप्यनेन वार्यते ॥

705. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of (1) an ordinal, (2) an attribute, or (4) satisfaction, or (4) with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127 S. 3106) or (5) an indeclinable, or (3) ending with the affix *tavya*, or (7) with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) सत्तमबन्धः 'sixth amongst the goods'; (2) काकस्य काष्ण्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः 'The Brahmana has white teeth.' This illustration is to be given when by context the word वन्ताः is understood.

The prohibition about *guṇa*-compounding, is however not universal : for we find Pāṇini himself making such a compound in the following sūtra तद्विशेषं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् I. 2. 53 S. 1295. Here the word संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वं is a *guṇa*-compound, the word प्रमाणत्वं being *guṇa*. So the compounds अर्थगौरवं, बुद्धिमान्द्वयम् are valid.

(3) The word सुहिन means तृप्त or satisfied. फलानां सुहिनः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां तृप्तः The Instrumental compound however is not prohibited. As फलेन तृप्तः = फलतृप्तः ॥ The difference is in accent. It is ādyudātta, while a genitive compound would have been final udātta.

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa.'

(5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा ॥

The word *avyaya* in the sūtra means the Kṛidanta Indeclinables only and not every Indecidable. This we infer from the fact that the word *avyaya* here is associated with Kṛidanta words both before and behind. Namely सन् is a Kṛit affix and तस्य is also a kṛit affix, therefore अव्यय which is in the middle, must refer also to a kṛit-formed Indecidable. Therefore, we can have a compound with Indeclinables other than kṛidanta, as तस्य उपरि = तदुपरि ॥ This is according to the grammarian Rakṣita. According to others, namely Kaiyyata and Haradata, the prohibition applies to every Indecidable. But the latter opinion is not sound, as the former is supported by Patanjali, who uses the compound तदुपरि ॥

(6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् ॥ When however 'the affix is तस्यन् having the indicative त् (III. 1. 96) there is compounding; as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यं 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' स्वकर्तव्यम् 'One's duty.' The difference is in accent. (VI. 1. 185. S. 3729)

(7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pāṭaliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sūtra composer Pāṇini.' So also तत्त्वकस्य सर्पस्य We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । Even by the general rule relating to words in apposition one qualifying the other, as contained in sūtra II. 1. 57 S. 736 the compound cannot be affected here, because of the word bahula used in that sūtra ; the difference between that sūtra and the present is as to the position of the words. In the genitive compound, the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

In the case of तस्यन् the compounding takes place. The difference is in accent. तस्यन् is final svarita as it has an indicatory त् ॥ Thus कर्तव्यम् formed by तस्यन्, and कर्तव्यम् by तस्य ॥ In compounding with कर्तव्यम् the svarita will be retained by कृदुत्तरप्रकृतिस्वरः but had there been compounding with the second कर्तव्यम् the udātta would have remained in the middle.

In the phrase गोधेनोः, the गो is a jāti word, and धेनु is read in sūtra II. 1. 65 S. 744, and so there ought to be compounding : is it so ? Now the compounding is ordained by II. 1. 65 S. 744 which applies to all cases in general (including genitive) but that sūtra is set aside by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which specifically applies to genitive cases. Therefore गोधेनोः should be compounded by II. 2. 8 S. 702. But 'this sūtra itself is set aside by the present sūtra, so there is no compounding in गोधेनोः either by II. 2. 8 S. 702, or II. 1. 65 S. 744. In fact, II. 1. 65 S. 744 finds its scope in all other cases than the sixth ; while the sixth case will be governed by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which itself is limited by the present sūtra.

७०६ । केन च पूजायाम् । २ । २ । १२ ॥

मतिबुद्धीति सूत्रेण विहितो यः कस्तस्मिन्नेन षष्ठी न समस्यते । राज्ञां मतो बुद्धः पूजितो वा । राजपूजित इत्यादि तु भूते कान्तेन सह तृतीयासमासः ॥

706. A word ending with a sixth case affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' 'inclination', and 'understanding.'

The affix क् is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. S. 3089. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

But in राजपूजितः "honored by the king," the affix kta denotes past time, and it is an Instrumental compound and not a genitive compound.

७०७ । अधिकरणवाचिना च । २ । २ । १३ ॥

केन बधी न समस्यते । इवमेवाभासितं गतं भुक्तं वा ॥

707. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

As इवमेवा भासितं गतं भुक्तं वा 'here they have sat, gone or eaten.'

Note :—When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76 S. 3087)

७०८ । कर्मणि च । २ । २ । १४ ॥

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणीति वा षष्ठी सा न समस्यते । आश्वर्यो गवां दौहोऽगोपेन ॥

708. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative under II. 3. 66 S. 624.

As आश्वर्यो गवां दौहोऽगोपेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.'

Note :—The anuvṛitti of क्त does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shasṭhī. Sūtra II. 3. 66 S. 624 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i. e., when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent.

७०९ । तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि । २ । २ । १५ ॥

कर्त्रर्थतृजकाभ्यां षष्ठ्या न समासः । अयां सष्टा । वज्रस्य भर्ता । भोवनस्य पाचकः । कर्तरि क्रिप् । इक्ष्णां भक्ष्णमिक्षुभाक्षिका । अत्यर्थभर्तृशब्दस्य तु याजकादित्वात्समासः । भूभर्ता । कथं तर्हि षटानां निर्मातृस्त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलह इति । शेषषष्ठ्या समास इति कैयटः ॥

709. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when

the force of the affixes is that of an agent.

As अयां स्रष्टा 'the creator of waters' वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunder-bolt.'

Note :—The word 'kartari' qualifies the affixes trich and aka. The affix तृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix ; all affixes that have an element व are अक ; such as ण्वुल or वुञ्ज or वुन (sūtra VII. 1. 1.)

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of वाजक (II. 2. 9. S. 703) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband or lord,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.' Thus भूभर्ता "the lord of world." How do you explain the compound त्रिभुवनविधातुः in the sentence घटानां निर्मातुस् त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलहः "The quarrel of the maker of pots and the ruler of the Three worlds." According to Kaiyyata it is compounded as shesha shashṭhi and it is not a pratipada vidhāna shashṭhi.

The above are examples of words formed by तृच् . Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक ; thus भोदनस्य पाचकः 'the cooker of rice.'

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इष्टुभक्षिकां मे आरयसि.

७१० । कर्तरि चि । २ । २ । १६ ॥

कर्तरि षष्ठया अकेन न समासः । भवतः शायिका । नेह तृज्जुवर्तते । तद्योगे कर्तुरभिहितमेव कर्तृषष्ठया अभवात् ॥

710. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'aka' affix when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

As भवतः शायिका 'your honors' repose'

The word 'kartari' qualifies the Genitive case. The Genitive case has the force of an agent under II. 3. 65 S 623. The anuvritti of तृच् is not to be read into this sūtra. Because a तृच् formed word always denotes an agent, and so a Genitive case used along with such a word can never denote an agent. Thus स्रष्टा is a word formed with तृच् affix. It means "creator," and in अयां स्रष्टा हरिः the agent हरिः can never take the Genitive case in connection with स्रष्टा denoting the agent. But with अक (ण्वच् III. 3. 111 S. 3288) we have सर्जिका where हरिः can take the Genitive case, as हरिः सर्जिका "Hari's turn of creating."

७११ । नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः । २ । २ । १७ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोरकेन नित्यं षष्ठी समस्यते । उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका । क्रीडाविशेषस्य संज्ञा । संज्ञायामिति भावः ण्वुल् । जीविकायाम् । इन्तलेखकः । तच्च क्रीडायां विकल्पे जीविकायां वृजकाभ्यां कर्तरीति निबन्धे प्राप्तं वचनम् ॥

711. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when this affix denotes a sport or a livelihood ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka (lasorā vernacular) flowers are broken or crushed.' Here ण्वुल् denotes mere action by III. 3. 109 S. 3286, and forms a Name. As an example of livelihood we have इन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Note:—This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. The anuvṛtiti of the word 'na' which began with II. 2 10 S. 704, does not extend further. The affix कृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood ; the only examples possible are of 'aka.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe शासनस्य भोजकः.

उद्दालक पुष्पाणां भञ्जिका ॥ Here neither the ण्वुल् denotes the agent nor the genitive पुष्पाणां is a कर्तरि षष्ठी ॥ Therefore both the preceding two sūtras can not apply. Now the compounding will be the usual genitive compound by sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702 which is optional, and to set aside that usual *optional* compounding, the present sūtra is ordained which makes the compounding *compulsory*. Similarly इन्तलेखकः ॥ In this the aka अक denoting the agent could not have been compounded with a genitive, by virtue of the prohibition of the preceding sūtra ; therefore, to accomplish both these objects in view, the sūtra-kāra has made this present sūtra, and so the compounding by this is *invariable*. In other words, the present sūtra sets aside the *option* of II. 2. 8. S. 702 in the case of उद्दालकपुष्प भञ्जिका, and the *prohibition* of II. 2. 15 S. 709 in the case of इन्तलेखकः ॥

७१२ । पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे । २ । २ । १८ ॥

अवयविना सह पूर्वाधयः समस्यन्ते एकत्वसंख्याविशिष्टश्चेदवयवी । षष्ठीसमासापवादः । पूर्वं कायस्य पूर्वकायः । अपरकायः ॥

एकदेशिना किम् । पूर्वं नामेः कायस्य । एकाधिकरणे किम् । पूर्वद्वयाभावात् ।

सर्वोऽप्येकदेशोऽह्ना समस्यते संख्याविसायेति ज्ञापकान् । मध्याह्नः । सायाह्नः । काचित् सर्वो-
ऽप्येकदेशः कालेन समस्यते न त्वद्वैव । ज्ञापकस्य सामान्यापत्तत्वात् । तेन मध्यरात्रे । उपारताः पश्चिम-
रात्रगात्रा इत्यादि सिद्धमित्याहुः ॥

712. The words *pârva* 'front,' *apara* 'near,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is 'Tat-purusha.

Note.—The word 'ekâdhikarâṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadesin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound ordained by II. 2. 9 S. 702 which would have placed the words 'pârva' &c, last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

This is an *apavâda* or exception to Genitive compounding under II. 2. 8 S. 702. Thus पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body';

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्व नामः कायस्य ॥ Why do we say 'distinguished numerically by unity'? Observe पूर्ववङ्गाङ्गानाम् 'the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (*adhikarâṇa*) is not unity (*eka*). But the compounds like मध्याह्नः noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening' are correct, because the word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, as we learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110 S. 238.

Some say the rule which we have inferred from the Jñâpaka of sūtra VI. 3. 110 S. 238 is not confined to अहन् only, but applies to all words denoting *time*: as the jñâpaka is general, and not merely limited to a particular word. As a result, we get compounds like मध्य रात्रः and पश्चिमरात्रः in the examples given in the text above.

७१३ । अर्धं नपुंसकम् । २ । २ । २ ॥

समांशवाच्यार्थसङ्गो निरर्थं क्लीबे स प्राग्वत् ॥ एकविभक्तावयववत्तत्त्वचयनम् * ॥ एकदेशिसमास-
विषयकोऽयमुपरा र्जनसंज्ञानिवेधः । तेन पञ्चखण्डौ इत्यादि सिद्धयति । अर्धं विप्लवाः अर्धविप्लवी ।
क्लीबे किम् । सामर्थः । द्वयैक्य एव । अर्धं विप्लवीनाम् ॥

713. The word अर्ध when it signifies 'exactly equal parts i. e. halves,' is always neuter, and is compounded

with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purnsha.

Vart:—A word which has one fixed case, while the word compounded with it may vary its case, is an upasarjana, except when the case is a Genitive one. This is an exception to sūtra. I. 2. 44 S. 655. Therefore a Genitive noun denoting part, though fixed, will not be upasarjana. This prohibition of upasarjana relates to एकदेशिसमास that is, to compounds denoting *parts* of a substance, and not to a Genitive case in general. Therefore in पंचानां खट्वानां समाहारः = पंचखट्वी ॥ Here खट्वा though in the Genitive case, gets upasarjana designation, and consequently it is shortened by णोस्त्रियो &c. I. 2. 48 S. 656 The result of which is that the compound gets ह्रीप् ॥

But in अर्धे पिप्पल्याः = अर्धपिप्पली the word पिप्पली in the Genitive does not get upasarjana designation, as the present vārtika applies to it, because it is ekadesī; and so we have no shortening.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and इकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars II. 29; as अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātakī.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village' नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadesin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धे पशोर्वेवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikaraṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धे पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

७१४ । द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । ३ ॥

एतान्येकदेशिना सह प्राग्वद्वा । द्वितीयं भिन्नाया द्वितीयभिन्ना । एकदेशिना किम् । द्वितीयं भिन्नाया भिन्नकस्य । अन्यतरस्याग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पूरणशुणेति निषेधं बाधित्वा एते षष्ठीसमासः । । भिन्नाद्वितीयम् ॥

714. The word dvitīya, 'second,' tṛitīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has

parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

*Note:—*This also debars II. 2. 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. S. 703 also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. 705 as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयभिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra II. 2. 9 S. 703 we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं.

Why do we say "which signifies a thing that has parts?"

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य.

By force of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" read in this sūtra, though it was not necessary, as the same effect could have been got by the the great option (Mahāvibhāṣa of sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 665), we infer that the sūtra II. 2. 11 S. 705 is set aside in the case of these words, and so we can form usual compounds also under sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702. For these words are all ordinals, and so would have come under the prohibition of II. 2. 11 S. 705. Thus we have द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = भिक्षाद्वितीयम् by II. 2. 8. S. 702 and by the present sūtra द्वितीयभिक्षा ॥ Thus there are two forms.

७१५ । प्राप्तपन्ने च द्वितीयया । २ । २ । ४ ॥

पक्षे द्वितीयाभितति समामः । प्राप्तो जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकः । जीविकाप्राप्तः । आपन्नजीविकः । जीविकापन्नः । इह सूत्रे द्वितीयया भ इति छित्त्वा भकारोऽपि विधीयते । तत्र जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री प्राप्त-जीविका । आपन्नजीविका ।

715. The words prāpta 'obtained,' and āpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadesin' and 'ekādhikaraṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24 S. 686. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः.

In this sūtra, the word द्वितीयया is a compound of द्वितीया + य; and the sūtra ordains य substitution also, in case of feminine gender. Namely प्राप्ता and आपन्ना are shortened to प्राप्त and आपन्न ॥ In other words the sūtra

should be translated thus :—" The words प्राप्ता and आपन्न are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case affix, and form Tat-purusha compound ; and there is the substitution of short अ for long आ if these words are in the feminine." Thus जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री = प्राप्ताजीविका Here प्राप्ता is not upasarjana, and no sūtra would have shortened this. Similarly आपन्नजीविका ॥ But if we compound it under sūtra II. 1. 24 S. 686, then we have जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री = जीविकाप्राप्ता ॥

७१६ । काळाःपरिमाणिना । २ । २ । ५ ॥

परिच्छद्यवाचिना सुवन्तेन सह कालाः समस्यन्ते । मासो जातस्य यस्य स मासजातः । ब्रह्म-
जातः । द्वयोरद्वोः समाहारो ब्रह्मः । ब्रह्मो जातस्य यस्य स इति विग्रहः ॥ उत्तरपदेन परिमायिना द्विगोः
सिद्धये बहुनां तत्पुरुषस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ इह भवनी जातस्य यस्य स ब्रह्मजातः । भद्वोऽद्वयस्य वक्ष्यमाणोऽ
द्विविशः । पूर्वत्र तु न संख्यादेः समाहार इति निषेधः ॥

716. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'month old' (born a month ago) So also सप्तमस्रजातः 'a year old' and ब्रह्मजातः " I two days old " This is a compound of two words ब्रह्म and जात, as ब्रह्मो जातस्य यस्य = ब्रह्मजातः ॥ The word ब्रह्म itself is a Dvigu Aggregate Compound, and is thus formed ब्राह्मद्वाः समाहारः - ब्रह्म ॥ Thus द्वि + भवन् + टस्य (V. 4. 91 S. 788) = द्वि + भव + अ (अन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789) ब्रह्मः ॥ Now this ब्रह्मः is *one* word and so is compounded with जातस्य ॥

But if the analysis be इह भवनी जातस्य यस्य स, then the form will be ब्रह्मजातः; and here arises the difficulty of compounding more than *two* nouns at a time. For the rule is that *one* noun is compounded with *another* noun, and not that *three* nouns can be compounded simultaneously To obviate this difficulty we have the following.

Vartika :—Enumeration should be made of a Tat-purusha compound of more than two words, for the sake of accomplishing a Dvigu, with the third or last word denoting the thing measured. So we can compound इह भवनी जातस्य into ब्रह्मजातः ॥ The भवन् is changed to भद्व् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. But in the first case, we form a Samāhara compound, and so V. 4. 89 S. 793 applies, and we have no भद्व् substitution.

THE LOCATIVE TATPURUSHA

७१७ । सप्तमी शौण्डेः । २ । १ । ४० ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्वह । अक्षेणु शौण्डः अक्षशौण्डः । अक्षिशौण्डोऽप्यव्यते । अक्षिशु-
प्यव्यति स्तः । ईश्वराधीनः ॥

717. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the words *śaunḍa* 'skilled' &c. and the com-
pound is Tat-purusha.

Note :—The word शौण्डेः in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates
a class of words beginning with *śaunḍa*.

As अक्षेणु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' A word ending with
अक्षि will take the affix स्त (ईन by V. 4. 7. S. 2079) and will be a तत्पुरुषं com-
pound. Thus ईश्वराधीनः

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words :—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव,
4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अक्षि, 9 पट्ट, (or अक्षिपट्ट)
10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 अपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संव्याड' 15 मन्ध, and 16 समीर.

७१८ । सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च । २ । १ । ४१ ॥

इतेः सप्तम्यन्तं प्राग्वत् । सांकाश्यसिद्धः । आतपशुष्कः । स्यालीपक्वः । चक्रबन्धः ॥

718. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the words *siddha* 'perfected,' *śushka* 'dried,'
pakva 'cooked' and *bandha* 'bound,' and the resulting
compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in *sānkāśya*.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.'
स्यालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel.'

७१९ । ध्वङ्क्षणे क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४२ ॥

ध्वङ्क्षणादिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते निन्दायाम् । तीर्थे ध्वङ्क्ष इव तीर्थध्वङ्क्षः । तीर्थकाक
इत्यर्थः ॥

719. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the word *dhvāṅksha*, 'a crow,' (and with
synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied ; and the re-
sulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थध्वङ्क्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i. e., a very greedy
person ; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long anywhere, so

a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

Note:—When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as तीर्थेष्वंकास्तिष्ठति. 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

७२० । कृत्यैर्द्धणे । २ । १ । ४३ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कृत्यमत्वयान्तेः सह प्राग्वशावश्यके । मासदेवम् ऋणम् । पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम ॥

720. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a *kritya*-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*, when 'debt' is implied.

Note:—This compound is confined to the words formed by the *kritya* affix *ञन्* and not to every *kritya*-formed word.

As, मासदेवं 'a debt repayable within a month.' The case-affix is not elided optionally by VI. 3. 14. S. 972. Otherwise we have मासदेवं ॥

By using the word ऋण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following case also :— पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sāma that should be sung in the morning.'

७२१ । संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ४४ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं घुषा प्राग्वन् संज्ञायाम् । वाक्येन संज्ञानगमान्निव्यसमासोऽयम् । अरण्येतिलकाः । वने कसेदकाः । इलङ्गतास्तप्तम्या इत्यलुक् ॥

721. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and it is called *Tat-purusha samāsa*.

A *sanjñā* is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (*nitya*) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild-sesamum' yielding no oil; any thing which does not answer to one's expectation. So also वने कसेदकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.'

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance with sūtra

VI. 3. 9. S. 966. The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.

७२२ । केनाहोरात्रावायवाः । २ । १ । ४५ ॥

अहो रात्रिवायवाः सप्तम्यन्ताः कान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । पूर्वाह्नकृतम् । अपराह्नकृतम् । अवयव-
वयव्यं किम् । आदि दृष्टम् ॥

722. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्नकृतम् 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि दृष्टम् 'seen in day.'

७२३ । तत्र । २ । १ । ४६ ॥

तत्रेत्येतत्सप्तम्यन्तं कान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । तत्रभुक्तम् ॥

723. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10S. 1957) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.'

Note :—By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25. S. 687 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

७२४ । क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कान्तेन प्राग्वन्निन्वायम् । अवतरे नकुलस्थितं त एतत् ॥

724. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतरेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् 'thy this work is as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground' (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

Note:—The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

७२५ । पात्रेसमितादयश्च । २ । १ । ४८ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते षेपे । पात्रेसमिताः । भोजनसमये एव संगता । ननु कार्ये । गेहेभूरः । गेहेनर्ही । आकृतिगयोऽयश्च । चकाराऽवधारणार्थः । तेनैषां समासान्तरे षट्कतया प्रवेष्टो न । परमाः पात्रेसमिताः ॥

725. The words like pâtre-samita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

Note:—All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त्); they could have been formed by the previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udātta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'पुस्तरोद्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

Thus the following is the list of the words:—पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेसमिताः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner (time). 3 उदुम्बरमण्डकः, 4 उदुम्बरकानिः, 5 उदुम्बरकानिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 अषट्कच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डकः, 10 उदपानमण्डकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीशूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गेहेभूरः, 17 गेहेनर्हीः, 18 गेहेक्षेत्री, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याडः, 21 गेहेनेही, 22 गेहेवाही, 23 गेहेक्षेत्री, 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गेहेतृष्टः, 26 आस्थानिकवकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्षेत्री, 30 गोष्ठेपट्टः, 31 गोष्ठेपाण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेमण्डकः, 33 कर्णोदिरिदिरा, 34 कर्णोदिरिदिरा ॥ The force of च in the sūtra is to restrict it to these very words. Therefore, we cannot compound परमाः पात्रेसमिताः, and it cannot form part of another compound.

७२६ । पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकारणेन । २ । १ । ४९ ॥

विशेषणं विशेष्येणेति सिद्धे पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् । एकस्यस्य दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायामिति निबन्धनाधनार्थं च । पूर्वं ज्ञातः पश्चादनुज्ञितः ज्ञातादुज्ञितः । एकनाथः । सर्ववाहिकाः । जरमेवाहिकाः पुराणमीमांसकाः । नवपाठकाः । केवलवैयाकरणाः ॥

726. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

Note—These compounds could have been formed by the rule II. 1. 57 S. 736 but their especial enumeration here is for the sake of placing these words first in the compound. In the case of the word एक there is further object of precluding the prohibition of Sûtra II. 1. 50 S. 727.

The phrase **सुप सुपा** is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (**समानाधिकरणं**) or abiding in a common substratum

In the present sūtra the word-form **pūrva-kāla** is not to be taken (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it.

As, **आताडुलिः** 'bathed and perfumed.' **कुष्टसमीकृतम्** 'ploughed and levelled.' **दग्धमरुदम्** 'burnt and healed.' **एकनाथः** 'having one master.' **एकमिषा** 'begging once in a day.' **सर्वयाशिकाः** "all the members of a sacrifice." **सर्वननुष्याः** 'all men.' **अरुद्धस्ती** 'old elephant.' **अरुन्नेयायिकाः** 'old logician' **अरुद्वृत्तिः** 'old occupation.' **पुराणमिमांसकाः** old Mimamsakas. **पुराणावसयम्** 'an old habitation.' So **नवपाठकाः** "New students." **नवावसयम्** ॥ **केवल वेदाकरणाः** "Only grammarians."

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe **एकस्याः चादी** 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42.)

७२७ । द्विकसंख्ये संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ५० ॥

समानाधिकरणेनेत्यापादपरिसमादेशधिकारः । संज्ञायामेवेति नियमार्थं सूचम् । पूर्वेषुकादयानी । समर्पयः । नेह । उत्तरा वृत्ताः । पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः ॥

727. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (**saṅkhyā**) enter into composition with the words correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter. This sūtra makes a *niyama*, namely these words are compounded only then, when the whole is a Name and Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वेषुकानक्षत्री 'the town of Ishukāmaṣami-in-the-east.' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear)

But not in उत्तर वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' and पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas,' because here the sense of the compounds is not that of an appellative. See IV. 2. 107.

७२८ । तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च । २ । १ । ५१ ॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे च वाच्ये विकसंख्ये प्राग्वह्य । पूर्वस्थां शालायां भव । वैश्वशालः । समासे कृते विकल्पपदसंज्ञायां अ इति अः ॥ सर्वनामो वृत्तिनामे पुंवज्ञापः* ॥ आपरशालः । पूर्वा शाला शिवा बस्यति विपद् बहुव्रीहौ कृते शिवाशब्दे उत्तरपदे पूर्वोस्तत्पुरुषः । तेन शालाशब्दे आकार उपासः । पूर्वशालामिबः । विष्णु समाहारो नास्त्वनभिधानात् । संख्यावास्तद्धितार्थे । वृष्णां मातृजानपत्यं वाणमातुरः । पञ्च गावां धनं बस्येति विपद् बहुव्रीह्याववात्तरतत्पुरुषस्य विकल्पे प्राप्ति ॥ इन्द्रतत्पुरुषयोः उत्तरपदे निव्यसनासवचनम्* ॥

728. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्थां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) serves to represent the force of the Taddhita-affix अ) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patanjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + अ (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) = वैश्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 and VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Vart:—The sarvnamans become Masculine when parts of a compound or a Taddhita. The vrittis are of five kinds; Krit, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ekshesha and Sanādyanta. Here two Vrittis only are to be taken. Similarly आपरशालः ॥

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्व शालामिबः or आपरशालामिबः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarapada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

If we make a Bahuvrīhi compound of the three words पूर्व ज्ञाना विद्या इत्य, where the word विद्या is the uttarapada then the first two words (पूर्वज्ञाना) form a Tatpurusha पूर्वज्ञानी ॥ Here the नी of ज्ञाना is udātta by VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, and this udātta will be retained in the Bahuvrīhi also, As पूर्वज्ञानीविद्यः ॥ Had the ज्ञाना and विद्या been compounded first, and then the compound ज्ञानाविद्य further compounded with पूर्व as a Bahuvrīhi, then by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735, पूर्व would have retained its accent, and the compound would have been पूर्वज्ञानाविद्यः ॥

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words) because the usage is against it.

The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as षण्मातुः "a son of six mothers," a name of Kārtikeya. Here the Taddhita affix अज्ज is added by IV. 1. 115 S. 1118. In compounding पञ्चगवोधनं इत्य as a Bahuvrīhi of three words, when we take the intermediate Tatpurusha stage, as optional by the great option II. 1. 11. S. 665, and may so consider that the Tatpurusha compound need not take place, then the following vārtika applies:—

Vart :—The compounding is nitya when a Dvandva or a Tatpuru sha is to be compounded with an uttarapada of more than two words. Therefore पञ्च and गवः must be necessarily compounded first as a samāhāra, there being no option possible here; and then the compound so formed, further compounded as a Bahuvrīhi with धनं ॥ The compound of पञ्च + गो gets the affix इच् by the following:—

७२९। गोरतद्धितलुकि । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गोलात्तत्पुरुषाद् इच् स्यात् समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि । पञ्चगवधनः ॥

729. The affix तच् comes after गो standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when no elision of a Taddhita affix has taken place in forming such compound.

Thus पञ्च + गो + इच् = पञ्चगवः ॥ पञ्चगवधनः ॥ The meaning is 'whose wealth consists of five cows.'

Note:—Why do we say "when no Taddhita affix has been elided in forming the compound"? Observe, पञ्चभिर्गोभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चगुः ॥ (Here the affix इक् V. 1. 37 S. 1702 is elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693 and hence the samāsanta affix इच् is not added). So also इच्छाः ॥

Why do we say 'when there is elision' ? Merely adding a Taddhita affix in forming a Tatpurusha, will not debar the samāsānta affix : as पंचगौ गोभ्य आ गतं = पंचगौ + दृच् + कृन् (the tach is added by this sūtra, and the taddhita कृन् to denote तत्त्व आगतः by IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) = पंचगौकृन्, पंचगौमयम्, or दृक्पञ्चगव्यम्, दृक्पञ्चमयम् ॥

Thus we get above पंचगव्यमः ॥ But if the option of II. 1. 11 S. 665 be applied, and पंच + गौ be not compounded as a Tatpurusha, then there will be no samāsānta दृच्, and the Bahuvrīhi will be पंचगोविनः ॥ This is on the view that the vārtika above given is not to be applied. Similarly with a द्वन्द्व compound, as वाक् च दृक् च द्विभे मस्य = वाग्दृक्द्विभः ॥ So, also छन्दोपानद्विभः ॥ Here वाक् and दृक् are *invariably* compounded as a Dvandva, before becoming the first member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore it takes *always* the samāsānta दृच् by V. 4. 106 S. 930.

:0:

THE DVIGU COMPOUND.

७३० । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः । २ । १ । ५२ ॥

तद्धितार्थैत्येवोक्तः संख्यापूर्वोद्विगुः स्यात् ॥

730. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix (तद्धितार्थे) or when an additional member comes after the compound (उत्तरपदे) or when an aggregate (समाहारे) is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or a Numeral Determinative compound.

The word taddhitārtha of sūtra II. 1. 51 S. 728 is understood here also. This defines a Dvigu compound, which is a class of Tatpurusha, where the first member is a numeral. The examples of it will be given below.

They are of three sorts, namely (1) Tadditārtha dvigu, as दृक्कपालः, " an offering prepared in ten cups, formed by the affix कृन् of IV. 2. 16 which is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1217; 1080. (2) upapada dvigu, as, पंचनाभविभः, and (3) samāhara dvigu, as, पंचगली ॥ The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

७३१ । द्विगुरेकवचनम् । २ । ४ । १ ॥

द्वित्वर्थः समाहार एकवत्त्वात् । स नपुंसकमिति नपुंसकत्वम् । पञ्चानां नवां समाहारः पञ्चगव्यम् ॥

731. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52 S. 730) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning ' the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu *i. e.*, an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. This Samāhāra Dvigu is always Neuter by II. 4. 17 S. 821. As, पञ्चगवः 'an aggregate of five cows,' (IV. 1. 21.).

Why do we say "a Samāhāra Dvigu is singular"? When it is a Taddhitārtha Dvigu it is not singular. As पञ्चसु कपालिषु संस्कृताः = पञ्चकपालाः ; similarly पञ्चभिः गोभिः क्रीताः = पञ्चगवः पदाः ॥

७३२ । कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः । २ । १ । ५३ ॥

कुत्स्यमानानि कुत्सनैः सह प्राग्बत् । वैयाकरणखसूचिः । मीमांसकदुर्दुरुहः ॥

732. Case inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचिः "A bad grammarian, who does not know grammar, but contemplates the heaven (ख) when asked any question." So also मीमांसकदुर्दुरुहः "an evil conducted mimānsaka," From √दुर् दुर्त्वे with the prefix दुर् and the Uṇādi कृट् ॥

Another example of such compounds is याज्ञिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore, it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोऽब्राह्मणः 'the bad Brāhmaṇa' &c.

७३३ । पापाणके कुत्सितैः । २ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रापवादः । पापनापितः । अणककुलालः ॥

733. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and aṇaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन); by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtra I. 2. 43 S. 653 and II. 2. 30, S. 654 that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकनापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुलालः 'a contemptible potter,'

७३४ । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः । २ । १ । ५५ ॥

घन इव श्यामो घनश्यामः । इह पूर्वपदं तत्सदृशे लाक्षणिकमिति सूत्रयितुं लौकिकविमर्शे इव शब्दः प्रयुज्यते । पूर्वनिपातनिगमार्थं सूत्रम् ॥

734. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is 'Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna; and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्यामः कृष्णः 'cloud-black Kṛiṣṇa' (Kṛiṣṇa black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुबुद्श्येनी 'lily-white,' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding,' न्यग्रोध-पारिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadattā' or फला इव तन्दुलाः 'the rice are like fruits,' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

In analysing the above compound घनश्यामः we must use the word इव, as घन इव श्यामः, and this shows that it is merely a simile or metaphorical use of the word. This sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama rule, so that the upamāna word should stand *first*.

७३५ । उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे । २ । १ । ५६ ॥

उपमेयं व्याघ्रादिभिः सह प्राग्वत्साधारणधर्मस्याप्रयोगे सति । विशेष्यस्य पूर्वनिपातार्थं सूचय । पुरुषव्याघ्रः । नृत्सामः । व्याघ्रादिराकृतिगणः । सामान्याप्रयोगे किम् । पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः ॥

735. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is 'Tat-purusha; provided that, any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of last sūtra 734 by which the substantive (upamāna) would have stood first; by the present, the upameya or the qualified stands first. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength).

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a

posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts *a priori*.

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान words, but never with सामान्य बचन ॥ Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence :—पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव दूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly सुखपद्मम्, सुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. भृश = A bear. 4. भृशम् = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. तरु = A tree. 11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. हृद् = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree, Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽम्

1. सुखपद्मम् } A lotus-like face.
2. सुखकमलम् }
3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः ॥

७३६ । विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् । २ । १ । ५७ ॥

भेदकं समानाधिकरणेन भेदेन बहुलं प्राग्वत् । नीलमुत्पलं नीलोत्पलम् । बहुलग्रहणात्कचित्रि-
त्यम् । कृष्णसर्पः । कचित्र । रामो जामदग्न्यः ॥

736. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing there by qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former ; and the compound is 'Tat-purusha.

Note—The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (नित्यतमात्) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake,' and sometimes it is forbidden ; as, रामेजामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' ('as being the son of Jāmadagni) : भर्तुनः कात्तदीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional. नीलमुत्पलं or नीलोत्पलं ॥

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.' Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka,

७३७ । पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च । २ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वनिपातानियमार्थमिदम् । पूर्ववैयाकरणः । अपराध्यापकः ॥ अपरस्यार्थे पञ्चभावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ अपरश्चासावर्धश्च पञ्चार्थः । कथमेकवीर इति । पूर्वकालैकेति बाधित्वा परत्वात्नेन समासे वीरैक इति हिं स्यात् । बहुलमहणाद्विष्यति ॥

737. The case-inflected words pūrva 'prior,' aparast, 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vīra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them ; and the compound is Tat-puruhsa.

This sūtra is also a niyama rule, and made for the purpose of declaring that these words must stand first in the compound. Thus पूर्ववैयाकरणः ॥ अपराध्यापकः ॥

Vārt—The word पञ्च is used for अपर when it is compounded with अर्ध ॥ As अपर + अर्धः = पञ्चार्थः ॥ How do you explain the word एकवीरः where vīra stands not first, for II. 1. 49 S. 726 with regard to eka is superseded by the present sūtra with regard to vīra, and the compound ought to be वीरैकः ॥ This is an illustration of the diversity of II. 1. 57 S. 736.

७३८ । श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः । २ । १ । ५९ ॥

श्रेण्यादिषु व्यर्थवचनं कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः श्रेणीकृताः ॥

738. The case-inflected words śreṇī 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛita 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them ; and the compound is Tat-puruhsa.

Vart :—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix चि (chvi). Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः = श्रेणीकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

Note :—The class of words called कृतादि are ākṛiti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (चि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

The aggregate of those who earn their livelihood by one art, or by selling one particular kind of commodity is called śreṇī or guild. The samāsa is nitya. As श्रेणीकृतम् The lengthening here is by VII. 4. 26 S. 2120.

७३६ । क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ्ज । २ । १ । ६० ॥

नञ्विशिष्टेन कान्तेनानञ्ज कान्ते समस्यते । कृतं च तदकृतं च कृताकृतम् ॥ शाकपार्थिवशीनां सिद्धये उत्तरपदलोपस्थोपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः । देवब्राह्मणः ॥

739. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ, is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta, but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done' i. e. partly done and partly not done.

Note :—The negative Past participle is compounded with the simple past participle, even when there is a slight difference in the forms, caused by नुद् and हद् augments.

As भक्षित + भनक्षित = भक्षितानक्षितम् ॥ So also क्लिष्टाक्लिक्षितम् ॥

Vari :—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i. e. an era making king. So also देवब्राह्मणः = देवपूजको ब्राह्मणः "A Brâhmaṇa who worships any deva."

७४० । सन्महत्परमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः । २ । १ । ६१ ॥

सहैयः । वक्ष्यमाणेन महत् आकारः । महार्थेयाकरणः । पूज्यमानैः किम् । उत्कृष्टो गौः । पक्कादुद्धृत इत्यर्थः ॥

740. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect ; and the compound is 'Tat-purusha.

As सहैयः 'a good physician. The महत् becomes महा as will be taught later on, as महापुरुषः 'a great man ;' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person ;' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person ;' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टोः गौः कर्षमान् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.' Here उत्कृष्ट does not mean "excellent," but "pulled out."

७४१ । वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरेः पूज्यमानम् । २ । १ । ६२ ॥

गोवृन्दारकः ॥ ध्यानादेराकृतिगणत्वादेव सिद्धे सामान्यप्रयोगार्थे वचनम् ॥

741. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindāra-ka 'eminent,' nāga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow.' The Vyāghrādi class (II. 1. 56 S. 735) being an Akritigaṇa, the forms like go-vṛindāraka could well have been obtained under that sūtra, the making of it a separate sūtra is for the sake of making these general compounds, and not restricted by the conditions of II. 1. 56. S. 735.

७४२ । कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने । २ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कतरकः । कतमकलापः । गोत्रं च चरयोः सङ्गति जातित्वम् ॥

742. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which 'or who of many,' when used in asking questions about the jāti (IV. 1. 63. S. 518) are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As कतरकः and कतमकलापः 'which of the two is katha, and which of these kālāpa?' Here Gotra and charaṇa, are jāti, as defined previously in IV. 1. 63. S. 518.

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिप्रश्न in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification, by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase in the aphorism, shows that the word कतम has other meanings, besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti; as कतरो भवते देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta.' and कतमो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

७४३ । किं क्षेपे । २ । १ । ६४ ॥

कुत्सितो राजा किं राजा । यो न रक्षति ॥

743. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his sub-

jects.' किं सखा योऽभिदुहति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मद्राजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. S. 955 Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा ॥

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्यराजा - किंराजः 'whose king;' किंसलः ॥ Or को राजा पाटलिपुत्रे "who is king in Pataliputra?"

७४४ । पोदायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेद्वक्ष्यणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रिया-
ध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः । २ । १ । ६५ ॥

744. A case-inflected word denoting a jāti, is compounded with the words poṭā 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grīṣṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow i. e. a cow which has calved recently,' vasā 'a barren female,' veda, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇi 'a cow that has a full grown calf,' pravakṭri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brāhmaṇa,' adhyāpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow'; and the resulting compound is called 'Tat-puruṣa.

For examples see under sūtra 746.

७४५ । तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः । १ । २ । ४२ ॥

745. A Tat-puruṣa compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

Note :—" Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-puruṣa). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like नीलोत्पलं 'the blue lotus' परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of karmadhāraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhikaraṇa), whereas in other Tat-puruṣas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the *udatta* accent would have fallen on the syllable रा by rule VI. 2. 130, S. 3864 (the word राज्यम् has *udatta* on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका ॥ (VI. 3. 42. S. 746 the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya) by the next sūtra :—

Note :—Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhāraya. As पाचिका + भार्या = पाचिकाभार्यः ॥ 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

७४६ । पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु । ६ । ३ । ४२ ॥

746. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

कर्मधारये जातीयदेशीययोश्च परतो भाषितपुंस्कात्पर ऊङ्भावो यस्मिन्स्थाभूतं पूर्वं पुंवत् । पूरणीभिर्यादिवप्राप्तः पुंज्जावोऽनेन विधीयते । महानवमी । कृष्णचतुर्दशी । महाभिया । तथा कोपधादेः प्रतिषिद्धः पुंवज्जावः कर्मधारयादौ प्रतिप्रसूयते । पाचकस्त्री । रत्नभार्या । पञ्चमभार्या । सौम्यभार्या । सुकेशभार्या । ब्राह्मणभार्या । एवं पाचकजातीया । पाचकदेशीयेत्यादि । इभपोदा । पोदा स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणा । इभयुवतिः । अग्निस्तोत्रः । उद्विग्नस्त्वितिपथम् । गृष्टिः सकृत्प्रसूता, गोगृष्टिः । धेनुर्वपप्रसूतिका, गोधेनुः । वशा वन्धा, गोवशा । वेहन् गर्भघातिनी, गोवेहन् । बक्यथी तरुणवत्सा, गोवक्यथी । कठप्रवक्ता । कठभोजित्रियः । कठाध्यापकः । कठधूर्तः ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras (VI. 3. 40 S. 841 &c.) Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37 S. 838). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. S. 839 Thus रत्नवृन्दारिका, रत्नजातीया, रत्नदेशीया, पञ्चमवृन्दारिका, पञ्चमजातीया, पञ्चमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : S. 840 सौम्यवृन्दारिका, सौम्यजातीया, सौम्यदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, S. 841 as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3, 41, S. 842 as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine. (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply to खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

This sūtra ordains masculinisation, in cases where there would not have been this change because of the prohibition of the sūtras VI. 3. 34 S. 831 &c. (e. g. if the second word is an ordinal, प्रिय, &c). Thus the ordinal नवम becomes in the feminine नवमी ॥ महती चासौनवमी = महानवमी ॥ Here महती has become masculine, inspite of the prohibition of VI. 3. 34. so also कृष्णचतुर्दशी ॥ Similarly महाभिया ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 37 S. 838 declares "a feminine word having a penultimate क does not assume the Masculine form." The present sūtra is an exception to this prohibition also. Thus पाचकस्त्री ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 38 S. 839 teaches "the feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a name or an ordinal numeral." The present sūtra makes an exception to this also. As. इत्तभार्या, पंचमभार्या and not इत्ताभार्या &c. पंचमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 39 S. 840 ordains "the feminine is not changed into masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the vṛddhi of the first syllable." The present sūtra is an exception to this also. As सौम्यभार्या and not सौमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 40 S. 841 states "a feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of the body, does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to this also. As सुकेलभार्या and not सुकेलीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 41 S. 842 says "a feminine word expressing jāti does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to it also. As जातप्रभवभार्या ॥

Similarly with the words जातीव and देशीव ॥ As, पाचकजातीव and पाचकदेशीव ॥

Now we shall give examples of sūtra II. 1. 65. S. 744.

As इमयोदा 'a young female elephant' योदा is a female, having the marks of a male, such as whiskers &c. इमयुवति 'a female elephant,' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदधिन् कतिपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोमृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहत, गोवक्ष्ययी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kāṭha,' कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

७४७ । प्रशंसावचनेश्च । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

एतैः सह जातिः प्राग्वत् । गोमतङ्गिका । गोमन्थिका । गोप्रकाण्डम् । गवोवः । गोतलजः । गोवस्ता गौरित्यर्थः । मत्तङ्गिकादयो नियतलिङ्गा न तु विशेष्यलिङ्गाः । जातिः किम् । कुमारी मत्तङ्गिका ॥

747. A case-inflected word, denoting a jāti, is compounded with a word, denoting praise, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रुढ़ी) words like मत्तल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender, though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तल्लिका 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तल्लिका 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तल्लिका and गोमत्तल्लिका ॥ These words are generally used at the end of a compound, to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.' Words like प्रशस्त, शोभन, रमणीय &c., which etymologically denote praise, or specific praise words like ह्युषि, वृद्ध &c., are not to be taken here. In गो + वृद्ध there is अवृद्ध by VI. 1. 123.

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मत्तल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.' Here there is no compounding. "मत्तल्लिका, मत्तल्लिका, प्रकाण्ड, वृद्ध, तल्लज are praise denoting words." (Amarakosha).

७४८ । युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः । २ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूचय । निष्प्रविशिष्टपरिभाषया युवतिशब्दोऽपि समस्यते । युवा खलतिः युवखलतिः । युवतिः खलती युवखलती । युवजरती । युवत्यामेव जरतीधर्मोपलभेन तद्रूपारोपास्तानामाधिकरण्यम् ॥

748. The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-puru-sha.

The sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama, that these words should stand first in the compound.

Note :—The word जरतीभिः is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे निष्प्रविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवखलतिः ॥ So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरत् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old).

७४९ । कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या । २ । १ । ६८ ॥

भोज्योष्णम् । तुल्यभक्षतः । सदभक्षतः । अजात्या किम् । भोज्य भोक्षनः । प्रतिबोधसाधनार्थाद्विशेषणसमासोऽपि न ॥

749. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded

with words which do not denote jāti, being in the same case with them ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a jāti'? Observe भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57. S. 736.

७५० । वर्णो वर्णेन । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

समानाधिकरणेन सह प्राग्वत् । कृष्यसारङ्गः ॥

750. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope.'

७५१ । कडाराः कर्मधारये । २ । २ । ३८ ॥

कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये वा पूर्वे प्रयोज्याः । कडारजैमिनिः । जौमिनिकडारः ॥

The words kadârah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karina-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍârajaiminiḥ or Jaiminikaḍârah. 'The tawny Jaimini.' So also गङ्गुलशाण्डिल्यः or शाण्डिल्यगङ्गुलः ॥

७५२ । कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः । २ । १ । ७० ॥

कुमारी श्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा । इह गणे श्रमणा प्रव्रजिता गर्भिणीत्यादयः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः पठ्यन्ते । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया एतदेव ज्ञापकं बोध्यम् ॥

752. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा "a virgin ascetic".

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, गर्भिणी, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender ; with the words which appear as masculine, e. g. अभ्यापक, अभिरूपक, वंदिन

the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.' In fact, this is the sūtra from which we infer the existence (jñāpaka) of the above paribhāṣhā of लिङ्गविशिष्ट &c.

श्रमणादिः ।

1. श्रमणा=Labouring, toiling. 2. व्रजिता=Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा=An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी=A pregnant female. 5. तापसी=A hermit, "devotee. 6. दासी=A female servant. 7. बन्धकी=An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक=A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक=Handsome. 10. पण्डित=Learned, wise 11. मृदु=Soft. 12. कुशल=Right, proper, good. 13. चपल=Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण=Clever, sharp, skillful.

७५३ । चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या । २ । १ । ७१ ॥

चतुष्पादजतिवाचिनो गर्भिणीशब्देन सह प्राग्वत् ॥ गोगर्भिणी ॥ * चतुष्पाज् जतिरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी ॥

753. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhīṇī, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Var :—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here :—कालाक्षि गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kālākṣhī or Svastimati.'

Note :—Why do we say 'quadrupeds ?' Observe ब्राह्मणीगर्भिणी ॥

७५४ । मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च । २ । १ । ७२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । मयूरो व्यंसकां मयूरव्यंसकः । व्यंसकां धूर्तः । उव्वचावाक्य उच्चावचम् । निश्चितं च प्रथितं च निष्प्रचम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य सः अकिञ्चनः ॥ नास्ति कुतो भयं यस्य सोऽकुतोभयः । अन्यो राजा राजान्तरं । चिदेव चिन्मात्रम् ॥

आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये * ॥ अस्मीत विद्यतयेव सततं यथाभिधीयते सा अस्मीतविजिता । वचनवृजता । खादतमोक्षता ॥

एहीडादयोऽन्यपरार्थे * ॥ एहीड इति अस्मिन्कर्मणि तवेहिडम् । एहिपचम् । उज्जर कोडादुत्सृज रेहीति अस्यां क्रियायां सा उज्जरोत्सृजा । उज्जमाधिना । असातत्यार्थमिह पाठः ॥

अहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिधीयति । * ॥ अहीत्येत्कर्मणा बहुलं समस्यते आभीक्ष्ण्ये गन्धे समासेन चेत्कर्ताऽभिधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ अहिजाडः । अहिस्तम्बः ॥

754. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसकः is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परममयूरव्यंसकः ॥ So also उदक् चावाक्च = उदवाक्चम् । निश्चितं च प्रचितं च = निश्चप्रचितम् । नास्ति किञ्चन वद्व्य = अस्तिक्चनः ॥

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक ॥ 2. छात्र व्यंसक ॥ 3. कम्बोजकुण्ड ॥ 4. वनकुण्ड ॥ 5. हस्तेगृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पारेगृह्य or पारगृह्य ॥ 7. लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गू-
लगृह्य ॥ 8. पुनर्वाय ॥

GAṆA SŪTRA एहीडादयो ऽन्यपदार्थे ॥

As, 1. एहीडं वर्तते ॥ 2. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 3. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) ॥ 4. अपेहिवाणिजा ॥ 5. प्रेहिवाणिजा ॥ 6. एहिस्वागता ॥ 7. अपेहिस्वागता ॥ 8. एहिहितीया ॥ 9. अपेहिहितीया ॥ 10. प्रेहिहितीया ॥ 11. एहिकटा ॥ 12. अपेहिकटा or अपेहकटा ॥ 13. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा ॥ 14. आहरकटा ॥ 15. प्रहिकर्मा ॥ 16. प्रोहकर्मा ॥ 17. विधमचूडा ॥ उज्जमचूडा ॥ 18. उज्जरचूडा ॥ 19. आहरचला ॥ 20. आहर वसना ॥ 21. (आहरसेना) ॥ 22. आहरवनिता ॥ 23. (आहरवितना) ॥ 24. कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ 25. उज्जरोत्सृजा ॥ 26. उज्जरावसृजा ॥ 27. उज्जभविधमा ॥ 28. उत्पचनिपचा or विपचा ॥ 29. उत्पतनिपता ॥ 30. उदवाक्चम् ॥ 31. उदानीचम् ॥ 32. आचोपचम् ॥ 33. आचपराचम् ॥ 34. नखप्रचम् ॥ 35. निक्षप्रचम् ॥ 36. अकिञ्चन ॥ 37. आत्वाकालक ॥ 38. पीत्वास्थिरक ॥ 39. धुत्तवासुहित ॥ 40. प्रोष्यपापीयान् ॥ 41. उत्पत्त्यपाकला or व्याकुला ॥ 42. निपत्यरोहिणी ॥ 43. निषय्यशयाना ॥ 44. अपेहिप्रचक्षा ॥ 45. एहिषिता ॥ 46. इहपञ्चमी ॥ 47. इहहितीया ॥

G. S. जहिकर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ॥

1. जहिजोडः ॥ 2. जहिजोडम् ॥ 3. जहिस्तम्बम् ॥ 4. (जहिस्तम्बः) ॥ 5. उज्जजहिस्तम्ब or चम्ब ॥

G. S. आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातसे ॥

I. अभीतविपता ॥ 2. पचभृज्जना ॥ 3. खादतनोदता ॥ 4. खादतवमता ॥ 5. खादताचमेनी ॥ 6. आहरनिषपा ॥ 7. आहरनिष्किरा ॥ 8. आवपनिष्किरा ॥ 9. उत्पचविपचा ॥ 10. निन्धिलवणा ॥ 11. कृन्धिविचक्षणा ॥ 12. पचलवणा ॥ 13. पचमचूडा ॥

आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1. अकुतोऽभवः ॥ 2. कान्दिष्णकः ॥ 3. कन्दिशीकः ॥ 4. आशोपुरषिका ॥
 5. अश्मभूमिका ॥ 6. यदृच्छा ॥ 7. एहिरोयाहिरा ॥ 8. अन्धजावृजा ॥ 9. ब्रह्मान्तरम् ॥
 10. अक्षयकार्यम् ॥

Gaṇa-sūtra :—A finite verb is compounded with another finite verb, when the continuity of the action denoted by the verbs is meant. As अशीतविभता “ the place where constantly is heard the cry “ eat ye ”, “ drink ye.”—a feast where people are called to eat and drink. Similarly पचतभुञ्जता “ cook-roast ”—a kitchen. आशतमोवता ॥

Gaṇa-sūtra :—The compounds एहीडं &c. are formed when they refer to some other object. Thus एहीडं is the name of the sacrifice in which the words एहीडं are used. So also एहिपचम् ॥ So also उज्जरोत्सृजा meaning “ उज्जरकाष्ठान् उत्सृजयेहि ” इति यस्यां क्रियायां ॥ So also उज्जमविधमा ॥ These are words which do not denote “ constant action ”.

Gaṇa-sūtra :—The finite verb अहि is diversely compounded with its object, when repetition is denoted, and the whole compound refers to the agent. As अहिजोडः “ He who constantly repeats jahi-joḍa.” Similarly अहिस्तम्बः ॥

He who has fear from no one is अकुतोभवः, another kingship is राजान्तरम्; that which is purely Intelligence is called चिन्मात्रम् ॥

७५५ । ईषदकृता । २ । २ । ७ ॥

ईषत्पिङ्गलः ॥ ईषद्गुणवचनेनेति वाच्यम् * ॥

755. The word *īshat* ‘a little,’ is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix; and the compound is Tatpurusha.

Vart :—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कङ्कटः ‘a somewhat proud.’ ईषत्पिङ्गलः ‘a little brownish.’ ईषद्विकटः ‘a little hideous.’ ईषदुन्नतः ‘a little raised.’ ईषत् पीतम् ‘a little yellow.’ ईषद्गन्धम् ‘a little red.’

Note :—Why do we say ‘with words expressing qualities’? Observe ईषद्गन्धः; there is no compounding here.

७५६ । नम् । २ । २ । ६ ॥

नम् छुपा तद् समस्यते ॥

756. The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is 'Tatpurusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The *ñ* of न is elided by VI. 3. 73 : which is given below.

७५७ । नलोपो नञः । ६ । ३ । ७३ ।

नमो नस्य लोपः स्यादुत्तरपदं । न ब्राह्मणः अब्राह्मणः ।

757. The *ñ* of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided, when it is the first member of a compound

Thus अब्राह्मणः ॥ But if the second term begins with a vowel, then a *ñ* is inserted after अ by the following :—

७५८ । तस्मान्नुडचि । ६ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुप्तनकारागम उत्तरपदस्याच्चादेर्नञागमः स्यात् । अनञ्चः । अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावेन सहाचं विकल्प्यते । रत्नोद्धारमलङ्घनसंवेष्टाः प्रयोजनमिति बहुतायामसंहितमिति च भाष्यवार्तिकप्रयोगात् । तेनानुपलब्धिविवादाऽविज्ञमित्यादि सिद्धम् ॥ नमो नलोपस्तिङि क्षेपे * ॥ अपचसि त्वं ज्ञात्स्व ॥ नैकधेत्यादौ तु नञाच्चेन सह सुप्सुपेति समासः ॥

758. After the above *ñ* elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुद्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनञ्चः 'an animal which is not a horse.' Why do we use तस्मात् "after such a नञ्" ? Otherwise नुद् would have been the augment of नञ् and not of the subsequent word, for the sūtra would have read thus नुडचि ॥ Adding नुद् to नञ् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुद् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. 1. 46). Now अन् अजः will be अन्नजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 S. 134 will cause the doubling of the final न of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुद् is ordained with the second member and not with regard to अ or नञ् ॥

When the force of नञ् is that of "absence," i. e. it expresses the "absence of the object denoted by the second term," then the compound resembles Avyayī bhāva. For in an Avyayībhāva, the sense of the first term is prominent; in a Tatpurusha the sense of the Second member is predominant. Thus in the Mahābhāṣya, we find the compound असन्वेष्टाः in the sentence रत्नोद्धारमलङ्घनसंवेष्टाः प्रयोजनम् where he gives the reasons for studying grammar; similarly असंहितं in अनुनीयामसंहितं a vārtika. On the analogy of these, we can form compounds like अनुपलब्धिः, अविवादः, अविज्ञम् &c.

Vart :—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that reproach is implied, as अपचसि त्वं ज्ञात्वा 'thou cookest very badly O knave.'

In the expression नैकधा &c. 'not at one time,' there is composition with the word न in accordance with II. 1. 4 S. 649.

७५६ । नभ्राणनपाञ्चवेदानासत्यानमुच्चिनकुलनजनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्र-
कृत्या । ६ । ३ । ७५ ॥

पात्रित शब्दन्तः । वेदा इत्यमुन्नतः । न सत्या असत्याः न असत्या नासत्याः । न मुञ्चतीति नमुञ्चिः । न कुलमस्य नकुलम् । न स्वमस्य नस्वम् । न स्त्री पुमान् नपुंसकम् स्त्री पुंसयोः पुंसकभावो निपातनात् । न क्षरतीति नक्षत्रम् । क्षीयतेः क्षरेतर्वा क्षत्रमिति निपात्यते । न क्रामतीति नक्रः । क्रमेर्ङः । न भक्रमस्मिन्निति नाकः ॥

759. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुञ्चि, नकुल, नज, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative ! नभ्राजते = नभ्राद् "a dark cloud," formed by क्तिप् and नञ् composition. न पाति = नपात् "a grand son." Formed by घट् affix. न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed by अस्तुन् ॥ तस्मै साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः "Ashvins." न मुञ्चति = न मुञ्चिः "a demon slain by Indra." formed by क्तिन् ईन् affix (Unādi). नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य स्वमस्ति = नस्वम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ङ affix. न भस्मिन् भकम् = नाकम् ॥

७६० । नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ७७ ॥

नग इत्यत्र नञ् प्रकृत्या वा । नगाः अगाः पर्वताः । अप्राणिष्विति किञ् । अगो वृषलः शीतेन । निस्थं क्रीडेत्यन्तां निस्थमित्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

760. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगः or अगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ङ is added to नञ् ॥ Why do we say when not referring to animate being. Observe अगो वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here. See II. 1. 17, S. 711.

In the next sūtra, the word *nitya* should be read as understood. Its anuvritti comes from II. 2. 17 S. 711.

७६१ । कुगतिप्रादयः । २ । २ । १८ ॥

एते समर्थेन नित्यं समस्यन्ते । कुस्तिनः पुरुषः कुपुरुषः । गतिभिर्यदुवर्तमाने ॥

761. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are *invariably* compounded with other words with which they are in construction ; and the resulting compound is Tatpuruṣha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin' ; as, कुपुरुषः 'a sinful man' ; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60 S. 23.) as, उररीकृतं 'having asserted' ; (I. 4. 61.) यद्वीकरोति ॥

Note :—So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati' ; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुषः 'a bad man' ; so also ह्रु and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुषः 'honorable man' ; अतिपुरुषः 'excellent man' ; आ means a 'little' as आपिङ्गलः 'brownish'.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कोष्णं or कदुष्णम्, कषोष्णम् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and भावज्ञम् ॥

७६२ । ऊर्यादिचिवडाचश्च । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

एते क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञाः स्युः । ऊरीकृत्य । उररीकृत्य । शुक्लीकृत्य । पटपटाकृत्य ॥ कारिका-
पाठसंश्लेषसंख्यनम् । कारिका क्रिया । कारिकाकृत्य ॥

762. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kri or अस्) are called Gati.

In this sūtra the word gati is understood from I. 4. 60 S. 23.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57 S. 2117 and 2128) ; ūri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else, in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The word ऊरी and उररी mean 'to assent and spread.' As ऊरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 S. 761 and VII. 1 37 S. 3332).

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य "having made white what was not white." *

So also the words ending in **डाच्** as **पदपदाकृत्य** “having made the sound

Vārtika :—The word **कारिका** should also be included in the list of गति,

Thus **कारिकाकृत्य** ॥ Here *kārikā* means “action.”

७६३ । अनुकरणं चानितिपरम् । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

खादकृत्य । अनितिपरं किम् । खादिति कृत्वा निरधीवन् ॥

763. A word imitative of a sound is also called *Gati*, when it is not followed by the word *ni*.

Note :—The phrase **अनितिपरम्** is a *Bahuvrīhi* compound ; **अन्-इति-परम्** = ‘that which has not the word **इति** after it.’

As **खादकृत्य** “having made the sound *khāt*.” **खादकृतम्** (VI. 2. 49 S. 3783), **अन्खादकरोति** (VIII. 2. 71.)

Why do we say ‘when it has not the word **इति** after it?’ Observe **खादिति कृत्वा निरधीवन्**.

७६४ । आदरानादरयोः सदसती । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सत्कृत्य । असत्कृत्य ॥

764. The words *sat* and *asat*, when in composition with a verb, are called *gati*, when used in the sense of ‘respect or love,’ and ‘disrespect or indifference.’

As **सत्कृत्य** ‘having honored’ (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332) **असत्कृत्य**, **सत्कृतम्** or **असत्कृतम्** (VI. 2, 49 S. 3783).

Note :—Why do we say when meaning ‘respect or disrespect’? Observe **सत्कृत्वा कण्ठं गतः** ॥

७६५ । भूषणोऽलम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

अलंकृत्य । भूषणे किम् । अलं कृत्योदनं गतः । पर्याप्तमित्यर्थः । अनुकरणमित्यादि त्रिसूची स्वभावात्कृम्विषया ॥

765. The word *alam*, in composition with a verb, is called *gati*, when used in the sense of ‘ornament.’

As **अलंकृत्य** (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332). Why do we say ‘when **अलं** means ornament’? Observe **अलं कृत्योदनं गतः** ‘he goes having eaten enough.’

This sūtra, with the two sūtras preceding it, naturally takes the auxiliary verb कृ after the words mentioned therein.

Note :—The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—‘prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.’ The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament.

७६६ । अन्तरपरिग्रहे । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अन्तर्हृत्य । मध्ये हृत्येत्यर्थः । अपरिग्रहे किम् । अन्तर्हृत्या गतः । हतं परिगृह्य गत इत्यर्थः ॥

766. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of ‘non-accepting,’ in composition with a verb.

As अन्तर्हृत्य गृहंगतः “he went away having abandoned home.”

Note :—The word परिग्रह means ‘taking’ or ‘accepting,’ अपरिग्रह means, therefore, the opposite of this, namely ‘rejecting,’ ‘abandoning.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning to abandon’? Observe अन्तर्हृत्या मूषिकां दयेनोगतः “the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.”

७६७ । कणमनसी अद्धाप्रतिघाते । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति । मनोहृत्य । कणेशब्दः सप्तमीप्रतिरूपको निपातोऽभिलाषातिशये वर्तते । मनःशब्दोऽप्यत्रैव ॥

767. The words kape and manas are gati, when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of ‘reaction by satiation.’

The word अद्धा-मनीषान् means ‘satisfaction of desire.’ As कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति “he drinks milk to his heart’s content or till he is satisfied” So also मनोहृत्य पयः पिबति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (अद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense, we have कणे or मनोहृत्यागतः “he went away with food or mind satisfied.” Here the word कण means the small particles of rice. The word कणे an apparently locative inflected noun, is really a particle, and denotes ‘eager desire.’ So also मनः ॥

७६८ । पुरोऽप्ययम् । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

पुरस्कृत्य ॥

768. The word purah, “in front of,” when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and अन् पुरस्करोति ॥ When not an indeclinable, we have
पूः पुरो, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डगतः.

Note:—The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix अस्ति forms पुरम्, and by I. 1. 38 S. 448 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for pūrva). The object of making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 S. 761 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 S. 3783 (3) to change the: ५ into स् by VIII. 3. 40 S. 154.

७६९ । अस्तं च । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अस्तमिति मान्तमव्ययं गतिसंज्ञं स्यात् । अस्तंगत्य ॥

769. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I. 1. 39 S. 449); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति '(the sun) having set, rises again'; अस्तंगतानि धनानि 'riches that have vanished.' अस्तं गच्छति, When not an indeclinable it is not gati, as अस्तं काण्डम् 'the arrow has been thrown.'

७७० । अचछ गत्यर्थवदेषु । १ । ४ । ६९ ॥

अव्ययमित्येव । अचछगत्य । अचछोद्य । अभिमुखं गत्वा उक्त्वा चेत्यर्थः । अव्ययं किम् ।
अलमचछं गच्छति ॥

770. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before, in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अचछ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभि । As अचछगत्य, and अचछोद्य । Why do we say when an Avyaya? Observe अलमचछं गच्छति.

७७१ । अदोऽनुपदेशे । १ । ४ । ७० ॥

अदःकृत्य अदः कृतम् । परं प्रत्युपदेशे प्रत्युदाहरणम् । अदः कृत्वा । अदः कुरु ॥

771. The word adas 'that' is called gati, when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम् ॥ When used as a demonstrative pronoun, we have, अदः कृत्वा, अदः कुरु.

Note :—The word upadesa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa. That is, when it is not a demonstrative pronoun.

७७२ । तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ । १ । ४ । ७१ ॥

तिरोभूय ॥

772. The word *tiras* when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called *gati*, when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः *i. e.*, standing apart.

७७३ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिरःकृत्य । तिरस्कृत्य । तिरः कृत्वा ॥

773. The word *tiras* meaning 'disappearance,' is optionally called *gati*, when the verb *kri* follows.

This is an example of प्राप्ति-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156).

Note :—The change of visarga into स is optional VIII. 3. 42 S. 156. When not meaning disappearance, we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति 'he stands having laid aside the stick.'

७७४ । उपाजेऽन्वाजे । १ । ४ । ७३ ॥

एतौ कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञौ स्तः । उपाजकृत्य । उपाजे कृत्वा । अन्वाजकृत्य । अन्वाजे कृत्वा । दुर्बलस्य बलमाधारेत्यर्थः ॥

774. The words *upāje* and *anvāje* both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called *gati* when used along with the verb *kri*.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे-कृत्वा 'having given support.' अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

७७५ । साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च । १ । ४ । ७४ ॥

कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥ अर्थ इति वाच्यम् * ॥ साक्षात्कृत्य । साक्षात्कृत्वा । लब्धकृत्य । लब्धकृत्वा । मान्तर्यं निपातनात् ॥

775. The words sākshât, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

Vart:—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix चि is understood, namely, making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा; लवणंकृत्य or लवणंकृत्वा "making evident what was concealed before." The कृ in लवणं &c. is an anomaly or nipātana.

७७६ । अनत्याधान उरसि मनसी । १ । ४ । ७५ ॥

उरसिकृत्य । उरसि कृत्वा । अभ्युपगम्येत्यर्थः । मनसिकृत्य । मनसि कृत्वा । निश्चित्येत्यर्थः । अनत्याधानद्वयश्लेषणं तत्र न । उरसि कृत्वा पाणिं वेत्ते ॥

776. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati, when the verb kri follows, provided that, they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा "having realised in the heart," मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. That is "having so determined in his mind." When it has the sense of "placing," we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं वेत्ते "he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast," मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति "he ponders having placed the word in his mind."

७७७ । मध्ये पदे निवचने च । १ । ४ । ७६ ॥

एते कृमि वा गतिसंज्ञाः स्युरनत्याधाने । मध्येकृत्य । मध्ये कृत्वा । पदेकृत्य । पदे कृत्वा । निवचनेकृत्य । निवचने कृत्वा । वाचं नियम्येत्यर्थः ॥

777. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा ; पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा ॥ निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा. "Having controlled the speech."

Note:—But when it has the meaning of 'placing' we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः वेत्ते 'he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.'

७७८ । नित्यं हस्ते पाणौ प्रयमने । १ । ४ । ७७ ॥

कृमि । उपयमनं विवाहः । स्वीकारमात्रनित्यत्वे । हस्तेकृत्य । पाणौकृत्य ॥

778. The word हस्ते 'in the hand,' pāṇau 'in the

hands ' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri,' in the sense of 'marriage.'

A हाणो कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य 'having married.'

Note:—But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः 'he went out having taken in his hand a kârishâpana (a coin)

The word उपयमन means "marriage." According to others it means "merely acceptance."

७७९ । प्राध्वं बन्धने । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

प्राध्वमित्यव्ययम् । प्राध्वंकृत्य । बन्धनेनानुकूलं कृत्वेत्यर्थः । प्रार्थनादिना स्वानुकूल्यकरणे । प्राध्वं कृत्वा ॥

779. 'The indeclinable word prâdhvam, followed by the verb kri, is always called gati, when used in the sense of "binding."

The word प्राध्वम् ends in म and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, प्राध्वंकृत्य "having bound properly and so made agreeable." But when not meaning to bind, we have:—प्राध्वं कृत्वा "having made agreeable, by prayer &c."

७८० । जीविकोपनिषद्भावौपम्ये । १ । ४ । ७९ ॥

जीविकामिव कृत्वा जीविकाकृत्य । उपनिषदमिव कृत्वा उपनिषत्कृत्य । औपम्यं किम् । जीविकां कृत्वा ।

प्रादिमहणमगत्यर्थम् । सुपुरुषः । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥

प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया* ॥ प्रगत आचार्यः ॥ प्राचार्यः ॥

अस्याद्यर्थः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया* ॥ अतिक्रान्तो मालामतिमालः ॥

अवाद्यर्थः क्लृष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया* ॥ अवक्लृष्टः कोकिलया अवकोकिलः ॥

पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या* ॥ परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय पर्यध्ययनः ॥

निशद्वयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या* ॥ निष्क्रान्तः कौशाम्या निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥

कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधः* ॥ वृक्षं प्रति ॥

780. 'The words jîvikâ and upanishad, followed by the verb kri, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकृत्य "having made it, as if it was a means of living"; उपनिषत्कृत्य—"having made it like an upanishad." Why do we say in the sense of likeness or resemblance? Observe जीविकां कृत्वा "having made his livelihood."

PRÂDI SAMÂSA.

Having given above illustrations of gati-samâsas; we now take up compounds formed with the upasargas प्र &c. by II. 2. 18. S. 761. The प्र &c., as used in these examples are not gati. Thus सुपुरुषः ॥ Here सु is not gati, as it is not joined with any verb. We give the following vârtikas, which treat of Prâdi Samâsa :—

Vart:—The word प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्यः 'a former teacher'; so also प्रपितामहः "who precedes the grand-father i. e. a great-grand father." प्रनातानहः ॥

Vart:—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As अतिक्रान्तः खट्वाग्र = अतिखट्वः (I. 2. 44 and 48 S. 655 and 656) 'without a bedstead,' अतिमालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.' So also अभिमुखः (= अभिगतो मुखं); उद्वेलः, प्रत्यक्षः ॥

Vart:—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix; as अवकुटः कोकिलवा = अव कोकिलः 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring. So also परिवीरित् (= परिणद्धो वीरुधा), संवर्म (संनद्धो वर्मणा).

Vart:—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix; as परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाद्य = पर्याध्ययनः 'weary of study.' अलंकुमारिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words निर् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi'; So also निर्वाणसिः ॥ So also उत्कुलः (= उत्क्रान्तः कुलान्) and निरङ्गुलम् (निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यः) ॥

Vart:—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थ्याविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीद्व 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma-pravachaniya'; as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योत्तते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

UPAPADA-SAMÂSAS

UPAPADA DEFINED.

७८१ । तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् । ३ । १ । ६२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते परे कर्मणीत्यादि वाच्यत्वेन स्थितं कुम्भादि तद्वाचकं पदमुपपदसंज्ञं स्यात्तास्मिन् सत्येव वक्ष्यमाणः प्रत्ययः ॥

781. Here (in this Third Book of Pāṇini's Grammar referring to verbal roots), the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. 1. S. 2913 कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. (Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + भण् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.)

७८२ । उपपदमतिङ् । २ । २ । १६ ॥

उपपदं सुबन्तं समर्थेन निवृत्त्य समस्यते । अतिङन्तश्चायं समासः । कुम्भं करोतीति कुम्भकारः । इह कुम्भं भण् कार इत्यलौकिकं प्रक्रियावाक्यम् । अतिङ् किम् । मा भवान् भून् । माङि लुङिति सप्तमीनिर्देशान्माहूपपदम् । अतिङ्मह्यं ज्ञापयति सुपेथेतन्नेहाह्वर्तत इति । पूर्वेषुत्रेऽपि गतिग्रहणं पृथक्कृत्या-तिङ्ग्रहणं तत्रापेक्ष्यते । सुपोति च निवृत्त्यम् । तथा च ॥ गतिकर्कोपपदानां कृङिः सह समासवचनं प्रा-क्सुब्रुवन्नेरिति सिद्धम् ॥ व्याघ्री । भव्यक्रीती । कच्छपी ॥

782. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92 S. 781), which ends with a case-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction, and this compound is not one which ends with a tense-affix. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.' The grammatical analysis will be कुम्भ + भण् (genitive) + कारः "the maker of pot:" for kṛit words govern Genitive. This is, of course, an analysis which cannot be used in actual speech.

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe मा भवान् भून् ॥ Here the word मा is an upapada, as it is exhibited in the locative case in III. 3. 175 S. 2219, by which rule it is added to the Aorist. Had there been compounding, भवान् could not have been placed between it and its second member भून् ॥

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant ; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुप् is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply, that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप् should not be read into this and the aphorism II. 2. 18 S. 761. The following Paribhāṣhā also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारकोपदानां कृत्तिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kāraṅkas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras III. 2. 18 and 19 S. 2932 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns, before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kāraṅkas also. Thus व्याघ्री ॥ The word व्याघ्र is formed by the affix क added under III. 1. 136 S. 2898 as qualified by the vārtika under III. 1. 137 S. 2899. The compounding of वि + आङ् + ग्री is a Gati samāsa, for वि and आ are Gati with regard to the verb ग्रा ॥ Had this compounding taken place after ग्रा had become a noun ग्र and taken case-affixes, then on the parity of reasoning, the compounding would be suspended till ग्र had taken the feminine affix टाप् also, and it would not have taken डीप् ॥ Because the word ग्र by itself does not denote any jāti. So the feminine ग्रा will be used in the compound and as it does not end in short अ, it will not take jāti डीप् ॥ Though this result could have been obtained by the word उपपद alone in the above Paribhāṣhā, yet the use of gati in it is not redundant. For when आ is compounded with the noun ग्र, we get आग्र; then for the compounding of आग्र with वि, the employment of Gati is necessary. The affix क being added to the ग्रा when preceded by आ, the word आग्रा may be treated as an *upapada* (and not *gati*), but the word वि cannot be treated as an *upapada* by any rule. So the word *gati* is properly used in the above Paribhāṣhā.

So also अश्वक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वन क्रीयते सा = अश्वक्रीति; add डीप् (IV. 1. 50 S. 506) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case डीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

This word अश्वक्रीती is an example of kāraṅka. The compounding takes place by कर्तृकरणे कृता &c., (II. 1. 32. S. 694),

As an example of Upapada, we have कच्छपी ॥ कच्छेन पिबति = कच्छपी ॥ The affix क is added by III. 2, 4. S. 2916, by Yoga-vibhāga. Here also, had the compounding depended upon the noun प taking the case-affixes, the feminine would have taken दाप् and not ङीप् ; similarly as in व्याघ्री ॥

७८३ । अमैवाव्ययेन । २ । २ । २० ॥

अमैव तुल्यविधानं यदुपपदं तदेवाव्ययेन सह समस्यते । स्वादुङ्कारम् । नेह । कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् । कालः समयो वेला वा भोक्तुम् । अमैवेति किम् । अग्रे भोजम् । अग्रे भुक्त्वा । विभाषाग्रे प्रथमपूर्वेष्विति क्त्वाणश्रुतौ ॥ अमा चान्येन च तुल्यविधानमेतत् ॥

783. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम् (णमुल and खमुङ्).

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणंकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III. 4. 26) &c,

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in णम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 S. 3179 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय, or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word "only" is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root, with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम्, as well as another affix, is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, S. 3345 declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अग्रे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it, namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अग्रेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition, because अग्रेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अग्रेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

७८४ । तृतीयाप्रभृत्यान्यन्धतरस्याम् । २ । २ । २१ ॥

उपपदं तृतीयायां मिथ्याशीन्युपपदान्यमन्तेनाव्ययेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । मूलकेनोपपदं भुङ्क्ते । मूलकोपपदम् ॥

784. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47 S. 3368 &c.,) is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अश् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47. S. 3368 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपदेशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपदेशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.

Note :—For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c S. 3373 This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अश् ; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 S. 3381 where अश् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्ता as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhāshā. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अश् is the only affix employed ; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अश् is not the only affix.

७८५ । क्त्वा च । २ । २ । २२ ॥

तृतीयामभृतीन्युपपदानि क्त्वान्तेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । उच्चेः कृत्य उच्चेः कृत्वा । अव्यये ययाभि-
प्रेतेति क्त्वा । तृतीयामभृतीनीति किञ्च । अलं कृत्वा । खलु कृत्वा ॥

785. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvâ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्ता which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चेः कृत्य or उच्चेः कृत्वा. Here the affix क्ता is added by sūtra III. 4. 59 S. 3381. In the case when there is composition, the क्ता is replaced by the substitute ल्यप् ; other wise not, See VII. 1. 37.

Why do we say 'an upapada ending in the 3rd case-affix'? Observe &c.? अलं कृत्वा, or खलु कृत्वा. Where there is no composition.

७८६ । तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

संख्याव्ययोरङ्गुल्यन्तस्य तत्पुरुषस्य समासान्तोऽच् स्यात् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्य द्व्यङ्गुलम्
द्वार । निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो निरङ्गुलम् ॥

786. The affix ach comes after a Tatpurusha compound ending in the word āṅguli, when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes it.

Thus द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्य=द्व्यङ्गुलम् द्वार ॥ So also, when an Indeclinable precedes it : as निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो=निरङ्गुलम्, अत्यङ्गुलम् ॥

Note :—This compounding takes place by II. 1. 51. This is a Taddhitārtha compound, the taddhita affix नाचच् being elided by the Vārtika प्रमाणे हो द्विगोर्नित्यम्

“there is always the elision of the affix **रात्रिच्** denoting measure when a Dvigu compound is formed”. See V. 2. 37 Vart.).

७८७ । अहःसर्वैकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याच्च रात्रेः । ५ । ४ । ८७ ॥

एभ्यो रात्रिर्च् स्यात्संख्याव्ययादेः । अहर्महणं द्वन्द्वार्थम् । अहश्च रात्रिश्चाहोरात्रः । सर्वा रात्रिः सर्वरात्रः । पूर्वे रात्रेः पूर्वरात्रः । संख्यातरात्रः । पुण्यारात्रः । द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारो द्विरात्रम् । अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिमतिरात्रः ॥

787. The affix **अच्** comes after the word *râtri*, when preceded by *ahan*, or *sarva*, or a word denoting a portion of night, or *saṅkhyâta* or *punya*, when the compound is *Tatpurusha*, as well as when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes the word *râtri*.

The *anuvritti* of *संख्याव्ययादेः* is drawn in to this *sûtra* by force of the word **च्** “and” of the *sûtra*. The word **अहन्** forms a *Dvandva* compound ; as **अहश्च रात्रिश्च** = **अहोरात्रः** : “day and night.” So also **सर्वरात्रः**, **पूर्वरात्रः** : ‘the first part of night’. These are formed by II. 2. 1. S. 712. So also **संख्याता रात्रिः** = **संख्यातरात्रः** ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 57 S. 736. So also **पुण्यारात्रिः** = **पुण्यारात्रः** ॥ So also when compounded with a Numeral or an Indeclinable : as, **द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारः** = **द्विरात्रः**, **अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिश्च** = **अतिरात्रः** ॥

७८८ । राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतदन्तात्तत्पुरुषादृच् स्यात् । परमराजः । अतिराजी । कृष्णसखः ॥

788. The affix **ऋच्** is added to the words *râjan*, *ahan*, and *sakhi*, when standing at the end of a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus **परमराजः** ; **अतिराजी**, **कृष्णस्य सखा** = **कृष्णसखः** ; ॥

Note :--Why not so here **महाराजा** *राज्ञी* = *महाराज्ञी* instead of *महाराजी* ॥ For according to the maxim “a *pratipadika* denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, also such a nominal stem, as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender” (*प्रातिपदिकमहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि अङ्गम्*); the stem **राजन्** would denote the *fe.* nine also. To this we reply, that the construction of the *sûtra* shows that the feminine *राज्ञी* is not to be taken. Because **अहन्** being a prosodially lighter word than **राजन्** ought to have been placed first in the compound. Its not being so placed indicates that that form **राजन्** only is to be taken, whose final vowel becomes lengthened into **आ** in compounding with **अहन्** ; i. e. **राजा** + **अहन्** ; and not **राज्ञी** + **अहन्** ॥

In fact, the above Paribhāshā is anitya, not of universal application, and so we have मन्त्रराज्ञी ॥ See also the next sūtra.

७८२ । अह्नोऽहोरेव । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एतयोरेवपरतोऽह्नि लोपः स्यान्नान्यत्र । उक्तमाहः । हे अहनी भूतो ब्राह्मीनः क्रतुः । तद्धितार्थेहिद्युः । तमधीष्ट्याधि कारे द्विगोर्वैत्यनुवृत्तौ रात्र्यहः संवत्सराच्चेति खः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वाग्नेह । मन्त्राणां राज्ञी मन्त्रराज्ञी ॥

789. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus उक्तमाहः (V. 4. 91 S. 794 with टच्) ॥ हे अहनी भधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = ब्राह्मीनः क्रतुः (with ख V. 1. 87 S. 1751).

Vart:—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule: अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with टच् V. 1. 79 S. 1743). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvan, before ख, in VI. 4 169 S. 1671.

In the sub-division of तमधीष्टः (V. 1. 80 S. 1744) reading the anuvritti of द्विगोर्वा (V. 1. 86. S. 1750) in the sūtra रात्र्यहः संवत्सराच्च (V. 1. 87. S. 1751), we get the affix ख ॥ The Paribhāshā relating to gender being anitya, (see 788 above) we have no टच् here in मन्त्राणां राज्ञी = मन्त्रराज्ञी ॥

७९० । अह्नोऽह्ने एतेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

सर्वादिभ्यः परस्याहन्नाब्स्याह्नादेशः स्यात्समासान्ते परे ॥

790. For ahan is substituted ahna, when preceded by the words, mentioned in V. 4. 87 S. 787. (and taking the affix तच्च mentioned in V. 4. 91 S. 788).

Note :—When the affix टच् follows अहन्, and the latter is preceded by the words सर्व &c., then अह्ना is substituted for अहन् ॥ By the term एतेभ्यः "these words", is meant the numerals (with the exception of एक V. 4. 90 S. 794) the In declinables, the words सर्व, संख्यात and words denoting a part of a day, for these are the words mentioned in the sūtra. V. 4. 87 S. 787. The word अहन् is also mentioned therein, but it is not taken here, for there can be no Tatpurusha

compound of अहन् with अहन् ॥ The word पुण्य is also excluded by V. 4. 90, S. 794 Thus द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः = अहः, अहः, अहतिक्कान्तः = अत्यहः, निरहः ॥ So also सर्वाहः, (VIII. 4. 7 S. 791) पूर्वाहः, अपराहः, संख्याताहः (according to some संख्याताहः V. 4. 90).

७९१ । अहोऽहन्तात् । ८ । ४ । ७ ।

अहन्तपूर्वपदस्थान्निष्ठास्पर्शस्याऽहोऽहस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । सर्वाहः । पूर्वाहः । संख्याताहः । द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः । कालाहम् । द्विगोलुगनपत्य इति ठम् लुक् । अहः । अत्रियमहन्तत्वाद्वा । अहः । अत्यहः ।

791. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन् when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change (i. e. the letter र).

Thus सर्वाहः पूर्वाहः "fore-noon"; अपराहः "after-noon" But in संख्याताहः no change.

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अह is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. The word अह being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घाहो शरत् ॥ The word अहः in the sūtra in the the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8 S. 1052), यानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsana affix (V. 4. 91 S. 783), and अह substitution by V. 4. 88.

The word दीर्घाहो is a Bahuvrīhi compound and not a Tatpuruṣa, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine डीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, S. 462 there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134 S. 234.

Why do we say "when meaning a collective noun"? Observe द्वयोरह्नोर्भवो = अहः, ॥ This is a Tadditārtha Drigu compound formed by II. 1. 51; S. 728 the affix ठम् of कालाहं ठम् (IV. 3. 11, S. 1381) is elided by IV. 1. 88, S. 1080 and the final अन् of अहन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

In the Feminine, there will be टप् as the base ends in short अ ॥ As अहः ॥ So also अत्यहः and अत्यहः ॥

७९२ । क्षुब्धादिषु च । ८ । ४ । ३६ ॥

एषु जत्वं न स्यात् । दीर्घाहो प्रावृत् । एवं चैतदर्थमह इत्यहन्तालुकरणेणो न कर्तव्यः । प्रातिपदिकान्तेति जत्ववारणाय क्षुब्धादिषु पाठस्यावश्यकत्वात् । अहन्तादिति तपस्करणमिह । परागतमहः पराहः ॥

792. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

Note :—The 'not' of sūtra VIII. 4. 34 S. 2840 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभ्नाति, so also in क्षुभ्नीतः, क्षुभ्नन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. 1. 57. S. 50. So नूनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, S. 857 and VIII. 4. 26 S. 3618 नन्दिन्, नन्दन् and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name as, हरिन्दी, हरिन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥ The word नृत् when taking the Intensive affix णच्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥ नृत्तु, नृप्नोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287 शरनिवेशः, शरनिवास, शरान्निः, र्भानूपः ॥ All these are Names. After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः. अचार्यानी ॥ इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुभ्ना (क्षुभ्नानि), 2 नूनमनः, 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन्, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिन्दी, 7 हरिन्दनः 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृत्तिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन, 12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्रयोजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शरान्निः, 23 र्भानूपः, 24 आचार्यादयस्त्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी) ॥ क्षुभ्ना, 25 नृत्तु, नूनमनः, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन-यङ् नृत्ति, 27 गिरिन्दी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्य-भोगीन, 29 चतुर्हान, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मर, आकृतिगणः ॥

Thus दीर्घाद्दी प्रावृद् ॥

This being so, there is no necessity of taking the trouble of making the substitute अह्ना *ahna* end in short अ for the purpose of this case. Because of the necessity of reading such examples in kshubhnādi class, in order to prevent the ण change required by VIII. 4. 11 S. 1055.

In the sūtra VIII. 4. 7 S. 791 we read "when preceded by a word ending in short अ"; therefore, when the preceding word ends in long आ, we have no ण change; as पराहः (परागतमहः) ॥

७९३ । न संख्यादैः समाहारे । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

समाहारे वर्तमानस्य संख्यादेरद्वादेशो न स्यात् । संख्यादेरिति स्वार्थम् । द्वयोरद्वाः समाहारो ब्रह्मः । इयहः ॥

793. This substitution of *ahna* for *ahan*, does not take place after a Numeral, when it forms a Collective noun, meaning a number of days taken as a unity.

This substitution is prohibited in the case of Samāhāra-Tatpurusha. Thus द्वयोरद्वाः समाहारः = ब्रह्मः, so also इयहः ॥ Here rule V. 4. 91 applies.

There can be no samāhāra Tatpurusha compound, unless it is a Numeral compound. So the use of the word संख्यादेः in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary ; but it is employed merely for the sake of clearness.

७९४ । उत्तमेकाश्यां च । ५ । ४ । ९० ॥

आभ्यामद्वादेशो न । उत्तमशब्दोऽन्त्यार्थः । पुण्यशब्दमाह । पुण्यैकाभ्यामित्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम् । पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् । सुदिनशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । एकाहः । उत्तमप्रथमद्वयस्यापि संघट्टार्थमित्येके । संख्याताहः ॥

794. And also after the word that stands last in the above list (i. e. पुण्य) and eka. this substitution does not take place.

The word उत्तम means 'last' ; and refers to पुण्य which is the last word in V. 4. 87. S. 787. The word उत्तम 'last' is used instead of पुण्य as a वैचित्र्य ; the better draft would have been पुण्यैकाभ्याम् ॥ Thus पुण्याहम् . सुदिनाहम् ॥ The word सुदिन is a term of praise. एकाहः ॥ Some include the penultimate word संख्यान् also in the prohibition. According to them संख्यानाहः is the proper form and not संख्याताहः ॥

७९५ । अग्राख्यायामुरसः । ५ । ४ । ९३ ॥

दृक् स्यान् । अश्वानामुर इव अश्वोरसम् , मुख्योऽश्व इत्यर्थः ॥

795. The affix tach comes after the word 'uras,' standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when it has the sense of 'the most excellent of its kind'.

Thus अश्वानां उरः = अश्वोरसम् "the most excellent of horses".

Note :—The word अग्र means 'the principal' : as the word उरस् is the principal member of an animal, so by metonymy it has come to mean 'the principal'.

Why do we say "when meaning the most excellent". Observe देवदत्तस्योरः = देवदत्तोरः "the breast of Devadatta".

७९६ । अनोद्गमायः सरसां जातिसंज्ञयां । ५ । ४ । ९४ ॥

दृक् स्याज्जातौ संज्ञायां च । उपानसम् । अश्रुताशमः । कालायसम् । मण्डूकसरसमिति जानिः । महानसम् । विण्डाशमः । लोहितायसम् । जलसरसमिति संज्ञा ॥

796. The affix tach comes after anas, aśman, ayas, and saras, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, it denotes a jāti or a name.

Thus उपानसम्, अमृतारमः, कालायसम्, and मण्डूकसरसम्, are examples of जाति words, while महानसम्, पिण्डारमः, लोहितायसम्, and जलसरसम् are examples of संज्ञा ॥

Note—Why do we say “when meaning a jāti or a sañjñā? Observe सदनः, सश्रमाः, सस्तरः ॥

७९७ । ग्रामकौटाश्यां च तक्षणः । ५ । ४ । ९५ ॥

ग्रामस्य तक्षा ग्रामतक्षः । साधारण इत्यर्थः । कुत्र्या भवः कौटः स्वतन्त्रः । सचासौ तक्षा च कौटतक्षः ॥

797. The affix तक्ष comes after taksha, when preceded by grāma and kautā, in a Tatpuruṣa compound.

The anuvṛtti of jāti and sañjñā does not run into this sūtra. Thus ग्रामस्य तक्षा = ग्रामतक्षः, बहूनां साधारणः ‘the public carpenter of all.’ कुत्र्या भवः = कौटः “independent.” कौटः तक्षा = कौटतक्षः meaning स्वतन्त्रः कर्मजीवी, न कस्मश्चित्प्रातिबद्धः ‘and independent artisan, not particularly bound under engagement to any one’.

७९८ । अतेः शुनः । ५ । ४ । ९६ ॥

अतिश्वो वराहः । अतिश्वी सेना ॥

798. The affix तक्ष comes after the word śvan preceded by ati. in a Tatpuruṣa compound.

Thus अतिश्वान्नः श्वानम् = अतिश्वो वराहः “the boar that surpasses the dog” i. e. जववान् “very swift”. So अतिश्वी सेना “the dog-surpassing soldier i. e. more devoted to his master than a dog” or “a servile army, as mean as a dog.”

७९९ । उपमानादप्राणिषु । ५ । ४ । ९७ ॥

अप्राणिविषयकोपमानवाचिनः शुनदृश्यान् । आकर्षः श्वेव आकर्षश्वः । अप्राणिषु किम् । वानरः श्वेव वानरश्वा ॥

799. The affix तक्ष comes after the word śvan ending in a Tatpuruṣa compound, when another thing not being a living object is compared with it.

Thus आकर्षः श्वेव = आकर्षश्वः ‘a dog-like bow.’ This compounding takes place by II. 1. 56. S. 735.

Why do we say “when the thing compared is not a living being”? Observe वानरः श्वेव = वानरश्वा “a dog-like monkey”.

८०० । उत्तरमृगपूर्वाच्च सक्थनः । ५ । ४ । ९८ ॥

चातुपमानात् । उत्तरसक्यम् । मृगसक्यम् । पूर्वसक्यम् । फलकमिव सक्यि फलकसक्यम् ॥

800. The affix *ṭach* comes after *sakthi*, when preceded by *uttara*, *mṛiga*, and *pūrva*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound, as well as when a thing is compared with it.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we read in the word उपमानात् also. Thus उत्तरसक्यम्, मृगसक्यम्, पूर्वसक्यम् ॥ So also in फलकमिव सक्यि = फलकसक्यम् ॥

८०१ । नावो द्विगोः । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

नांशब्दान्ताद्द्विगोऽष्टस्य स्यात् तद्धितलुकि । द्वाभ्यां नाभ्यामागतः द्विनावरूप्यः । द्विगोर्लुगनपस्य इत्यत्र अचीत्यस्यापकर्षणाद्वलादेन लुक् । पञ्चनावप्रियः । द्विनावम् । त्रिनावम् । अतद्धितलुकीति किम् । पञ्चभिर्नौभिः क्रीतः पञ्चनौः ॥

801. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *nau*, when at the end of a *Dvigu* compound, but not so, when the *Taddhita* affix is elided.

Thus द्वाभ्यां नाभ्यामागतः = द्विनावरूप्यम्, द्विनावमयम् (IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) The elision of IV. 1. 88 S. 1780 does not apply here, as that rule is restricted by the word अचि of IV. 1. 89 S. 1081 and so it does not apply to affixes beginning with a consonant.

So also द्वे नौ समाहते = द्विनावम्, so also त्रिनावम् ॥ Thus द्विनावधनम्, पञ्चनावप्रियः are also formed.

Why do we say 'when in a *Dvigu* compound'? Observe राजनौः "the king's ship". The phrase अतद्धितलुकि "when a *Taddhita* affix is not elided" of sūtra V. 4. 92 S. 729 applies here also. Therefore टच् does not apply in पञ्चभिर्नौभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चनौः, दशनौः ॥

८०२ । अर्धाश्च । ५ । ४ । १०० ॥

अर्धान्नावष्टस्य स्यात् । नावार्धम् । अर्धनावम् । क्लीयत्वं लोकात् ॥

802. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *nau*, when preceded by the word *ardha*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus नावो अर्धे = अर्धनावम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. S. 713. The compound is of neuter gender, and does not take the gender of the term, as required by II. 4. 26 S. 812 ; for gender is regulated by usage, more than any grammatical rules (लोकाभ्यवृत्त्यै लिङ्गस्य) ॥

८०३ । खार्याः प्राचाम् । ५ । ४ । १०१ ॥

द्विगोर्धा खार्याट्त्वा स्यात् । द्विखारम् । द्विखारि । अर्धखारम् । अर्धखारि ॥

803. To the word khârî, at the end of a Dvigu compound, and to the same, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound, the affix tach is added, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians.

The words द्विगोः and अर्धत् are both understood here. Thus द्वे खार्या समाहते = द्विखारम् or द्विखारि ॥ So also अर्धे खार्याः = अर्धखारम् or अर्धखारि ॥

८०४ । द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलिः । ५ । ४ । १०२ ॥

ट्त्वा स्यात् द्विगोः । द्व्यञ्जलम् । द्व्यञ्जलिः । अतद्धतलुकीत्येव । द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतो द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥

804. The affix tach is added to the word añjali, when preceded by dvi or tri, in a Dvigu Tatpurusha compound.

Thus द्वावञ्जली समाहता = द्व्यञ्जलम्, so also त्र्यञ्जलम् ॥ The word द्विगोः is understood here also, so that when the compound is not a Dvigu, the rule does not apply. Thus द्वयोरञ्जलिः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ The phrase "when a Taddhita is not elided (V. 4. 92 S. 729)," is understood here also. Therefore the affix टच् does not apply here : द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ (V. 1. 28).

Note :—The phrase "according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians" V. 4. 191 S. 803 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus in the alternative we have द्व्यञ्जलिप्रियः ॥

८०५ । ब्रह्मणो जानपदाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १०४ ॥

ब्रह्मान्तान्त्युत्पादित्वे स्यात्समासेन जानपदत्वमाख्यायने चेत् । सुराष्ट्रे ब्रह्मा सुराष्ट्रब्रह्मः ॥

805. The affix tach comes after the word brahmaṇa in a Tatpurusha compound, when the compound denotes a person belonging to a certain country.

The word जानपदः is equivalent to जनपदेषु भवः 'belonging to a country.' This affix comes after that Tatpurusha, the first member of which is a word denoting a country. Thus सुराष्ट्रेषु ब्रह्मा = सुराष्ट्रब्रह्मः, and भवन्तिब्रह्मः "a Brāhmaṇa of Surashṭra or Avanti." This is an example of Locative Tatpurusha compound.

*Note:—*Why do we say “when referring to the name of a country”? Observe देवब्रह्मा नारदः ‘Narada the bard of the gods’.

८०६ । कुमहद्वङ्मयामन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

आभ्यां ब्रह्मणो वा टच् स्यान् तत्पुरुषे । कुत्सितो ब्रह्मा कुब्रह्मः । कुब्रह्मा ॥

806. The affix tach comes optionally after the word brahman preceded by the words कु and महत्, in a Tatpuruṣa compound

Thus कुब्रह्मः or कुब्रह्मा, ‘a bad Brahmana’. The word ब्रह्मन् is a synonym of ब्राह्मण “a Brāhmaṇa”.

८०७ । आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

महत आकारोऽन्तर्देशः स्यात्समानाधिकरणे उत्तरपदे जातीये च परे । महाब्रह्मः । महाब्रह्मा । महादेवः । महाजातीयः । समानाधिकरणे किम् । महत् सेवा महत्सेवा । लाक्षणिकं विहाय प्रतिपदेनक्तः सन्महदिति समासो ग्रहीष्यते इति चेत् महाबाहुन स्यान् । तस्मात्प्रतिपदेनक्तयोः प्रतिपदेनक्तस्येति परिभाषा नह प्रवर्तते । समानाधिकरणग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् ।

आदिति योगविभागादात्वम् । प्रागकारशब्द इति निर्देशाद्वा । एकादश । महतीशब्दस्य पुंवत्कर्मधारयेति पुंवद्भावो कृते आत्वम् । महाजातीय ॥

महात्वे घासकरविशिष्टरूपसंख्यानं पुंवद्भावश्च * ॥ असमानाधिकरण्यार्थादिदम् । महतो महत्या वा घासो महाघासः । महाकरः । महाविशिष्टः ॥

अष्टनः कपालं हविषि * ॥ अष्टाकपालः ॥

गवि च युक्ते * ॥ गोशब्दे परे युक्त इत्यर्थे गम्येऽष्टन आत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ अष्टागवं शकटम् । अष्टप्रत्यन्ववन्त्यत्राजिति योगविभागाद्गुह्रीहावत्यच् । अष्टानां गवां समाहारः अष्टगवम् । तद्युक्तत्वाच्छकटमष्टागवामिति वा ॥

807. For the final of महत् is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महाब्रह्मः or महाब्रह्मा, महादेवः, महाजातीयः ॥ Why do we say ‘before a word which is in apposition with it’? Observe महत् सेवा=महत्सेवा “the service of the great man”: the two words are not in apposition. Obj. We shall explain the compound महत्सेवा by saying that the rule of आ substitution applies to those compounds only of महत् which are ordained specially by II. 1. 61 S. 740 and not to the general compounding of महत् with any noun.

And as महत्सेवा can not be compounded under II. 1. 61 S. 740 so there will be no आ substitution here.

Ans.—Not so ; for how then you explain the आ in महाबाहुः which is also not a compound under II. 1. 61 S. 740 but a Bahuvrīhi, and which according to your explanation ought to be महर्बाहुः ॥

Therefore, we come to this conclusion that the Pratipadokta Paribhāshā does not apply here, and this because the word समानाधिकरण is employed in the sūtra. Therefore, the present sūtra applies to all compounds of महन्, where it is in apposition with the second word.

How do you explain the lengthening in एकादश? Either by yoga-vibhāga, taking आन् as a separate sūtra ; or because Pāṇini himself uses it in V. 3. 49 S. 1995.

In महती + जातीया, the feminine महती is first changed into the masculine महन् by VI. 3. 42 S. 746 ; and then the न् is changed to आ by the present sūtra, and thus we get महाजातीया ॥

The compounding with महन् takes place under II. 1. 61 S. 740. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrīhis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact, this is the object of using the word samānadhikaraṇ in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpuruṣa compounds of mahat, taught under II. 1. 61 S. 740, but not to Bahuvrīhis like महाबाहुः ॥ In महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महन् is here secondary.

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final महन् before घास, कर and विशष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्याः करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टाकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गा, when the meaning is that of 'yoked.' As, अष्टागवै न शक्रेन ॥ But अष्टगवै ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The न् in अन् is for the sake of distinctness.

The affix अच् of V. 4. 75 S. 943 is made applicable here by the method of yoga-vibhāga ; though the compound is Bahuvrīhi ; अष्टन् + गो = अष्टा + गो + अच् ॥ The aggregate of eight cows is अष्टगवम् (Samāhāra Dvandva). The chariot is also called अष्टगवम् because they are yoked there to.

८०८ । द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः । ६ । ३ । ४७ ॥

भास्यान् । द्वौ च दश च द्वादश । द्व्यधिका दशेति वा । द्वाविंशतिः । अष्टादश । अष्टाविंशतिः । अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः किम् । द्वित्राः । द्व्यशीतिः ॥ प्राक्शतानिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । द्विशतम् । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

808. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादश' = द्वौ च दश च or द्वि अधिका दशः । द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशन्, अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशन् ॥

Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्वित्राः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vārt:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

८०९ । त्रैलोक्यः । ६ । ३ । ४८ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयम् स्यात्पूर्वादिभ्यः । त्रयोदश । त्रयोविंशतिः । बहुव्रीहौ तु त्रिदश त्रिदशः । गुजर्थे बहुव्रीहिः । अशीतौ तु त्र्यशीतिः । प्राक् शतानिभ्येव । त्रिशतम् । त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

809. For त्रि is substituted त्रयम् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशन् ॥ But not in त्रिदशः which is a Bahuvrīhi. (H. 2. 25 S. 843) त्र्यशीतिः ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

८१० । विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चशतौ सर्वेषाम् । ६ । ३ । ४९ ॥

अष्टनास्त्रयः प्रागुक्तं वा स्याच्चत्वारिंशदशौ परं । द्विचत्वारिंशन् । द्वाचत्वारिंशन् । अष्टचत्वारिंशन् । अष्टचत्वारिंशन् । त्रिचत्वारिंशन् । त्र्यचत्वारिंशन् । एव पञ्चाशत्षष्ठिसप्ततिनवतिसु ॥

810. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशन् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशन्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्र्यपञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत् or अष्टपञ्चाशत् ॥ This is also before hundred : as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

So also with पञ्चाशत्, षष्ठि, सप्तति and नवति ॥

८११ । एकादिश्रैकस्य चातुक् । ६ । ३ । ७६ ॥

एकादिभिः प्रकृत्या स्वादेकस्य च अदुगागमश्च । नञो विंशत्या सह समासे कृते एकशब्देन

सह तृतीयेति योगविभागात्समासः । अनुनासिकविकल्पः । एकेन नविंशतिः एकान्नविंशतिः । एका-
द्वविंशतिः । एकानविंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

एष उद्वं इतुश्चधासूत्रपरशब्दः दूत्वं च धासु वेति वाच्यम् ॥ षोडन् । षोडश । षोढा ।
षड्धा ॥

811. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्).

Thus एकने नविंशतिः = एकान्नविंशतिः, एकान्नविंशन् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds formed under II. 1. 30 S. 692 by the method of yoga-vibhāga taking तृतीया as a separate sūtra. The nasal is optional, so we have एकान्नविंशतिः also, meaning "nineteen." The augment अदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकान् न विंशतिः and एकान् न विंशति by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116.

Part :—The final of एष is changed to ड before इत्, श्, and धा (meaning 'location'); and the first letter of the second member is changed to न् ष ढ र्. Thus षड् दन्ता अभ्य = षाडन्; षोडन्; षोड्या or षोढा करः. The addition of ड is optional here. The putting of धसु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानादिभ्यः). In fact, धा has the force of an affix here. The rule, therefore, does not apply to these :—षड् दधाति or धयति = षड्धा ॥

THE GENDER OF COMPOUNDS.

८१२ । परवल्लिङ्गे द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः । २ । ४ । २६ ॥

एतयोः परपरस्येव लिङ्गे स्यात् । कुक्कुटमश्र्याविने । मश्रूीकुक्कुटाविनौ । अभपिप्पली ॥
विशुभ्रान् । तेषुर्वशात्समासेषु प्रतिषेधा वाच्यः ॥ पञ्चसु कर्पाण्यु सक्तनः पञ्चकालः पुरादाशः ।
प्राप्तं जीवकां प्राप्तजीविकः । आपन्नजीविकः । अलं कुमार्य अलंकुमारः । सन् एव ज्ञापकात्समासः ।
निष्कौशाश्विः ॥

812. The gender of a Dvandva or a Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to an Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction. As कुक्कुटमश्र्याविने 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' मश्रूीकुक्कुटाविनौ 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in a Tat-purusha compound, not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism : As अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः, अर्द्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali.'

Vārt:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with *प्राप्त*, *आपन्न* and, *अलं*. and (3) compounds with Gati words *i. e.* Prādi compounds; as, *पंचकपालः* 'Purodāsa prepared in five cups'; *प्राप्तजीविकः* (*प्राप्त* + *जीविका*) 'has obtained living.' *आपन्नजीविकः* ॥ *अलंकुमारिः* 'who is a suitable match for the girl.' There is no special rule of Pāṇini by which *अलं* can be so compounded. We *infer* such a rule, by the implication (*jñāpa-ka*) of this *vārtika*. *निष्कौशाम्बिः* 'gone beyond Kauśambi.'

८१३ । पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ । २ । ४ । २७ ॥

द्विवचनमतन्त्रम् । अश्ववडवौ । अश्ववडवान् । अश्ववडवैः ॥

813. The gender of the compound of the word *aśva* 'horse' and *vaḍava* 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4, 12. S. 916, in that case it will be neuter. *अद्ववडवाविमौ* ; *अद्ववडवान्* . *अद्ववडवैः* &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

८१४ । रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि । २ । ४ । २९ ॥

एतदन्तौ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषौ पुंस्थेव । अनन्तरत्वात्परवाङ्मिहृतापवाहोऽप्ययं परत्वात्समहारनपुंसकतां बाधते । अहोरात्रः । रात्रेः पूर्वभागः पूर्वारात्रः । पूर्वाह्नेः । द्वयः ॥ संख्यापूर्वं रात्रं क्लीबम् ॥ द्विरात्रम् । त्रिरात्रम् । गणरात्रम् ॥

814. The Dvandva and Tatpursha compound ending with *rātra* and *ahna* and *aha* are spoken of in the masculine.

This debars the neuter gender of *Samāhāra* even (II. 4. 17 S. 821) because it is a subsequent *sūtra* to that in the order of Pāṇini and thus it serves double purpose, being read immediately after II. 4. 26 S. 812 it debars the gender of the subsequent, and also the Neuter of II. 4. 17. S. 821. Thus *अहोरात्रः* ॥

These words refer to *kṛit* and *Samasānta* affixes. Thus the word *रात्र* is formed by *रात्रि* + *मच्* (V. 4. 37 S. 787) *अह्* is formed by V. 4. 38 S. 790 and *अह* by V. 4. 91. S. 788. The general rule II. 4. 26 S. 812 also does not apply here.

पूर्वरात्रः; *द्विरात्रः* *त्रिरात्रः*, 'A space of two or three nights' *पूर्वाह्नेः*, *अपराह्नेः*, *मध्याह्नेः* 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon,' *द्वयः* 'two days' *त्रयहः*, 'three days.'

Vārt:—The word रात्र preceded by a numeral is always neuter, as द्विरात्रम् &c., गणरात्रम् ॥ गणानां बहूनां रात्राणां समाहार = गणरात्रम् ॥

८१५ । अपथं नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ३० ॥

तत्पुरुष इत्येव । अन्यत्र तु अपथो देशः । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशात्रिह । अपन्याः ॥

815. The Tatpurnusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

The word "Tat-purusha" only is understood in this sūtra and not Dvandva.

अपथनिर्द्दम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' But अपथदेशः (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi, the word is masculine; so also अपन्याः where the rule does not apply, because the sūtra has exhibited the form अपथम् with the samāsānta affix. So where there is no samāsānta affix, the form is अपन्याः also. The samāsānta is optional by V. 4. 72 S. 957.

८१६ । अर्धचाः पुंसि च । २ । ४ । ३१ ॥

अर्धर्चादयः शब्दाः पुंसि क्लीबे च स्युः । अर्धर्चः । अर्धर्चम् । ध्वजः । ध्वजम् । एवं तीर्थं । शरीरं, मण्डः, पीयूषः, देहः, अङ्कुशः, कलश इत्यादि ॥

816. The words 'ardharcha' &c., may be masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' ध्वजः or ध्वजम् 'a flag.' So also तीर्थः or तीर्थम् 'a place of pilgrimage ; शरीरः 'the body ; मण्डः 'a shed ; पीयूषः 'nectar ; देहः 'the body,' अङ्कुशः 'a goad for an elephant ; कलशः 'a jar' &c.

Note:—These twofold genders sometimes, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मम् 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best,' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

८१७ । जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ५८ ॥

एकोऽप्यर्थो वा बहुवद्भवति । ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः ॥

817. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

Note:—The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛtti of asishyam does not go further ॥ Thus ब्राह्मणः पूज्याः or ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः

Note:—It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्ना यवः or संपन्ना यवाः. "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta. यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the name of kâsyapa may also be called kâsyapa; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley,' the rule does not apply.

An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रीहिः संपन्नं सुभिन्नं करोति.

८१८ । अस्मदां द्वयोश्च । १ । २ ५९ ॥

एकत्वे द्वित्वे च विवाक्षितस्मदां बहुवचनं वा स्यात् । वयं ब्रूमः । पक्षेऽहं ब्रवीमि । आवां ब्रूव इति वा ॥ सर्वलोचनस्य प्रतिषेधः ॥ पटुरहं ब्रवीमि ॥

818. The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I', is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां ब्रूव. 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूमः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as पटुरहं ब्रवीमि. 'I Patu am speaking.' Here we cannot use the plural.

८१९ । फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे । १ । २ । ६० ॥

द्वित्वे बहुत्वप्रयुक्तं कार्यं वा स्यात् । पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ । पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः । पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे । पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः । नक्षत्रे किम् । फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

819. And the dual of Phalgunī and Proshṭhāpadā, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛitti of the word द्वयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proshṭhāpadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उद्दिने पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual) ; or उद्दिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proshṭhāpadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally.

Why do we say 'when signifying asterisms'? Because if phalgunī and proshṭhāpadā are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number : as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

८२० । तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् । १ । २ । ६३ ॥

बहुत्वं द्विस्ववद्भवति । तिष्यश्च पुनर्वसू च तिष्यपुनर्वसू । तिष्येति किम् । विशाखानुराधाः । नक्षत्रेति किम् । तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः ॥

820. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasū. the dual invariably comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उद्दिनौ तिष्यपुनर्वसूदृश्येने 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'

Why do we say 'Tishya, and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखानुराधाः 'the stars Visākhā and Anurādhā.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars, but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Note :—There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number.

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasū. As तिष्यपुनर्वसू, पुष्यपुनर्वसू तिष्यपुनर्वसू ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus निष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasû."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As निष्यपुनर्वसु इक्षिणि.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular"; for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'invariably' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend further.

८२१ । स नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । १७ ॥

समाहारे द्वियुद्धश्च नपुंसकं स्यात् । परवलिङ्गापवादः । पञ्चगवम् । दन्तोष्ठम् ॥

अकारान्तोत्तरपदा द्वियुः स्त्रियामिष्टः ॥ पञ्चमूली ॥

आबन्तो वा * ॥ पञ्चखट्वी । पञ्चखट्वम् ॥

अनो नलोपश्च वा द्वियुः स्त्रियाम् * ॥ पञ्चतल्ली । पञ्चतल्लम् ॥

पात्राद्यन्तस्य न * ॥ पञ्चपात्रम् । त्रिभुवनम् । चतुयुगम् ॥

पुण्यसुहिनाभ्यामहः क्लीबतेष्टा * ॥ पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् ।

पथः संख्याव्ययादेः * ॥ संख्याव्ययादेः परः कृतसमासान्तः पथशब्दः क्लीबमित्यर्थः । त्रयाणां पन्थास्त्रिपथम् । विरूपः पन्थाः विपथम् । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्निह सुपन्थाः । अतिपन्थाः ।

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् * ॥ मृदु पचति । प्रातः कमनीयम् ॥

821. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules (see II. 4. 1. S. 731 and II. 4. 2. S. 906) is always a neuter gender.

Note.—This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26. S. 812.

As, पञ्चगवम् 'an aggregate of five cows,' दन्तोष्ठम् 'the teeth and lips' शिरोमिवम् 'head and neck.'

Vari.—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only ; as पञ्चमूली.

Vārt:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in **आप्** affix, is optionally feminine ; as, **पञ्चखट्वम्** Or **पञ्चखट्वी**.

Vārt:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in **अन्**, is optionally feminine and the **न** is elided ; as, **पञ्चतन्त्रम्** Or **पञ्चतन्त्री**.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in **पात्र** &c., **चतुर्गुणम्** : **त्रिभुवनम्**.

Vārt:—The Neuter gender is employed after the word **अह्न** preceded by **पुण्य** or **सुदिन** ; as **पुण्याहम्** 'sacred day', **सुदिनाहम्** 'lucky day.'

Vārt:—The word **पथ** ending with the *samāsānta* affix (V. 4. 72 S. 957) is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an *Aavyaya* ; as **त्रिपथम्**, **चतुष्पथम्**, **विपथम्**, **सुपथम्**. But not so in **सुपन्था** and **अतिपन्था** : where the *samāsānta* has not been added, because of the prohibition of V. 4. 69 S. 954.

Vārt:—The Neuter is employed when the application is general, and no particular gender is meant.

As **मृदु पचान्** 'he cooks soft' anything in general that he does cook, **प्रातः क्रमनीयम्** 'in the morning it is pleasant.'

८२२ । तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

822. A *Tat-purusha* compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle *au*, and of the *Karmadhâraya* compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following *sûtras*.

Note.—This is a governing *sûtra* and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a *Tat-purusha* may be Neuter.

८२३ । संज्ञायां कन्थोऽनीनरेणु । २ । ४ । २० ॥

कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं स्यात्सा चतुर्नीनरेणुत्वप्रायाः कन्थायाः संज्ञा । मुशमभ्यापत्त्यानि सौशमयः । तेषां कन्था सौशमिकन्थम् । संज्ञायां किम् । वीरणकन्था । उर्वीनरेणु किम् । वाक्षिकन्था ॥

823. When denoting an appellative, a *Tatpurusha* compound ending with the word *kanthâ* 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that, it is the name of a town situated in the country of the *Uśînaras*.

As, **सौशमिकन्यम्** 'the town of Sauśamis, the descendents of Śūshama."

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe **वीरनकन्या**. Why do we say 'if the town is situated in the country of the Uśīnaras? Observe **दाक्षिकन्या**.

Note :—This debars the rule (II. 4. 25 S. 828) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

८२४ । उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यामायाम् । २ । ४ । २१ ॥

उपज्ञान्त उपक्रमास्तश्च तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् नयोरुपजायमानोपक्रम्यमाणयोरादिः प्राथम्यं चेदाख्यातुमिष्यते । पाणिनेरुपज्ञा पाणिन्युपज्ञं ग्रन्थः । नन्त्रोपक्रमं द्रोणः ॥

824. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work, which is first invented or commenced.

As, **पाणिन्युपज्ञग्रन्थः** 'the book *i. e.* the grammar which is Pāṇini's invention'; **नन्त्रोपक्रमं द्रोणः** 'the measure Droṇa first introduced by the king Nanda.'

Note :—Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as **देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः** 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' **यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः** 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used, as **वाल्मीकिस्लोकाः** 'the slokas invented by Vālmiki.'

८२५ । छाया बाहुल्ये । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात्पूर्वार्थबाहुल्ये । इक्षुणां छाया इक्षुच्छायम् । विभाषासेनोक्तिरुत्पत्त्यायमपवादः । इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य इति तु आसमन्तात्रिषादिन्य इत्याङ्गश्लेषो बोध्यः ॥

825. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word **chhâyâ** 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, **इक्षुच्छायम्** 'the sugarcane shade *i. e.* groves of sugarcane.'

The sūtra II. 4. 25 S. 828 gives *optional* neuter; this rule enjoins *invariable* neuter when **chhâyâ** has the sense of profuseness. In the sentence "**इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्यः**" there is also shortening, there is **आ** between **ikshuchâyā** and **nishādinyah**. Another reading is **इक्षुच्छाय निषादिन्यः** ॥

८२६ । सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा । २ । ४ । २३ ॥

राजपर्यायपूर्वोऽमनुष्यपूर्वश्च सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् ॥

पर्यायस्यैवेत्येते * ॥ नेह । राजसभा । चन्द्रशुभसभा ।

अमनुष्यवाक्यो रूढ्या रक्षःपिशाचादीनाम् । रक्षःसभम् । पिशाचसभम् ॥

826. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word *sabhâ* 'court' is neuter ; provided that, it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word *Rājâ*, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court,' ईश्वरसभम् 'the Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' and चन्द्रशुभसभा the word is not neuter ; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा ; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68. S. 25.

So also रक्षःसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas,' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Piśāchas.' The word is neuter. The word non-human has a technical significance meaning "a Rākshasa or a monster &c."

८२७ । अशाला च । २ । ४ । २४ ॥

संघातायी वा सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं स्यात् । स्त्रीसभम् स्त्रीसंघात इत्यर्थः । अशाला क्लिब । धर्मसभा । धर्मशालेत्यर्थः ॥

827. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *sabhâ*, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies.' Why do we say when it does not mean 'house'? Observe धर्मसभा : here सभा means a house or an institution.

८२८ । विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

एतदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं वा स्यात् । ब्राह्मणसेनम् । ब्राह्मणसेना । यवसुरम् । यवसुरा । कुक्ष्यच्छाया । कुक्ष्यच्छाया । गोशालम् । गोशाला । श्वनिशम् । श्वनिशा । तत्पुरुषोऽनङ्गकर्त्तृधारम् इत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । हवसेनो राजा । वसेना । परमसेना ॥

828. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words *senâ* 'army,' *surâ* 'wine,' *chhâyâ* 'shadow,' *śālâ* 'house' and *niśâ* 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of

that which is formed by the particle *nañ* (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhāraya compound.

As *ब्राह्मणसेना*, *ब्राह्मणसेनम्* 'the Brāhmaṇa army,' *यवसुरम्*, *यवसुरा* 'the barley wine,' *कुडचच्छायम्*, *कुडचच्छाया* 'the shadow of the wall,' *गोशालम्*, *गोशाला* 'the cow house,' *इवनिशम्* *इवनिशा* 'tomorrow night.' But *वृद्धसेनोराजा*। *असेना* 'non-army,' *परमसेना* good army,' the former being a negative and the latter a karmadhāraya compound. For II. 4. 19 S. 822 applies here also.

Here ends the Chapter on Tatpuruṣa Compounds.

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अथ बहुव्रीहि समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIX.

BAHUVRĪHI COMPOUNDS.

८२९ । शेषो बहुव्रीहिः । २ । २ । २३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । द्वितीयाश्रितेत्यादिना यस्य विकस्य विशिष्य समासो नोक्तः सः शेष-
प्रथमान्तमित्यर्थः ॥

829. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

*Note :—*A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above i. e. from S. 686 downwords will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism.

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. A triad (of singular, dual and plural) whose compounding has not been taught in the previous *sūtras* 686 and the rest, is the *śeṣa* or “remainder.” Now the compounding of all the triads beginning with the Accusative and ending with the Locative have been taught in the preceding *sūtras*. The only case that remains is the Nominative. The compounding of nouns, both singular and plural, in the Nominative case, is therefore governed by this *sūtra*, and gives rise to Bahuvrīhi.

*Note :—*Under *sūtra* L. 4. 79 S. 780 there is the *vārtika* प्रादयो गत्याद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥ It teaches the compounding with the Nominative case. But it is a *vārtika* and not a *sūtra*. Moreover according to *Kāśikā*, the *śeṣa* refers to “all where no other compounding is ordained, the words which do not give rise to compounds like *avyayibhāva* &c. will form Bahuvrīhis.”

The Bahuvrīhis like कण्ठेकालः are exceptional.

८३० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे । २ । २ । २४ ॥

अनेकं प्रथमान्तमन्यस्य पदस्यार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स बहुव्रीहिः । अप्रथमाविभक्त्यर्थे बहुव्रीहिरिति समानाधिकरणानामिति च फलितम् ! प्राप्तमुदकं च प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः । ऊढरथोऽनङ्गान् । उपहतपशु रुद्रः । उद्धृतोदना स्थाली । पीताम्बरं हरिः । वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः । प्रथमार्थे तु न । वृष्टं देवे गतः । व्यधिकरणानामपि न । पञ्चभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्य वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः * ॥ प्रपतितपर्णः । प्रपणः ॥

नम्रोऽस्त्यर्थानां वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः * ॥ अविद्यमानपुत्रः । अपुत्रः ॥

अस्तीति विभक्तिप्रतिरूपक्रमव्ययम् । अस्तिन्तीरा गौः ॥

830. Two or more words, ending in the First case-affix, form a compound, denoting, another new thing, not connoted by those words individually ; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first ; as प्राप्ताश्वको ग्रामः = प्राप्ताश्वको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊढरथोऽनङ्गान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशुरुद्रः 'Rudra to whom cattle is offered.' उद्धृतौदना स्थाली 'a vessel in which rice is placed,' पीताम्बरोद्दरिः 'Hari wearing yellow garments.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

The Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

The Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded ; as पञ्चभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

Vart :—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.'

Vart :—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभाष्यः wifeless.'

Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrīhi. As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇī having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

Note :—Why have we used the word "anya" in the sūtra ? So that the difference of the scopes of the Tatpuruṣa and the Bahuvrīhi may be indicated. A Tatpuruṣa denotes the very thing or object expressed by the words of the compound, (स्वपदार्थे हि सावकाशं तत्पुरुषः) ; while a Bahuvrīhi always denotes another object, not denoted by the words of the compound.

८३१ । स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु । ६ । ३ । ३४ ॥

भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् ऊङोऽभावां यस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः निपातनात्पञ्चम्या अलुक् । षष्ठ्याश्च लुक् । तुल्ये प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं यदुक्तपुंस्कं तस्मात्पर ऊङोऽभावां यत्र तथाभूतस्य स्त्रीवाचकशब्दस्य पुंवाचकस्यैव रूपं स्यात्समानाधिकरणे स्त्रीलिङ्गे उत्तरपदे । ननु पूरण्यां प्रियादौ च परतः । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वः ।

चित्रा गावो यस्येति लौकिकविग्रहे चित्रा अस् गो अस् इत्यलौकिकविग्रहे । चित्रयुः । रूपव-
ज्ञार्थः । चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्येति विग्रहे अनेकोक्तेर्बहुनामपि बहुव्रीहिः ।

अत्र केचित् । चित्राजरतीयुः । जरतीचित्रायुर्वा । एवं र्षिर्षातन्वीजङ्घः । तन्वीर्षाजङ्घः ।
त्रिपदे बहुव्रीही प्रथमं न पुंवत् । उत्तरपदस्य मध्यमेन व्यवधानात् । द्वितीयमपि न पुंवत् । पूर्वपदत्वाभावात् ।
उत्तरपदशब्दो हि समासस्य चरमावयवे रूढः । पूर्वपदशब्दस्तु प्रथमावयवे रूढ इति वदन्ति ।

वस्तुतस्तु नेह पूर्वपदमाक्षिप्यते । भानङ् कृत इत्यत्र यथा । तेनोपान्त्यस्य पुंवदेव ।
चित्राजरद्वरित्यादि । अत एव चित्राजरस्यां गावां यस्येति द्वन्द्वगर्भेऽपि चित्राजरद्वरिति भाष्यम् ।
कर्मधारयपूर्वपदे तु द्वयोरपि पुंवत् । जरचित्रयुः । कर्मधारयोत्तरपदे तु चित्रजरद्वरीकः ।

स्त्रियाः किम् । ग्रामणि कुले दृष्टिरस्य ग्रामणिदृष्टिः ।

भाषितपुंस्कात्किम् । गङ्गाभार्यः ।

अनूङ् किम् । वामोरुभार्यः ।

समानाधिकरणे किम् । कल्याण्याः माता कल्याणीमाता ।

स्त्रियां किम् । कल्याणी प्रधानं यस्य स कल्याणीप्रधानः । पूरण्यां तु ॥

831. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ् and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it ; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c. . (see under 835 for the list of Priyādi words).

Note :—The words of this sūtra require some analysis for better comprehension. स्त्रिया. 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the masculine," i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन. by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspondence must be in the *form* (भाकृति) and the *connotation* (आयाम) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् is a Bahuvrīhi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously, while the whole compound is in the genitive case, the affix being elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a समानाधिकरण i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus चित्रगु: "He who has brindled cows." Here गो is shortened by 1. 2. 48. S. 656. The ordinary analysis of this word is चित्रागावो यस्य: while its grammatical analysis is चित्रा + अस (PI) + गो + अस् (PI). Here चित्रा becomes masculine चित्रः; and गो is shortened to गु ॥ Similarly रूपवज्ञायः ॥

Similarly there may be compounding of more than two words as चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्य ॥ Here according to some we have either चित्रा-जरतीयुः or जरतीचित्रायुः ॥ So also वीर्यातन्वीजङ्घः or तन्वीवीर्याजङ्घः ॥ "The first member retains its gender in a Bahuvrīhi of three words, because the first word is separated from the last by an intermediate word. The second word also does not become masculine, because it is not the *first* word in the compound. The word उत्तरपद 'last word' is the technical name of the last member of a compound; while पूर्वपद 'first word,' is similarly confined to the first member of a compound. Therefore in a compound of three words or more, the second term though an uttarapada in relation to the first, is not called uttarapada; similarly this second term though a pūrva-pada with relation to the third, is not called purva-pada." Thus say some grammarians.

But as a matter of fact, there is not in the sūtra any such word as pūrva-pada; and the word should not be inserted in it. For if पूर्वपद qualified this sūtra, it would similarly qualify VI. 3. 25 S. 921, and therefore though we could form होतापोतारं by आनङ्; we could not form होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः, but नेष्टुः-उद्गातारः ॥ But in the Mahābhāṣya we find नेष्टोद्गातारः ॥ Therefore, the penultimate word will become masculine; and the proper form is चित्राजरद्गुः &c. Therefore in चित्राजरस्थौ गावौ यस्य "he who has one brindled and one old cow" though it is a portion of a dwandva compound, we have चित्राजरद्गुः only. This is in the Mahābhāṣya. But when the first member is a Karmadhāraya compound, then both terms become masculine, as जरच्चित्रगुः 'He who has an old brindled cow.' The compounding here is by II. 1. 49 S. 726. But when the last term is a Karmadhāraya compound, we have चित्रजरद्वीकः ॥ First we combine जरती and गौ in a karmadhāraya compound, जरती चासौ गौश्च = जरद्वी which is formed by adding the feminine affix डीप् to the word जरद्व formed by the samāsānta affix टच् (V. 4. 92 S. 729). Then we form the Bahuvrīhi चित्रा and जरद्वी यस्य = चित्राजरद्वीकः the affix कप् is added by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

So also दर्शनीयभार्याः (= दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य) Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः; moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix ञा; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the त्रिधादि class; hence this

word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also श्लक्ष्णचूडः, शीर्षजङ्घः ॥

Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe मामणि ब्राह्मणकुलंहृदिरस्य = मामणिहृदिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine भाषितपुष्कः)? Observe गङ्गाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of गङ्गा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानायमाकृतौ"? Observe द्वेर्णाभार्यः, the masculine word द्वेण has not the same significance as द्वेणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe वामोरुभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यमाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi." Why do we say स्त्रियाम् followed by a feminine word'? Observe कैल्याणी प्रधानः यस्य स = कल्याणीप्रधानः ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? The next sūtra applies to ordinals.

८३२ । अपूर्णप्रमाणयोः । ५ । ४ । ११६ ॥

पूरणार्थप्रत्ययान्त यन् स्त्रीलिङ्गं तदन्तात्प्रमाण्यन्ताच्च बहुव्राह्मेरप्यस्यान् । कल्याणी पञ्चमी आसां रात्रीणां ताः कल्याणपञ्चमा रात्रयः । स्त्रा प्रमाणी यस्य स स्त्रीप्रमाणः । पुंवद्भावप्रतिबंधोऽप्रत्ययश्च प्रधानपूरण्यमेव । रात्रिः पूरणी वाच्या चेत्युक्तोदाहरणे मुख्या । अन्यत्र तु ॥

832. The affix अप् comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound, ending in a feminine ordinal Numeral or in the word pramāṇī.

The word पूरणी means words in the feminine gender ending in an ordinal affix (V. 2. 48 S. 1849 &c). प्रमाणी means 'a witness, 'a principal'. Thus कल्याणी पञ्चमी आसां रात्रीणां = कल्याणपञ्चमा रात्रयः "the nights, the fifth of which is auspicious." कल्याणीदशमा रात्रयः ॥ So also स्त्रीप्रमाणी एषां = स्त्रीप्रमाणाः कुटुम्बिनः meaning भार्याप्रधानाः "having a woman for authority".

The affix अप् and the prohibition of masculine substitution apply when the Ordinal Numeral is the principal (pradhāna) member in a compound. When the Ordinal enters fully into another object, and is not merely wrapped up as it were in another object in a secondary way, there the Ordinal is the principal. The prohibition of puṁvad-bhāva—the change of feminine into masculine ordained by VI. 3. 34 S. 831—, applies also to the Ordinal when it is pradhāna. Therefore, the affix is not added here. कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः = कल्याणी पञ्चमा अस्मिन् पक्षे ॥

But when it is not so ; then instead of अण् we have कण् as by the next sūtra.

८३३ । नष्टृतश्च । ५ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नष्टृत्तरपरादन्तोत्तरपराश्च बहुव्रीहिः कप्स्यान् । पुंवद्भावः ॥

833. The affix कण् is added to a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which is a (feminine word ending in long ई or ऊ defined as a) nadī word, or which ends in a short ऋ ॥

Note :—The word नदी is defined in I. 4. 3, S. 266 Thus बहुकुमारीको देशः (बह्व्यः कुमार्योऽस्मिन्देशे), बहुब्रह्मबन्धकः ॥ बहुकर्तृकः ॥ The न in कण् is for the sake of euphony.

There is पुंवद्-bhāva (masculine substitution) in such compounds.

Thus कल्याणी + पंचमी + कण् ॥ Now at this stage, the next sūtra requires that the long ई be shortened.

८३४ । केऽणः । ७ । ४ । १३ ॥

के परेऽणो ह्रस्वः स्यान् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

834. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

Note :—As लका, (VII. 3. 47 S. 466) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only ? Observe गौका, नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Unādi diversity, with the affix क added to रा and धा (Un III. 40) By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कण् ; it therefore implies that कण् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the कण् of the Unādi, as राका, धाका ; but Unādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

Therefore कल्याणी + पंचमी + कण् = कल्याणी + पंचमी + कण् ॥ But the shortening is prevented by the next sūtra.

८३५ । न कपि । ७ । ४ । १४ ॥

कपि परे ह्रस्वो न स्यान् । कल्याणपंचमीकः पक्षः । अत्र तिरोहितावयवेऽस्य पक्षस्यान्यपरा-
र्थतया राक्षिरप्रधानम् । बहुकर्तृकः । अभियादिषु किम् । कल्याणीप्रियः ।
प्रिया । मनोज्ञा । कल्याणी । सुभगा । दुर्भगा । भक्तिः । सचिवा । स्वसा । कान्ता । क्षान्ता । समा ।
अपला । दुहिता । वामा । अबला । तनाया ॥

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥ दृढं भक्तिर्यस्य स दृढभक्तिः । स्त्रीत्वविवक्षायां तु दृढाभक्तिः ॥

835. But before the samâsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrîhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 S. 656 even does not operate when कप् follows. Here रात्रिः is not principal, but secondary; because पक्ष is another thing altogether in which all distinctions of members (such as nights that constitute a paksha) have disappeared.

Note :—For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48 S. 656; namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुवृषलीकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prâtipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore, I. 2. 48, S. 656 does not apply, because the *prâtipadika* now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

Similarly बहुकर्तृकः ॥

The ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ The samâsanta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as secondary word: and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वमा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

When the word दृढ is used without any reference to its gender, but merely to denote want of weakness then it is Neuter, as दृढं भक्तिर्यस्य = दृढभक्तिः ॥ But when feminine nature is intended to be expressed then we have दृढाभक्तिः ॥ And therefore भक्ति is read in this list,

८३६ । तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुचः । ६ । ३ । ३५ ॥

तसिलादिषुष्वाकृत्वसुजनेषुः परेषु स्त्रियाः पुंवस्त्यान् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । अव्याप्यान्व्याप्ति-
परिहाराय । व्रतसो । तरममर्षा । शरङ्गजातीयरो । कल्पदेशीयरो । रूपपाशपो । धाल् । तिलधन्यो
बलीषु बहुम् । बहुतः । दर्शनीयतरा । दर्शनीयतमा

घरूपेति वक्ष्यमाणो ह्रस्वः परस्वात्पुंवङ्गाव् बाधते । पद्वितरा । पद्वितमा । पदुचरी । पदुजातीया । दर्शनीयकल्पा । दर्शनीयदेशीया । दर्शनीयरूपा । दर्शनीयपाशा । बहुया । प्रशस्ता वृकी वृकतिः । अजाभ्यो हिता अजथ्या ॥

शासि बहुलपार्थस्य पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वर्हीभ्यो रेहि बहुशः । अल्पाभ्यो रेहि अल्पशः ॥ स्वतलोऽयुणवचनस्य * ॥ शुक्लाया भावः शुक्लत्वम् । शुक्लता । गुणवचनस्य क्रिम् । कर्त्र्या भावः कर्त्तृत्वम् । शरद्ः कृतार्थतेत्यादौ तु सामान्य नपुंसकम् ॥

भस्याडे तद्धित * ॥ हस्मिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकम् । अडे क्रिम् । राहिणेयः । स्त्रीभ्यो ङगिति ङोऽत्र गृह्यते । अग्नेर्ङगिति ङकि तु पुंवदेव । अग्रायी देवताऽस्य म्यालीपाकस्थम्रियः । सपत्नीशब्दस्त्रिधा । शत्रुपर्यायास्तपन्नशब्दच्छाङ्गस्त्वादिभ्यान् ङान्येकः । समानः पतिर्यस्या इति विग्रहे विवाहनिबन्धनं पतिशब्दमाश्रित्य नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गा द्वितीयः । स्वामिपर्यायपतिशब्देन भाषितपुंस्कस्तृतीयः । आद्ययोः शिवाद्यण् । सपत्न्या अपत्यं सापन्नः । तृतीयास्तु लिङ्गविशिष्टपाभिषया पत्युत्तरपञ्चम्यणो ष्य एव । न स्वण् । शिवादेौ रूढयोरेव ग्रह्यान् । सापत्यः ।

ठकुलसोश्च * ॥ भवत्याङ्गान्ना भावत्काः भवदीयाः ।

एतद्वार्तिकमेकनद्धिने चेति सत्रं च न कर्तव्यम् । सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवङ्गाव इति भाष्यकारेष्टण गतार्थत्वात् । सर्वकाम्यति । सर्विकार्यार्था यस्य स सर्वकार्यः । सर्वप्रिय इत्यादि । पूर्वस्यैवेष्टम् । भस्त्रेषाङ्गानि लिङ्गात् । तेनाकचि एकशेषवृत्तां च न । सर्विका । सर्वाः ॥

कुक्कुट्याशीनामण्डादिषु * ॥ कुक्कुट्या अण्डं कुक्कुटाण्डम् । मृग्याः पदं मृगपदम् । मृगक्षीरम् । काकशावः ॥

836. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c. (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17. S. 2085).

We must enumerate these affixes, lest we should include too many or too few. The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine : च and तस्, तरप्, and तमप्. चरद्. जानीयर्, कल्पप्, (देश्य), देशीयर्, रूपप्, पाशप्. (थम). याल्. (दा and दर्ह). तिल्, ध्यन् (तातिल्) ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender

Thus (1) च=बहुच, (2) तस्=बहुतः both with the force of locative बहुषु ॥ (3—4) तरप् and तमप्. as दर्शनीयतरा and दर्शनीयतमा ॥ These affixes are called च and so the rule VI. 3. 43 S. 985 causes shortening and this shortening being subsequent prevents the masculine substitution even. Thus not पदुतरा and पदुतमा, (as given in some texts); but पद्वितरा and पद्वितमा ॥ (5) चरद् (V. 3. 53. S. 1999) as पदुचरी ॥ (6) जानीयर् (V. 3. 69 S. 2024) as पदुजातीया ॥ (7) कल्पप्. as दर्शनीयकल्पा ॥ (8) देशीयर् as दर्शनीयदेशीया ॥ (9) रूपप् (V. 3. 66 S. 2021) as दर्शनीयरूपा ॥ (10) पाशप् (V. 3. 47. S. 1993) as दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ (11) याल् (V. 3. 23 S. 1971) as बहुया ॥ (12) तिल् (V. 4. 41 S. 3505) as वृकतिः (=प्रशस्ता वृकी) ॥ (13) ध्यन् (V. 1. 8. S. 1669) as, अजथ्या (=अजाभ्योहितः) ॥

Vart :—The feminine of बहु and अल्प and their synonyms are changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस् :—as बहुभ्यो रेहि = बहुतो रेहि ; अल्पाभ्यो रेहि = अल्पोरेहि ॥ See V. 4. 42. S. 2109.

Vart :—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine, before the affixes ल्य and ल् ॥ शुक्लाया भावः = शुक्लम् so also शुक्लता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कर्त्र्या भावः = कर्त्रीत्यम् ॥ In the example "निरीक्ष्य मेने शरदः कृतार्थता," the word कृतार्थ is Neuter in the generic significance For though शरदः is feminine, the word is not कृतार्थता ॥

Vart :—The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ढ, when the word gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हस्तिकम् by ठक् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256). Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being asiddha (VI. 4. 22. S. 2183) and also by I. 1. 57 S. 50 sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144 S. 679 ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हस्तिनिकम् instead of हस्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of ढ'? Observe रोहितेयः the masculine being रोहित ॥ To रोहित is added डीप् and त् changed to न by IV. 1. 39 S. 496 and we have रोहिणी ॥ Had there been puhvad bhāva, रोहितेयः would have been the form. The ढ taken here is the ढ of the sūtra IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 and not the ढक् of IV. 2. 33 S. 1236. Thus आग्नेयः (= अग्रायी. देवता अस्य स्थायीपाकस्य) ॥

The word सपत्नी has three meanings. (1) Formed by adding डीन् under शार्ङ्गखादि class to सपत्न meaning 'an enemy.' सपत्नी 'a female enemy.' (2) a co-wife, समानः पतिर्यस्याः। It shows marital relation, and is *always* feminine, having no corresponding masculine. (3) where पति means 'lord' (not *husband*): and that सपत्नी has a corresponding masculine. It means a female servant of the same master. The first two take the अण् of शिवादि As सपत्न्या अपत्यं = सापत्नः 'the son of a female-enemy or of a co-wife.' In the case of the third, the affix will be ण्य, and not अण् because शिवादि अण् applies to rudhi words only, and not to the youngika word. Its form will be सापत्यः ॥

Vart :—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes ठक् and लृत् ॥ As भवत्या शब्दाच्चा = भावत्याः, भवद्भ्याः ॥ This Vārtika and the sūtra एकतद्धितेषु (VI. 3. 62 S. 1000) need not have been made. Because the result obtained by these could be got by the general rule (*ish'i*) of the Bhāṣyakāra (Patanjali) : "there is masculation of sarvanamans whenever they take part in any grammatical function." As (1) सर्वमयः (2) सर्वकाम्यति, (3) सर्विकामार्वा बल्य स = सर्वकभार्वः In spite of VI. 3. 37 S. 838. (4) सर्वमियः &c. In the first the

affix is मवद् which is not included in Tasilādi class of this sūtra, and yet it causes masculation. The third would not have become masculine by VI. 3. 34 because VI. 3. 37 S. 838 would have prevented it.

So also सर्वप्रियः in spite of the exception of VI. 3. 34 S. 881 with regard to प्रिय &c. That exception finds its scope in examples like रूपवतीप्रियः &c

If a sarvanāman always becomes masculine in every grammatical function, it ought to be so when it stands as a second member of a compound, as in तदितरा and तदन्या ॥ Here इतरा and अन्या ought to become masculine. But it is not so, because the rule applies to the first (pūrva) member of the compound. When a pronominal is a *first* member of a compound then it becomes masculine and not when it is the last term. This we infer from the implication of VII. 3. 47 S. 466. That sūtra contains two pronominals एषा and हा and if they were to become masculine even in Taddihita function (i. e. when क is added), there would have been no scope for the इ of that sūtra. Hence there is this inference that a sarvanama does not necessarily become masculine before अकच् or in ekasesha; as सर्विका with akach; and सर्वाः plural being eka-śeṣa.

Vārt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c. become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ घृग्याःपत्रं = घृगपत्रम्. घृग्याःक्षीरं = घृगक्षीरम्, काक्याः शावः = काकशावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

८३७ । क्यङ्मानिनोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतयोः परतः पुंवत । एनीवाचरति एतायते । श्येनीवाचरति श्येतायते । स्वभिन्नां कांश्चिदर्थनीयां मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी । दर्शनीयां स्त्रियं मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी चैत्रः ॥

837. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed in to masculine before the Denominative क्यङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, श्येनी—श्येतायते ॥ मानिनः—दर्शनीयमानिनी भयमस्याः “He esteems her as handsome”. दर्शनीयमानिनीभयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः) “She esteems her (some one else other than herself) as handsome.” The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words :—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी भयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यज्ञदत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी भयमस्याः ॥

Note :—The affix क्यङ् is added under III. 1. 11 S. 2665. Thus in एनीवाचरति, श्येनीवाचरति, the feminine words एनी and श्येनी become एत and श्येत ॥ The lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 25 S. 2298. and we have एता and श्येता ॥

The word मानिन् is separately used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule applies even to non appositional words, and non-feminine (masculine) words : which was not the case under the last sūtra.

८३८ । न कोपधायाः । ६ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः न पुंवत् । पाचिकाभार्यः । रसिकाभार्यः । मद्रिकायते । मद्रिकामानिनी ॥
कोपधमनिषेधे तद्धित वुमहणम् * नेह । पाका भार्या यस्य स पाकभार्यः ॥

838. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, रसिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी ॥ This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vārt:—The rule applies to the क of the affix वु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः (पाकाभार्या यस्य) ॥ The word पाका means “young” and is formed by the Uṇādi affix क . Un V. 53 . This is neither a Taddhita क nor a क of वु affix.

८३९ । संज्ञापूरण्याश्च । ६ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनयोर्न पुंवत् । दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी । दानक्रियानिमित्तः स्त्रियां पुंस च संज्ञाभूततोऽयमिति भाषितपुंस्त्वमस्ति । पञ्चमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा ॥

839. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी ॥ The word दत्ता is a Bhāshita punsa word, for both men and women can become objects, of the verb दा ' to give ' ; so दत्ता has a corresponding masculine noun दत्तः though both may be proper Names. So also पञ्चमीभार्यः and पञ्चमीपाशा ॥ Here the affix पाशाप् is added by थाप्येपाशाप् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993).

८४० । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे । ६ । ३ । ३९ ॥

वृद्धिशब्देन विहिता या वृद्धिस्तद्धितुयस्तद्धिताऽस्त्वावकारार्थस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । कौश्लीभार्यः । माथुरीयते । माथुरीमानिनी । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य किम् । मध्यमभार्यः । तद्धितस्य किम् । काण्डलावभार्यः । वृद्धिशब्देन किम् । तावज्भार्यः ॥ स्ते तु ॥ काषायी पन्था गस्य स काषायपन्थः । विकारे तु हेमी वृद्धिका यस्येति हेमवृद्धिकः । वृद्धिशब्देन वृद्धि प्रति फलोफलोपधानाभावाविह पुंवत् । वैयाकरणभार्यः । सांवध्वभार्यः ॥

840. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the

Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, by its own force by the employment of the term Vṛiddhi, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'.

Thus सौमित्राभार्यः, माथुरीयते, and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vṛiddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्यः ॥ मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8. S. 1378 which does not cause Vṛiddhi. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलाभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति = काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्मण्यण्) and डीप् ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made there of'? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी कन्था यस्य = काषायकन्थः. हेमस्य विकारोऽहेमी, हेमीषुष्टिका = हेममुष्टिकः (IV. 3. 140 S. 1520). What do we mean "by the phrase by the employment of the term वृद्धिः"? The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpuruṣa, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or ञ् or क् &c which causes Vṛiddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावज्ञार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य) ॥ Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 S. 1840 added to तद् does not cause Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi, but by VI. 3. 91. S. 430 which says "आ is substituted for the final of a pronoun before वत्" ॥ Though आ is a Vṛiddhi letter, it is ordained here not by employing the term Vṛiddhi, but simply as आ ॥

But in वैयाकरणभार्यः "He whose wife is a grammarian", and सौवश्वभार्यः "whose wife is the daughter of a good horseman." there is masculine substitution, because there is absence of the result of Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi. The word निमित्त in the sūtra denotes "causing or producing the result or fruit." Now when तदधीते तद्वेदं अण् (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) is added to व्याकरण, and तस्यापत्यं अण् (IV 1. 92 S. 1088) is added to स्वश्व, there would be Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, but that is debarred by VII. 3. 3 S. 1098 which says:—"Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows य् or इ, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semivowels." Thus though the Taddhita अण् would cause Vṛiddhi, the fruit is not actually produced, hence the rule does not apply in वैयाकरणी भार्या यस्य. and सौवश्वी भार्या यस्य ॥

८४१ । स्वाङ्गाश्चेतः । ६ । ३ । ४० ॥

स्वाङ्गाथ ईकारस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सुकेशीभार्यः । स्वाङ्गात्किम् । पटुभार्यः । ईतः किम् । अकेशभार्यः ॥ अमानिनीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सुकेशमानिनी ॥

841. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine.

Thus छुकेशीभार्यः । Why do we say 'the name of a part of body'? Observe पदुभार्यः (पदु not denoting any bodily member). Why do we say 'a feminine in ई'? Observe अकेशाभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई) ॥

Vārtika :—There is an exception when the word मानिन follows. Thus छुकेशमानिनी ॥

८४२ । जातेभ्य । ६ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातेः परो यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तं न पुंवन् । शूद्राभार्यः । ब्राह्मणी भार्यः ॥ सौचस्यैवायं निषेधः । तेन हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र + भस्याडे—इति तु भवत्येव ॥

842. A feminine noun expressing jāti (and ending in a feminine affix) does not become masculine.

Thus शूद्राभार्यः, ब्राह्मणीभार्यः ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् for the prohibition applies to the feminines formed by affixes, and not to Taddhitas. Here the vārtika भस्याडे given under VI. 3. 35 S. 836. will apply of course.

८४३ । संख्यायाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये । २ । २ । २५ ॥

संख्येयार्थया संख्ययाऽव्ययाव्ययः समस्यन्ते स बहुव्रीहिः । दशानां समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपदशाः । नव एकादश वेत्यर्थः । बहुव्रीहौ संख्येयेति वक्ष्यमाणो डच् ॥

843. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपदशाः (V. 4. 73 S. 851) those who are near ten i. e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142 S. 844).

By V. 4. 73. S. 851, the affix इच् comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral.

८४४ । ति विशतेर्डिति । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

विशतेर्भस्य तिशाब्दस्य लोपः स्याद्वृत्तिः । आसन्नाविंशः । विंशतेरासन्ना इत्यर्थः । अदूरविंशा । अधिकचत्वारिंशाः । द्वौ वा त्रयो वा द्विंशः । द्विरावृत्ता एषा द्विदशाः । विंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

844. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided.

Thus अासन्नविंशः 'nineteen or twentyone'; अद्वार्षिंशः 'twenty-nine or thirty one'; अधिकचत्वारिंशः 'forty-one.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विंशः 'two or 'three.' द्विंशः 'twenty.'

८४५ । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले । २ । २ । २६ ॥

दिशो नामान्यन्तराले वाच्ये प्राग्वत् । इत्थिण्याः पूर्वस्याश्च दिशोऽन्तरालं इत्थिणपूर्वा । नामग्रहण-
योगिकानां न । ऐन्द्राश्च कौबेर्याश्चान्तरालं दिक् ॥

845 Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakṣiṇa-pûrvâ, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra in order to indicate that no compounding takes place, when the words denoting direction are derivative words, whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्राश्चकौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्द्यन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐह्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

८४६ । तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे । २ । २ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते ग्रहणविषये सरूपे पदे तृतीयान्ते च प्रहरणविषये इदं पुढं प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थे समस्येते
कर्मव्यतिहारे शोले स बहुव्रीहिः । इतिशब्दादयं विषयविशेषो लभ्यते ॥

846. Two homonymous words both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case, are compounded, the sense being 'this happens, therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति ॥ The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of *seizing*; and the word is exhibited

in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of *striking*; the word indicated by the word इवमिति is युद्धः ॥ Now applies the following sūtra :—

८४६ क । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ॥

रीर्ष इत्यनुवर्तते । इच्चि कर्मव्यतिहारि बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदान्तस्य रीर्षः । इच् समासान्तो वक्ष्यते । तिष्ठद्युप्रभृतिष्विच्छप्रत्ययस्य पाठादव्ययीभावस्त्वमव्ययत्वं च । केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वेवं युद्धं प्रवृत्त केशाकोश । ण्डैर्ण्डैश्च प्रहृत्येवं युद्धं प्रवृत्त ण्डावण्डि । सुष्टीसुष्टि ॥

846 A. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

(This sūtra is taught in S. 3539 also).

The word *dirgha* is understood in this sūtra from the preceding Aṣṭādhāyī sūtra VI. 3. 111. The final of the prior member in a Bahuvrihi compound is lengthened, before the samāsānta affix इच् when reciprocity of action is meant. The samāsānta इच् will be taught later on (V. 4. 127 S. 866). The इच् affix is read in the Tīṣṭhādga class (II. 1.17. S. 671) and so these compounds are Avyayibhāvas and Indeclinables.

As केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इत् युद्धप्रवृत्त = केशाकोश 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; ण्डैश्च ण्डैश्च प्रहृत्य इत् युद्धप्रवृत्त = ण्डावण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave : ' so also सुष्टी सुष्टि ॥

८४७ । ओर्गुणः । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणः स्यात्तद्धित । अवर्णः । बाहूबाहवि । ओरोरिति वक्तव्ये गुणोक्ति संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति ज्ञापयितुम् । तेन स्वायम्भुवमित्यादि सिद्धम् । सरूपे इति किम् । हलेन सुसलेन ॥

847. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाहूबाहवि "hand to hand." Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरोन् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुण in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वका विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya and we have forms like स्वायम्भुवः from स्वयम्भु without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

Why do we say in the preceding sūtra S. 846 सरूपे 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following : हलंश्च सुसलेश्च प्रहृत्य इत् युद्धं प्रवृत्तम् ॥

८४८ । तेन सहैति तुल्ययोगे । २२ । २८ ॥

तुल्ययोगे वर्तमाने सहैत्येतत्सूत्रायान्तेन प्राग्वत् ॥

848. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह+पुत्रेण ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which सह is changed to स ॥

८४९ । वोपसर्जनस्य । ६ । ३ । ८२ ॥

बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य सहस्य सः स्याद्वा । पुत्रेण सह सपुत्रः सहपुत्रो वा आगतः । तुल्ययोगवच्चनं प्रायिकम् । सकर्मकः । सलोमकः ॥

849. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound; because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood; Thus पुत्रेणसह = सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, आगतः ॥

Note :—Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहयुष्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्वप्रियः or सहयुष्मप्रियः ॥

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपुत्रकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवच्चनं प्रायिकं) ॥

Note :—Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छात्रः 'accompanied by the pupil' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव इशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्भी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

८५० । शकृत्याशिषि । ६ । ३ । ८३ ॥

सहशब्दः प्रकृत्या स्यादाशिषि । स्वस्तिं राते सहपुत्राय सहानात्माय ॥ अगोवत्सहलेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ सगव । सवत्साय । सहलाय ॥

850. The word सह retains its original form, when the sentence denotes benediction.

Thus स्वस्ति एतं सहपुत्राय, सहमात्याय ॥

Vārtika :—But optionally so when it is गो, वत्स or हलः—as, स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or संगवे, सहवत्साय or सहवत्सार्ये, सहहलाय. or सहलाय ॥

८५१ । बहुव्रीहौ संख्येये डजबहुगणात् । ५ । ४ । ७३ ॥

संख्येये यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्मादुच् स्यात् । उपदशाः । अबहुगणात्किम् । उपबहवः । उपगणाः । अत्र स्नेर निशेषः ॥ संख्यायास्तत्पुरुषस्य वाच्यः * ॥ निर्गतानि त्रिशतो निस्त्रिंशानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य । निर्गनस्त्रिशतोऽङ्गुलिभ्यो निस्त्रिंशः खड्गः ॥

851. The affix ḍach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral, except when the last term of such compound is bahu and gāṇa.

This Bahuvrīhi is formed by rule II. 2. 25. S. 843. Thus उपदशाः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting a numeral' ? Observe चित्रगुः शचलगुः ॥

Why do we say 'not after bahu and gāṇa' ? Observe, उपबहवः, उपगणाः ॥ The difference here is in the accent, for had डच् been added, it would have made the final of उपगण acute by चिन् accent (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710) but it not being so, the first member retains its accent, namely acute on the first.

Vārt :—The Tatpurusha compounds of numerals like निस्त्रिंश &c, take also the affix डच् ॥ Thus निर्गतानि त्रिशतः = निस्त्रिंशानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य 'Chaitra is more than thirty years old' निर्गनस्त्रिशताङ्गुलिभ्यः = निस्त्रिंशः खड्गः 'the sword is more than thirty fingers long.'

८५२ । बहुव्रीहौ सकथ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात्पच । ५ । ४ । ११३ ॥

व्यत्ययेन षष्ठी । स्वाङ्गाच्चिसकथ्यक्ष्णोऽङ्गुलीनि पच स्यात् । दीर्घे सकथ्यनी यस्य स दीर्घसकथः । अलजाक्षी । स्वाङ्गात्किम् ॥ दीर्घनक्षि शकटम् । स्यूतास्ता वसुधाष्टः । अङ्गोऽर्शनादित्यच ॥

852. The affix shach comes after the words sakthi and akshi, final in a Bahuvrīhi compound and denoting a portion of one's body.

Thus दीर्घे सकथ्यनी यस्य = दीर्घसकथः, so also अलजाक्षी Why do we say "when denoting a part of the body ?" Observe दीर्घनक्षि शकटम् । स्यूतास्ता वसुधाष्टः ॥ The affix अच् is added by V 4 76 S. 914

Note :—The word सकथ्यज्ञोः is genitive dual, while it ought to be ablative. Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi compound”? Observe परमसक्थिः, परमाक्षिः ॥ Why do we say “after sakthi and akshi? Observe रीर्षज्ञानुः, सुबाहुः ॥

The new affix षच् is employed instead of टच् for the sake of the accent. Thus चक्रसक्थी स्त्री, रीर्षसक्थी स्त्री ॥ By sūtra IV. I. 41, S. 498 the feminine of words ending in an affix having an indicatory ष् is formed by डीष् and not डीप् ॥ Had the affix here been टच्, then the feminine would have been formed by डीप् (IV. 1 15 S. 470), which is anudatta (III. 1 4). Now by rule VI. 2.198 S. 3912 the second term ‘saktha’ has *optionally* udatta accent, on the final in a Bahuvrīhi. When therefore, it is not oxytone, then by adding डीष् the final of रीर्षसक्थी would have been anudatta, so that the feminine in one case would be oxytone, in the other not, which would be anomalous. But when डीष् is added, it is *always* udatta, which is desired : and removes the anomaly. The anuvṛitti of Bahuvrīhi extends up to the end of the chapter.

८५३ । अङ्गुलेर्दारुणि । ५ । ४ । ११४ ॥

अङ्गुल्यन्ता बहुव्रीहिः षच् स्याद्दारुण्यर्थे । पञ्चाङ्गुल्यो यस्य तत्पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु । अङ्गुलिसदृशावयवं धान्यादिवत्पणकाग्रमुच्यते । बहुव्रीहिः क्रिप् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्या द्व्यङ्गुला याष्टिः । तद्व्रतार्थे तत्पुरुषे तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेरित्यच् । दारुणि क्रिप् । पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

853. The affix shach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word aṅguli, when the compound means “a piece of wood.”

Thus पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु ॥ This is the name of a wooden fork, of the figure of five fingers by which barley &c are scattered.

Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi”? Observe द्व्यङ्गुलायाष्टिः = द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्या ॥ It is a Tatpurusha compound formed by V. 4. 86 S. 786 by adding अच् as samāsānta affix, the aṅguli meaning here *size* and not *figure*. Why do we say “when meaning a wood”? Observe पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

८५४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां ष मूर्द्धन्तः । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां मूर्ध्नः षः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । द्विमूर्धः । त्रिमूर्धः ॥ नेतुर्नञ्ज्वा अवन्तव्यः * मृगो नेता यासां ताः मृगनेत्रा राज्ञ्यः । पुष्येन वा ॥

854. The affix sha comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in mūrdhan, and preceded by dvi and tri.

Thus द्विमूर्धः । त्रिमूर्धः ॥ The feminine is formed by डीष् and the accent is regulated by VI. 2. 197.

Note :—Why do we say “preceded by dvi and tri ?” Observe द्वेर्भूम्या ॥

Part :—The affix अण् comes after नेतृ when preceded by a word denoting asterism. As वृगनेत्रा रात्रयः = वृगो नेता आसां रात्रीणां “the night whose leader is the asterism mriga”; so also पुष्यनेत्राः ॥

Note Why do we say “an asterism” ? Observe देवश्चनेतृकाः ॥

८५५ । अन्तर्वहिर्यो च लोमः । ५ । ४ । ११७ ॥

आभ्यां लोमाऽस्याद्वह्वीहौ । अन्तर्लोमः । बहिर्लोमः ॥

855. The affix ap comes after a Bahuvrīhi ending in loman and preceded by antar and bahis.

Thus अन्तर्गतानि लोमान्यस्य = अन्तर्लोमः प्रावारः ‘a cloak having the hairy surface inside’. Similarly बहिर्लोमः पटः ॥

८५६ । अञ् नासिकायाः संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलात् । ५ । ४ । ११८ ॥

नासिकान्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरच् स्यात् नासिकाश्च नसं प्राप्नोति नतु स्थूलपूर्वात् ॥

856. The affix ach is added to the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when it expresses a Name, where by nas is substituted for nāsikā, but not so when the word sthūla precedes the word nāsikā.

Thus द्रु + नासिका = द्रु + नासिका + अच् = द्रु + नस् + अञ् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra by which न is changed to ण ॥

८५७ । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः । ८ । ४ । ३ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नस्ये यः स्यात्संज्ञायां नतु गकारव्यवधाने । द्रुवि नासिकाऽस्य द्रुणसः । खरणसः । अगः क्रिप् । ऋषामयनं ऋगयनम् । अणुगयनार्द्धम् इति निपातनात् णत्वाभावमाश्रित्य अग इति प्रत्याख्यानं भाष्ये । अस्थूलात्क्रिप् स्थूलनासिकः । खुरखराभ्यां वा नस् * ॥ खुरणाः । खरगाः ॥ पक्षे अजपीव्येन ॥ खुरणसः खरणसः ॥

857. So also, न् is replaced by ण्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that, the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

Thus द्रुवि नासिकाऽस्य = द्रुणसः । खरणसः ॥

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न ? Observe ;
कृगयनम् ॥

In the Mahābhāṣya, Patanjali has shown that the word अणः is superfluous in the sūtra, for the non-change of न to ण in कृगयनं can be established by the nipātana of IV. 3. 73. S. 1452, where Pāṇini himself has used the word कृगयन showing that न is not changed to ण ॥

Why do we say in 856 'not after स्थूल ?' Observe स्थूलनासिको वराहः ॥

Vart :—After the words खुर, and खर ; for तासिका is substituted नस् but no affix is added : as, खुरणाः, खरणाः ॥

Vārtika :—In the alternative affix अच is added, as खुरणसः, खरणसः ॥

Iṣṭi :—The forms शित्तिनाः, अर्चनाः and आहनाः are valid in the Revelation (the Vedas).

८५८ । उपसर्गाच्च । ५ । ४ । ११९ ॥

प्रादेश्यो नासिकाश्चस्तदन्ताद्गृहीरेच् नासिकाया नसादेशश्च । असंज्ञार्थं वचनम् । उन्नतस्य नासिका यस्य स उन्नतः । उपसर्गादनोत्पर इति सूत्रं तद्वद्वत्त्वा भाष्यकार आह ॥

858. The affix ach comes after the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when an upasarga precedes it, and नस् is substituted for नासिका ॥

This rule applies where the word is not a sañjñā, as it was in the last. Thus उन्नता नासिकाऽस्य = उन्नतः ॥

The next sūtra is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न् of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण्" ॥ There being several objections to this rule, the following is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya.

Note :—For ओत्परः may have two meanings :—(1) ओत्कारान्तरः, that which comes after ओ ; (2) ओत्कारः परोऽस्मान् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण change would be required in मनो घृष्टत्वं ; in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणवनिर्देवता ॥

In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

८५६ । उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् । ८ । ४ । २८ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नसा नस्य णः स्याद्बहुलम् । प्रणसः ॥ वेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ विगता नासिकाऽस्य विमः ॥ ख्यश्च * ॥ विख्यः । कथं तर्हि विनसा हतबान्धवाति भट्टिः । विगतया नासिकयो-
पलक्षितेति व्याख्ययम् ॥

859. The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणसः

Vart:—The म् is substituted for नासिका when वि precedes it, As, विगतानासिकाऽस्य = विमः ॥ *Vart*:—So also विख्यः in the same sense.

How do you explain the form विनसा in the following line of Bhaṭṭi:—

“विनसा हतबान्धवाः” It should be explained as विगतया नासिकयोपलक्षिता ॥ Here विनसा is not in the Nominative case, but is Instrumental singular of विनस् where नस् is substituted for नासिका by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Thus प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take place, as, प्र नो घृक्षतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also, as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं सुखं ॥ The word छन्दसि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं सुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means ‘nose.’ See V. 4. 119. S. 858

८६० । सुप्रातसुश्वसुदिशारिकुक्षचतुरध्रैणीपदाजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः । ५ ।
४ । १२० ॥

एते बहुव्रीहावच्छेदयत्यान्ता निपायन्ते । शोभनं प्रातरस्य सुप्रातः । शोभनं श्वोऽस्य सुश्वः । शोभनं दिवाऽस्य सुदिवः । शाररिव कुक्षिरस्य शारिकुक्षः । चतस्रोऽश्वयोऽस्य चतुरश्वः । एष्या इव षषावस्य एणीपदः । अजपदः । प्रोष्ठो गौः तस्यैव पादावस्य प्रोष्ठपदः ॥

860. The following Bahuvrīhis are irregularly formed by adding ach :—su-prāta, su-śva, sudiva, śārikuk-
sha, caturaśra, eṇi-pada, aja-pada, and prosthā-pada.

In some of the above compounds the *दि* (syllable) is elided. शोभनं प्रातरस्य = सुपातः, शोभनं श्रोत्रस्य = सुश्रवः, शोभनं दिवाऽस्य = सुविदः ॥ शारिख कुक्षिरस्य = शारिकुक्षः, श्वेतलोऽश्वस्य = चतुर्भ्रः, एण्या इव पादावस्य = एणीपदः, So अजपदः, प्राष्ठो means 'cow' तस्यैव पादावस्य = प्राष्ठपदः: "whose feet are like cows."

८६१ । नञ्दुःसुभयो हलिसकथ्योरन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १२१ ॥

अच् स्यात् । अहलः । अहलिः । असकथः । असकथिः । एवं दुःसुभ्याम् । शक्त्योरिति पाठान्तरम् । अशक्तः । अशक्तिः ॥

861. The affix *ach* comes optionally after the words *hali* and *sakthi*, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a Negative particle or by the words *dus* and *su*.

Thus अविद्यमाना हलिरस्य = अहलः or अहलिः, दुर्हलः or दुर्हलिः, सुहलः or सुहलिः ॥ So also असकथः, असकथिः, दुःसकथः or दुःसकथिः, सुसकथः or सुसकथिः ॥

Some read the text as हलिसक्तयोः ॥ According to this reading we have अशक्तिः or अशक्तः, दुःशक्तिः or दुःशक्तः (विरूपा शक्तिरस्य), सुशक्तिः or सुशक्तः ॥

८६२ । नित्यमसिच् प्रजामेधयोः । ५ । ४ । १२२ ॥

नञ्दुःसुभ्य इत्येव । अप्रजाः । दुष्प्रजाः । सुप्रजाः । अमेधाः । दुर्मेधाः । सुमेधाः ॥

862. The affix *asich* (अस्) comes invariably after *prajā* and *medhā*, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when the above particles *नञ्*, *सु* and *दुस्* precede them.

Thus अविद्यमाना प्रजाऽस्य = अप्रजाः, so also दुष्प्रजाः, सुप्रजाः, अमेधाः, दुर्मेधाः, सुमेधाः ॥

Note:—The word "invariably" (नित्य) shows that the anuvritti of the word "optionally" of the last sūtra does not run here. The word *nitya* also indicates that the affix *ach* comes after *prajā* and *medhā* even when preceded by other words. As the word अल्पमेधसः in the following.

आविद्यस्येव ते राजन्मन्दकस्याल्पमेधसः ।

अनुवाकहना बुद्धिर्नैषा तत्स्वार्थवर्तिनी ॥

Note:—The अ of अमिच् is for the sake of pronunciation and to make the stem before it म् ॥ The *e* or *i* in सुप्रजसौ the *आ* is elided by यस्मिन् च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) According to Kā. kâ the base is अप्रजस्, &c.

६६३ । धर्मादनिचकेवलात् । ५ । ४ । १२४ ॥

केवलात्पूर्वपदात्परा यो धर्मशब्दस्तदन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरनिच् स्यात् । केवलात्किञ्च । परमः स्वो धर्मो यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ ना भूत् । स्वशब्दो हीनः केवलं पूर्वपदं किंतु मध्यमत्वादापेक्षि-
कम् । सन्निधेसाध्यधर्मयोश्च तु कर्मधारयपूर्वपदो बहुव्रीहिः । एवं तु परमस्वधर्मोऽपि साधवेव ।
निवृत्तिधर्मा अनुचित्तिधर्मोऽस्ति । पूर्वपदं तु बहुव्रीहिणात्तिप्यते ॥

863. The affix *anich* (अन्) comes after the word *dharma*, when it is the last member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, and (is itself the only word without any other word joined with it or) when the first member is a single word.

Thus *केवलात्तो धर्मोऽस्य = कल्याणधर्मन्* nom. sin. *कल्याणधर्मा* ॥ Why do we say *केवलात्* “when it alone is the last member”? Observe *परमः स्वो धर्मोऽस्य = परमस्वधर्मः* ॥ Here the word *स्व* is not alone a *pûrvapada* but a middle term; also it is not an independent word; it is not a *pûrvapada* and *pûrvapada* only, but something else also. The word *केवलात्* according to some qualifies the word *पूर्वपद* and according to others the *uttara-*
pada also. That is the first member must be *one* word though a *compound* word, and they explain such forms as *सन्निधेसाध्यधर्मा*; *निवृत्तिधर्मा*; *अनुचित्तिधर्मा* (e. g. *अविनाशी वा अरऽयमात्माऽनुचित्तिधर्मा*) as valid. According to *Kaumudī* the *purvapadas* like *सन्निधेसाध्य* are *Karmadhāraya*. In this view *परमस्वधर्मा* is also valid and correct, like the words *निवृत्तिधर्मा*, *अनुचित्तिधर्मा* ॥ According to *Prasādakāra* *केवलात्* qualifies both the words *धर्मात्* and *पूर्वपदात्* ॥

Note :—The necessity of *अ* in *अनिच्* is not very apparent. The affix *निच्* would have served the purpose equally well: for *धर्म + निच् = धर्मन्* ॥ But others say, that the word is not *धर्म* ending with a vowel, but *धर्म* ending with a consonant. It is formed by adding the affix *किच्* to the Denominative of the root derived from the noun *धर्म* by *तत्करोति* &c. S. 2573 $\sqrt{\text{कव}}$ ॥ Therefore *परमो धर्मः यस्य सः परमधर्मा* ॥ The word *धर्म* though defective in one limb, is the same as *धर्म* for grammatical purposes, on the maxim *एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात्* ॥ When in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, the last member is *धर्म* and the first member is a single word, then the affix *अनिच्* is added. The word *केवलात्* qualifies the first member. But the ancient Grammarians have made the last term also qualified by *केवलात्* ॥ The author of *Prasāda* also has explained *Kevalāt* as an adjective qualifying both the word *dharma* and the *pûrvapada* or the first member. But both these are very problematic: for there is no proof that the word *kevalāt* should be so repeated as to qualify both the first term and the word *dharma*. Moreover there is no necessity that the word *dharma* should be qualified by this term *Kevalāt*. For it cannot

he said that the word *kevalât* should qualify *Dharma*, in order to prevent the last term from being a compound word *ending* in *dharma*. For in such a case, the word *dharma* does not stand as a member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound. Therefore the word *kevalât* qualifies the *purvapada* only. The *purvapada* must be a *single* word : and not two or more words. Therefore in *परमःस्वो धर्मो यस्य* the *Bahuvrīhi* will not be governed by this rule. Because the word *स्व* is not here the only *pārva-pada*, but being in the middle is relative.

८६४ । जम्भा सुहरिततृणसोमेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १२५ ॥

जम्भोति कृतसमासान्तं निपात्यते । जम्भो भक्ष्ये दन्ते च । शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य सुजम्भा । हरितजम्भा । तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य तृणमिव दन्ता यस्येति वा तृणजम्भा । सोमजम्भा । स्वादिभ्यः क्तिन् । पतित-जम्भः ॥

864. The word “*jambhan*” stands at the end of a *Bahuvrīhi*, when preceded by *su*, *harita*, *trīṇa*, and *soma*.

The *जम्भन्* is a word that has already taken the *samāsānta* affix *अन्* irregularly, and means ‘food’ or ‘tooth.’ Thus *सुजम्भन्*, as (शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य), *सुजम्भा देवदत्तः* so also *हरितजम्भा*, *तृणजम्भा*, (तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य) *सोमजम्भा* ॥ When it means ‘tooth,’ the compound should be analysed as, *तृणमिव* or *सोममिव जम्भोऽस्य* ॥ Why do we say when preceded by *su* &c.? Observe *पतितजम्भः* ॥

८६५ । दक्षिणेर्मा लुब्धयोगे । ५ । ४ । १२६ ॥

दक्षिणे ईमं व्रणं यस्य दक्षिणेर्मा घृण. । व्याधेन कृतव्रण इत्यर्थः ॥

865. The form “*dakshinerman*” is an irregularly formed *Bahuvrīhi*, when used in conjunction with a hunter.

The word *लुब्ध* means *व्याध* or a fowler, a hunter. Thus *दक्षिणेर्मीर्ममस्य* = *दक्षिणेर्मा घृणः* ‘a stag wounded by the hunter on the right flank.’

Note:—But in the following verse:—*चाली हेमाब्जमाली गुणनिधिरिषुणानिर्मितो दक्षिणेर्मा*, it denotes merely hunting. The word *ईमेम्* means ‘a wound.’ Why do we say ‘in reference to a hunter’? Observe *दक्षिणेर्मम् शकवम्* ॥

८६६ । इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे । ५ । ४ । १२७ ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्मादिच् स्यात्समासान्तः । केशाकेशि । घुसलाघुसलि ॥

866. The affix *इच्* comes after a *Bahuvrīhi* when the compound denotes the reciprocity of an action.

The compound denoting reciprocity of action is formed by II. 2. 27. S. 684 Thus *केशाकेशि* = *केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं* ॥ So also *घुसलाघुसलि* ॥

The affix इच् forms also avyayibhāva compounds, as it occurs in the list of तिष्ठत्यु words II. I. 17. S. 671.

८६७। द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १२८ ॥

तार्थ्ये चतुर्थेऽपि । एषां सिद्धयर्थमिच् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । द्वौ दण्डौ यस्मिन्प्रहरणे तद् द्विदण्डि प्रहरणम् । द्विषुसलि । उभाहस्ति । उभयाहस्ति ॥

867. The words dvidanḍī &c., are valid forms in ich.

The word द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यः is in the dative case, and not the Ablative case. The dative here has the force of "for the purpose of that" (II. I. 37 S. 698). This word is therefore equal to द्विदण्ड्यर्थमिच् प्रत्ययो भवति "the affix इच् comes for the sake of the words dvidanḍī &c.," i. e. it comes in such a way, as to form the words dvidanḍī &c. These words are used in fixed senses. Thus द्विदण्डि प्रहरति, द्विषुसलि प्रहरति, but not here, द्विदण्डा शाला ॥

Note:—Though the context is that of Bahuvrīhi, yet some of these words are Tatpneusha: as निकुच्य कर्णोभ्यावन्त = निकुच्यकर्णं भावन्ति ॥ प्राह्य गार्हो हस्तिनं वाहयति = प्राह्यगार्हो हस्तिनं वाहयति ॥ The compounding takes place by II. I. 72.

1 द्विदण्डि, 2 द्विषुसलि, 3 उभाहजलि, 4 उभयाहजलि, 5 उभाहजन्ति, 6 उभयाहजन्ति, 7 उभाहस्ति, 8 उभयाहस्ति, 9 उभाकर्ण, 10 उभयाकर्ण, 11 उभागणि, 12 उभयागणि, 13 उभावाहु, 14 उभयावाहु, 15 एकवदि, 16 प्राह्यवदि, 17 आह्यवदि, (द्याच्यवदि), 18 सवदि, 19 निकुच्यकर्ण, 20 संहतपुच्छि, 21 अन्तर्वासि ॥

८६८। प्रसंख्यां जानुनोच्छुः । ५ । ४ । १२९ ॥

आभ्यां परयोर्जानुशब्दोऽनुप्रासः स्याद्बहुव्रीहिः । प्रगते जानुनी यस्य प्रजुः । सजुः ॥

868 After the words pra and san, there is the substitution of jānu for jānu, when forming the Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus प्रगते जानुनी यस्य = प्रजुः, So also सजुः ॥

८६९। ऊर्ध्वाङ्घ्रिभाषा । ५ । ४ । १३० ॥

ऊर्ध्वजुः । ऊर्ध्वजानुः ॥

869. The substitution of jānu for jānu is optional, when the word ūrdhva precedes it.

Thus ऊर्ध्वे जानुनी अस्य = ऊर्ध्वजानुः or ऊर्ध्वजुः ॥

८७०। धनुषश्च । ५ । ४ । १३२ ॥

धनुस्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निष्ठादेशः स्यात् । शार्ङ्गधन्वा

870. The 'anan' is the substitute of the final of 'dhanus' in a Bahuvrīhi.

As शार्ङ्ग धनुस्तस्य = शार्ङ्गधन्वन् nom. s. शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

८७१ । वा संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३३ ॥

शतधन्वा । शतधनुः ॥

871. The substitution of शतङ् does not optionally take place when the Bahuvrīhi is a Name.

This declares an option, where the last sūtra had made the substitution compulsory. As शतधनुः or शतधन्वा । दृढधनुः or दृढधन्वा ॥

८७२ । जायाया निङ् । ५ । ४ । १३४ ॥

जायान्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निष्ठादेशः स्यात् ॥

872. For the final of जाया is substituted निङ् in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus युवतिर्जायास्तस्य = युवति + जाया = युवति + जाय् + नि = युवजानि ॥ Now applies the following sūtra, by which य is elided before नि ॥

८७३ । लोपो व्योर्वालि । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

वकारयकारयोर्लोपः स्याद्वलि । पुत्रज्ञावः । युवतिर्जाया यस्य युवजानिः ॥

873. There is *lopa*-substitution (elision) of the य् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

Thus युवतिर्जाया यस्य = युवजानिः (जाया + निङ् = जाय् + निङ् = जा + नि, the य् being elided by the present rule.) So also वृद्धजानिः ॥ There is *punvād-bhāva* also by which युवति (feminine) is changed to युव (masculine).

Note:—The final व् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c., beginning with a वल् consonant i. e. any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिव् + वल् (III. 2. 107) = दिव् + दिव् + वल् = दिविस् nom. singular दिविन्, दिविंसो, दिविंस्तः ॥ Thus उय् + त = ऊत, 'span', कृय् + त = कृत 'make a noise.' So also the affix हक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129 S. 1135). Of the affix हक्, ह is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus गोधा + एय् + र = गंधेरः (the य् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पञ्चरन् the य् of णिङ् (III. 4. 102 S. 2255) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105 S. 2256). So also व is elided in the following:—from जीव—औरवातुः (by Unādi affix जीवे रशतुक्) from लिङ्—भस्मेनाणम् formed by the Unādi

affix मनिङ् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Unādi affixes (III. 3. 1 S. 3169), there is not ऊङ् substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say “before any consonant except य ?” Observe ऊङ्यते, कूङ्यते when य् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprikṭa व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय + क्रिप् = कण्डूय् and व् (VI. 4. 48 S. 2308) = कण्डू + व् = कण्डूः ॥ So लोलूय × क्रिप् = लोलूः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasāraṇa, and व्रश्च by reduplication, here also the ‘lopa’ would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by ह्रस्वशिष्टः are Bahiranga.

८७४ । गन्धस्येदुत्पूतिसुसुरभिः । ५ । ४ । १३५ ॥

एभ्यो गन्धस्य इकारोऽन्तर्देशः स्यात् । उद्गन्धिः । पूतिगन्धिः । सुगन्धिः । सुरभिगन्धिः ॥ गन्धस्येवे तदेकान्तग्रहणम् * ॥ एकान्त एकदेश इव अविभक्तिं लक्ष्यमाण इत्यर्थः । सुगन्धिं पुष्पं सलिलं च । सुगन्धिर्वायुः । नेहः—शोभना गन्धाः द्रव्याण्यस्य सुगन्ध आणयिकः ॥

874. For the final of गन्ध is substituted इ, when preceded by उत्, पूति, सु and सुरभि in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus the अ of गन्ध is replaced by इ, as उद्गन्धिः, पूतिगन्धिः, सुगन्धिः, सुरभिगन्धिः ॥

Note :—Why after these only? Observe तीव्रगन्धा वातः ॥

Vart :—The word गन्ध is a material noun as गन्धान् विनष्टि, and an adjective, as चन्दनगन्धः ‘having the scent of sandal.’ The rule of substitution applies when it is used as an attribute. सुगन्धिं पुष्पं सलिलं च, सुगन्धिर्वायुः ॥ But, not here, शोभना गन्धाद्द्रव्याणि अस्य = सुगन्ध आणयिकः ‘a shopkeeper having many sweet perfumes for sale.’

Note :—The न् of इत् is for the sake of pronunciation only. Some hold that इत् is an affix, and not a substitute (āleṣa). In this view the final of गन्ध will be elided by यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). The word *ekānta* in the vārtika means “a portion,” in short the rule applies when gandha is an attributive and not when it is a substantive. Some explain *ekānta* by “natural;” i. e. when an object naturally possesses scent, and not when artificially scented. Therefore not here : आत्रायि वान् गन्धवहः सुगन्धः ॥

८७५ । अल्पाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३६ ॥

सूपस्य गन्धो लघो यस्मिन्सूपं सुगन्धि भोजनम् । घृतगन्धि । गन्धो गन्धक आनोदे लेखो संगन्धगर्वयोरिति विश्वः ॥

875. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, when गन्ध means 'a little.'

Thus सूपोऽल्पोऽस्मिन् = सूपगन्धि भोजनम् "food with a little broth." So घृतगन्धि "food with a little—a mere scent-of ghee." Here गन्ध is a synonym of अल्प ॥

According to Viśwakosha, Gāṇḍha means 'sulphur,' 'delight' (i. e. scent), 'a little particle,' 'connection or relationship,' and 'pride' or 'arrogance.'

८७६ । उपमानाच्च । ५ । ४ । १३७ ॥

पद्मस्यैव गन्धोऽस्य पद्मगन्धिः ॥

876. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared.

As पद्मस्यैव गन्धोऽस्य = पद्मगन्धिः, उत्पलगन्धिः ; करीषगन्धिः ॥

८७७ । पादस्य लोपोऽहस्यादिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १३८ ॥

हस्यादिवर्जिनादुपमानादस्य पादस्यैव लोपः स्याद्बहुव्रीहिः । स्यान्निहरेणार्थं समासान्तः । व्यात्रस्यैव पादावस्य व्यात्रात् । अहस्यादिभ्यः क्तिन् । हस्तिपादः । कुसुलपादः ॥

877. The final अ of पाद is elided when it is at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared, but not so when such word is हस्ति &c.

The word उपमानात् is understood here. The लोप' substitution is a samāsānta affix in a way. Thus व्यात्रस्यैव पादावस्य = व्यात्रात्, Why do we say not so when such a word is हस्ति ? Observe हस्तिपादः, कुसुलपादः ॥

1 हस्तिन्, 2 कुदाल*, 3 अश्व*, 4 कशिक*, 5 कुरुत, 6 कदाल, 7 कदालक*, 8 गण्डोल, 9 गण्डोलक, 10 कण्डाल*, 11 कण्डालक*, 12 अज*, 13 कपात*, 14 जाल*, 15 गण्ड*, 16 महेना, (महिला), 17 हासी, 18 गणिका, 19 कुसुल. ॥

Note :—This elision is a samāsānta. For if it were not a samāsānta, then by the rule आदिः परस्य (I. 1. 54 S. 44) the elision would have been of the first letter of the word पाद, namely, of प. ॥ Moreover there would have been added the śaishika कप् ॥

८७८ । कुम्भपदीषु च । ५ । ४ । १३९ ॥

कुम्भपद्यादिषु पादस्य लोपो ङीप् च निपात्यते स्त्रियाम् ॥ पादः पत् ॥ कुम्भपदी । स्त्रियां किम् ।
कुम्भपादः ॥

878. The words kumbhapadī &c., have been formed by the similar elision of the अ of पाद्, in the Feminine.

The forms कुम्भपदी &c. are formed by eliding the final अ of पाद् and then substituting प् for पात् before the feminine affix ई by VI. 4. 130. S. 414. Why do we say 'that this substitution takes place only before the feminine affix ङीप्, and no where else.'? Observe कुम्भपादः ॥

Note :—Those words in the list, the first members of which denote an object of comparison or a numeral, would have elided अ by V. 4. 138 or V. 4. 140. In their case, this sūtra teaches the invariable affixing of ङीप् to such words ; so that the optional rule IV. 1. 8 S. 457 does not apply to them.

1 कुम्भपदी, 2 एकपदी, 3 जालपदी, 4 शूलपदी, * 5 मुनिपदि, 6 गुणपदी, * 7 शतपदी, 8 सूत्र-
पदी, 9 गोधापदी*, 10 कलशीपदी, 11 त्रिपदी, * 12 तृणपदी*, 13 द्विपदी, 14 त्रिपदी*, 15 बदपदी*,
16 शशीपदी 17 क्षितिपदी*, 18 विष्णुपदी*, 19 सुपदी, 20 निष्पदी, 21 आर्द्रपदी, 22 कुण्ठिपदी,
(कुण्ठपदी), 23 कृष्णपदी, 24 शुचिपदी*, 25 द्वाणपदी, (द्वाणीपदी), 26 द्वुपदी, 27 सूकरपदी, 28
शकुत्पदी, 29 अट्टापदी, 30 स्थूलपदी, (स्थूलपदी), 31 अपदी*, 32 सूचीपदी, 33 मालापदी, 34
गोपदी, 35 घृतपदी, 36 सूपपदी, 37 पञ्चपदी, 38 अर्वपदी, 39 स्तनपदी, 40 कलहंसपदी, 41
विषपदी ॥

८७६ । संख्यासुपूर्वस्य । ५ । ४ । १४० ॥

पादस्य लोपः स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ । द्विपात् । सुपात् ॥

879. The final अ of पाद् is elided by samāsānta lopa, also when a Numeral or the word सु precedes it, in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus द्वौ पादावस्य = द्विपात्, त्रिपात्, so also शोभनौ पादावस्य = सुपात् ॥

८८० । वयसि दन्तस्य दत् । ५ । ४ । १४१ ॥

संख्यासुपूर्वस्य दन्तस्य दत् इत्यदिशः स्याद्वयसि । द्विदन् । चतुर्वदन् । षट् दन्ता अस्य षोडश ।
शुदन् । सुदती । वयसि किम् । द्विदन्तः करी । सुदन्तः नटः ॥

880. For दन्त is substituted दत् as a samāsānta in a Bahuvrīhi, when a Numeral or सु precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life i. e. an age.

Thus द्वौ दन्तावस्य = द्विदन् "a child of the age in which two teeth have appeared." So also त्रिदन्, चतुर्वदन् । See vārtika under VI. 3. 76 S. 881 for

बोडन् ॥ शोभनादन्ताभस्य समस्ता जाताः = सुवन् कुमारः “a boy of the age in which all his teeth have appeared beautifully.” So also सुवती. Why do we say denoting ‘age’? Observe द्विवन्तः करी । सुवन्तो नदः ॥

Note:—The क् of दन्तु is indicatory, making rule, VII. 1. 70 S. 361 applicable, by which a nasal is added before त् in declining these words in sarvanāmasthāna cases : and rule IV. 1. 6 S. 455 also applies to them. All rules relating to उगित् apply to these.

८८१ । स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १४३ ॥

दन्तस्य दन्तु स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ अयोदन्ती । फालदन्ती । संज्ञायां किम् । समदन्ती ॥

881. For danta is substituted “dat” as a samâ-sânta in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is in the feminine gender, denoting a name.

Thus अयोदन्ती, फालदन्ती ॥ Why do we say “when denoting a Name”? Observe समदन्ती, स्निग्धदन्ती ॥

८८२ । विभाषा श्यावारोकाभ्याम् । ५ । ४ । १४४ ॥

दन्तस्य दन्तु वा बहुव्रीहौ । श्यावदन् । । श्यावदन्तः । अरोकदन् । अरोकदन्तः ॥

882. Optionally “dat” is substituted for “danta,” in a Bahuvrîhi compound, when it is preceded by the words śyâva and aroka.

Thus श्यावदन्तः or श्यावदन्, अरोकदन्तः or अरोकदन् ॥ अरोक means ‘dark,’ “without holes or spaces.”

Note:—The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra governs this also, so that when the compound is not a Name, the substitution does not take place ; as श्यावदन्तः, अरोकदन्तः ॥

८८३ । अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहेभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एभ्यो दन्तस्य दन्तु वा । कुङ्मलामदन् । कुङ्मलामदन्तः ॥

883. The substitution of “dat” for “danta” is optional in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is preceded by a word ending in अग्र or by शुद्ध, शुभ्र, वृष and वराह ॥

The word “optionally” is understood here also. Thus कुङ्मलामदन्, or कुङ्मलामदन्तः, so also शुद्धदन्तः or शुद्धदन् ; शुभ्रदन्तः or शुभ्रदन् ; वृषदन्त or वृषदन्, वराहदन्त or वराहदन् ॥

Note :—The च् of the sūtra indicates that the substitution optionally takes place in other cases not enumerated : as अहिदन्तः or अहिदन्, मूषिकदन्तः or मूषिकदन्, गर्भदन्तः or गर्भदन्, शिखरदन्तः or शिखरदन् ॥

८८४ । ककुदस्यावस्थायां लोपः । ५ । ४ । १४६ ॥

अजातककुत् । पूर्णककुत् ॥

884. The final letter of kakuda is dropped in a Bahuvrīhi, when it denotes age or condition of animals.

The word अवस्था means the changes which things undergo by lapse of time, such as age &c. Thus अजातं ककुदमस्य = अजातककुत् = बालः “the young of an animal.” पूर्णककुत् = मध्यमवया “middle—aged animal” ! : उन्नतककुत् = वृद्धवया “old” ; स्थूलककुत् बलवान् ‘strong,’ यष्टिककुत् = नातिस्थूलो नातिकृशः ॥

Note :—Why do we say when denoting a condition ? Observe श्वेतककुदः ॥

८८५ । त्रिककुत्पर्वते । ५ । ४ । १४७ ॥

त्रीणि ककुदान्यस्य त्रिककुत् । संज्ञेषा पर्वतविशेषस्य । त्रिककुदोऽन्यः ॥

885. The Bahuvrīhi word Trikakud, formed by the elision of the final अ of kakuda, is the name of a mountain.

त्रीणिककुदान्यस्य = त्रिककुत् “a three-peaked hill, the peaks having the shape of a hump.” All three-peaked hills are not so called, it is the name of a particular hill. When not denoting a hill we have त्रिककुदः ॥

८८६ । उद्विङ्ग्यां काकुदस्य । ५ । ४ । १४८ ॥

लोपः स्यात् । उल्काकुत् । विककुत् । काकुदं तालु ॥

886. After ut and vi, the final of kākuda is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus उन्नतं काकुदमस्य = उल्काकुत्, so also विककुत् ॥ The word काकुद means ‘palate.’

८८७ । पूर्णाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १४९ ॥

पूर्णकाकुत् । पूर्णकाकुदः ॥

887. After pūrṇa, the final of kākuda is optionally elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus पूर्णं काकुदमस्य = पूर्णकाकुत् or पूर्णकाकुदः ॥

८८८ । सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः । ५ । ४ । १५० ॥

सुहृदो हृदयस्य हृद्भावो निपात्यते । सुहृन्मित्रम् । दुर्हृदमित्रः । अन्यत्र सुहृदयः । दुर्हृदयः ॥

• • 888. The words suhṛit and durhṛit are irregularly formed Bahuvrīhi compounds, denoting "a friend" and "a foe" respectively.

The word सुहृन् is derived from सु + हृदय, the अय of हृदय being elided in the Bahuvrīhi. It means one whose heart is favourably disposed towards another. So also दुर्हृन् is derived from दुर् + हृदय, he whose heart is evil.

Why do we say "when meaning a friend and a foe respectively"? Observe सुहृदयः कारुणिकः 'the kind-hearted, merciful,' दुर्हृदयश्चोरः "the evil hearted thief."

८८९ । उरः प्रभृतिभ्यः कप् । ५ । ४ । १५१ ॥

व्यूढोरस्कः । प्रियसर्पिस्कः । इह पुमान्, अनङ्गान्, पयः, नौः, लक्ष्मीरिति एकवचनान्तानि पठ्यन्ते । द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तेभ्यस्तु शेषादिभाषा इति विकल्पेन कप् । द्विपुमान् । द्विपुंस्कः ॥ अर्थान्नमः* ॥ अनर्थकम् । नमः किम् । अपार्थम् । अपार्थकम् ॥

889. The affix कप् comes after uras &c., final in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus व्यूढोरस्कः = व्यूढुरोऽस्य (VIII. 3. 38 S. 152). So also प्रियसर्पिस्कः (VIII. 3. 39 S. 153) अवयुक्तोपासकः ॥

The words पुमान्, अनङ्गान्, पयः, नौः and लक्ष्मीः are exhibited in the list of Urasādi words as nominative singular, and not in their crude-forms as is the case with other words. The reason of this is, that the singular number of these words take the affix कप्, and not their dual and plural numbers. With regard to the dual and plural of these, the affix कप् is optionally added by force of sūtra V. 4. 154 S. 891. Thus द्विपुमान् or द्विपुंस्कः, बहुपुमान् or बहुपुंस्कः ॥

1 उरस्, 2 सर्पिस्, 3 उपानह, 4 पुमान्, 5 अनङ्गान्, 6 पयस्, 7 नौः, 8 लक्ष्मीः, 9 वाधि 10 मधु, 11 शालि, 12 अर्थान्नमः ॥ (The affix कप् is added to अर्थ when preceded by the Negative particle नम्, as अनर्थकम्.) Why do we say when preceded by the Negative particle नम्? Observe अपार्थम् or अपार्थकम् ॥

८९० । इनः स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । १५२ ॥

बहुवचिका नगरी ॥ अनिनसन्महयान्यर्थवता चानर्थकिन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ बहुवचिका । स्त्रियां किम् ॥ बहुवचनी बहुवचिको मामः ॥

890. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi the last member of which ends in इन्, when a feminine word is denoted.

Thus बहुवो ण्डिनोऽस्यां नगर्याम् = बहुण्डिका नगरी ॥ So also बहुवाग्मिका सभा ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting a feminine'? Observe बहुण्डी or बहुण्डिको ग्रामः ॥ The latter form is derived by adding कप् optionally under V. 4. 134 S. 891.

Paribhāṣā :—Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar, denote by I. 1. 72 ; S. 26 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस् and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning. ('Meaning,' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning,' viz. the meaning which grammarians assign to the affixes अन् &c.)

Therefore the rule applies to वाग्मिन् also. As बहुवाग्मिका सभा ॥

८६१ । शेषाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासान्ताच्छेषाधिकारस्थाद्बहुव्रीहेः कप् वा स्यात् । महायशस्कः । महायशः । अनुक्ते-
त्यादि किञ् । व्याघ्रपात् । सुगन्धिः । मियपयः । शेषाधिकारस्थात्किञ् । उपबहवः । उत्तरपूर्वा । सपुत्रः ।
तन्मादिना शेषशब्दोऽर्थद्वयपरः ॥

891. After all other Bahuvrīhi compounds formed under II. 2. 23 S. 829, and not covered by the foregoing samāsānta rules, may optionally be added the affix कप् ॥

Thus महायशस्कः or महायशः

Why do we say "after the rest"? Observe व्याघ्रपात् ; सुगन्धिः ; मियपयः, Here these words are formed by special samāsānta rules given before e. g. 874, 877 and 940.

The word शेष denotes all those Bahuvrīhis about which no special rule has been given above. How do you explain the forms अश्वं वान्, बह्वृक्षं सूक्तं, in which the affix कप् is added, though these words are governed by the general rule V. 4. 74, S. 940 and ought to have taken the samāsānta affix अ? The affix अ is added to कृक् when the compound has a special meaning; such as अश्वः means 'a boy', बह्वृक्षः 'a charaṇa.'

Why have we used the words "śeṣādādhikāraṣṭhāt" in explaining the sūtra? These words mean "after a Bahuvrīhi falling under the scope of the rules of Śeṣhō Bahuvrīhiḥ" II. 2. 23 S. 829." Observe उपबहवः ॥ This is

a Bahuvrīhi not formed under the śesha rule II. 2. 23 S. 829, but by a special rule II. 2. 25 S. 843 : and hence it does not take कप् ॥ So also उत्तरपूर्वा a Bahuvrīhi formed by II. 2. 26 S. 845, and सपुत्रः formed by II. 2. 28 S. 848. In fact the word शेषः of II. 2. 23 S. 829 governs only II. 2. 24 S. 830 and not the remaining sūtras like 843, 846, 848 &c.

The word शेषात् of this sūtra is thus equivocal. It means *first* "after all those Bahuvrīhis for which no samāsanta has been taught : " *secondly* "after those Bahuvrīhis which are formed under "sesho Bahuvrīhi " rule." The word शेषात् thus conveys a double meaning. There are two views on this point : one school holds that for every *thought*, a separate word must be used. Their motto is अर्थभेदेन शब्दभेदः ॥ According to this view we should use the word शेषात् twice in this sūtra (āvritti.) But according to the other view, one word may express two ideas. Their motto is सत्यव्ययंभेदे शब्दस्याभेदः ॥ This gives rise to तन्त्र or stretching the meaning of a word. The Tantra view may be taken here, or the आवृत्ति view.

८९२ । आपोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ४ । १५ ॥

कप्याबन्तस्य हस्तो वा स्यात् । बहुमालकः । बहुमालकः । कबभोव बहुमालः ॥

892. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुमालकः Or बहुमालकः 'one who has many garlands' ॥ When कप् is not added, then बहुमालः ॥

८९३ । न संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १५५ ॥

शेषादिति प्राप्तः कप् न स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । विश्वे देवा अस्य विश्वेदेवः ॥

893. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi when a Name is meant.

This debars कप् ordained by V. 4. 154 S. 891 last. Thus विश्वेदेवा अस्य विश्वेदेवः ॥

८९४ । ईयसश्च । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

ईयसन्तोत्तरपत्रात् कप् । बहवः श्रेयांसोऽस्य बहुश्रेयान् । गोक्षियोरिति हस्वे प्राप्ते ॥ ईयसो बहुव्रीहिर्नोति वाच्यम् * ॥ बह्वः श्रेयस्योऽस्य बहुश्रेयसी । बहुव्रीहिः क्तिप् । अतिश्रेयासिः ॥

894. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which ends in the affix ईयस् ॥

. This debars all the previous rules *i. e.* both the compulsory and the

optional कप् ॥ Thus बहवः श्रेयांसोऽस्य = बहुश्रेयाम्. (V. 3. 57 S. 2005) Here rule V. 4. 154 S. 891 is debarred. बह्व्यः श्रेयस्योऽस्य = बहुश्रेयसी, here rule V. 4. 135 S. 833 is prohibited. By rule I. 2. 48 S. 656 the long final ई ought to have been shortened, but this is not done by considering it as a masculine by the following Vārtika.

Vart:—In Bahuvrīhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Why do we say 'of a Bahuvrīhi'? Observe अतिश्रेयसि ॥

८६५ । वन्दिते भ्रातुः । ५ । ४ । १५७ ॥

पूजितेऽर्थे यो भ्रातृशब्दस्तदन्तान् कप् स्यात् । प्रशस्तो भ्राता यस्य प्रशस्तभ्राता । न पूजनादिति निषेधस्तु बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यङ्गोरित्यतः प्रागेवेति वक्ष्यते । वन्दिते किम् । मूर्खभ्रातृकः ॥

895. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi ending in the word bhrātri, when it means 'praised.'

The word वन्दितः means 'praised,' 'respected' &c. Thus शोभनाभ्राता स्वच्छुभ्राता 'one having a good brother.' As a general rule, samāsānta affixes are not added, when respect is meant. See V. 4. 62 S. 954. But the prohibition of that sūtra has its scope only upto V. 4. 113 S. 852, and not on sūtras after that. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Why do we say when it means "praised"? Observe मूर्खभ्रातृकः, दुष्टभ्रातृकः ॥

८६६ । नाडीतन्त्रीयोः स्वाङ्गे । ५ । ४ । १५८ ॥

स्वाङ्गे यो नाडीतन्त्रीशब्दौ तदन्तात्कप् न स्यात् । बहुनाडिः कायः । बहुतन्त्रीर्मीवा । तन्त्रीधमनी जीमथयान्त्वामावाद्धस्वो न । स्वाङ्गे किम् । बहुनाडीकः स्तम्भः । बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥

896. The affix कप् does not come after the words nāḍī, and tantrī final in a Bahuvrīhi, when they mean organs of body.

Thus बह्व्यो नाडोऽस्य = बहुनाडिः कायः, बहुतन्त्रीर्मीवा ॥ बहुतन्त्रीधमनी. The word तन्त्री means 'an artery.' Why do we say meaning "parts of body"? Observe, बहुनाडीकः स्तम्भः, बहुतन्त्रीका : वीणा ॥ The word नाडी is a feminine word formed by डीप् that comes after jāti; तन्त्री is formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇādi III. 158). In बहुनाडिः the long ई is shortened as being an upasarga (I. 2. 48 S. 655); but the ई of तन्त्री is not shortened' as ई here is not a feminine affix, but a 'krit affix (कृत् स्त्रियाः प्रतिषेधः; See I. 2. 48 S. 656 also).

८९७ । निष्प्रवाणिश्च । ५ । ४ । १६० ॥

कवभावाञ्च निपात्यते । प्रपूर्वाद्द्वयतेर्लुट् । प्रवाणी तन्तुवायशलाका । निर्गता प्रवाण्यस्य निष्प्रवाणिः पटः । समाप्तवानः नव इत्यर्थः ॥

897. The word निष्प्रवाणि is irregularly formed, without adding the affix कप्, though the last word is a Nadi word.

The word प्रवाणी means either प्रीयतेऽस्यां or प्रवयन्ति तया ॥ Here लुट् is added to the root वि 'to weave': and denotes the instrument of weaving i. e. 'a shuttle.' निर्गता प्रवाणी अस्य = निष्प्रवाणिः पटः, निष्प्रवाणिः कम्बलः = अपनीतशलकः "a new unbleached cloth or blanket," from which the shuttle has not yet been extracted, fresh from the loom. The न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 29. S. 2835.

८९८ । सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ । २ । २ । ३५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं प्रयोज्यम् । कण्ठेकालः । अत एव ज्ञापकादधिकरणपक्षे बहुव्रीहिः । चित्रयुः ॥

सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ सर्वश्वेतः ॥ द्विशुक्लः ॥

मिथोऽनर्थेः समासे संख्या पूर्वम् । शब्दपरविप्रतिषेधात् ॥ द्वयः ॥

संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः* ॥ द्वित्राः

द्वन्द्वेऽपि । द्वादश ॥

वा प्रियस्य * ॥ युद्धमियः । प्रिययुद्धः ॥

गङ्गादेः परा सप्तमी * ॥ गङ्गुकण्ठः । कृत्स्निन्न । वहेगङ्गुः ॥

898. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrîhi compound.

In a Bahuvrîhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule ; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' From the jñâpaka of this sūtra, we infer the existence of the Vyadhikaraṇa Bahuvrîhi—a Bahuvrîhi compound, the first member of which is not in apposition to the second or stands in a different case relation to the second, in the dissolution of the compound, as चक्रपाणिः, चङ्गमौलिः &c. So also उरसिलोमा, चित्रयुः, शबलयुः.

Vârt :—The sarvanamas and the numerals stand first ; as सर्वश्वेतः द्विशुक्लः.

Vart:—In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयन्वः.

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्विधाः 'two and three,'

Vart:—Also in a Dvandva compound (the numeral which is less in value is placed first); thus द्वादश 'two and ten, that is twelve.'

Vart:—The word प्रिय may optionally stand first; as सुहृदप्रियः or प्रियसुहृदः.

Vart:—After the words गड्ड &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गड्डकण्ठः 'a hemp-necked'; गड्डशिराः &c.

How is then the word बहेगड्डः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

८९९ । निष्ठा । २ । २ । ३६ ॥

निष्ठान्तं बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं स्यात् । कृतकृत्वः ॥ जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परा निष्ठा वाच्यः * ॥ सारङ्गजग्धी । मासजाता । सुखजाता । प्रायिकं चैव । कृतकटः । पीतोदकः ॥

899. What ends with a Nishṭhâ (I. 1. 26 S. 3012) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus कृतकृत्वः ॥

So also युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकटः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jâti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, सारङ्गजग्धी, मासजातः and सुखजातः &c.

This rule is not of universal application, as we have words like कृतकटः and पीतोदकः also.

९०० । आहिताग्न्यादिषु । २ । २ । ३७ ॥

आहिताग्निः । अग्न्याहितः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । प्रहरणार्थेभ्यः परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ * ॥ अस्युद्यनः । दण्डपाणिः ॥ कश्चिन्न । विवृतांसिः ॥

900. In the compounds âhitâgni and the like, the Nishṭhâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

This **आहितानि** class is **ākritigaṇa** ; so that words like **गङ्गु** &c., must be looked for in this class.

Vart:—The words ending in **Nishṭhā** or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting ‘striking’; as **अस्युद्यतः** ‘ready with sword’; **दण्डपाणिः** ‘holding sceptre in hand.’ But some times not so, as in **विद्वत्तासि**: “drawn-sword.”

Here end Bahuvrihi compounds.

अथ द्वन्द्व समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XX.

THE DVANDVA COMPOUNDS.

६०१ । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । २ । २ । २६ ॥

अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स द्वन्द्वः । समुच्चयान्वाचयेत्तरेतरयोगसमाहाराच्चार्याः । परस्परनिरपेक्षस्यानेकस्य एकस्मिन्नन्वयः समुच्चयः । अन्यतरस्यानुवाङ्मिकत्वेऽन्वाचयः । मिलितानामन्वय इतरेतरयोगः । समूहः समाहारः । तत्रेश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्वेति समुच्चये, भिक्षामटं गां चानयत्यन्वाचयं च, न समासोऽसामर्थ्यात् । धवखदिरौ । संज्ञापरिभाषम् । अनेकां कर्तृहेतुषोऽनुष्टोत्रात्तारः । द्वयोर्द्वयोर्द्वन्द्वं कृत्वा पुनर्द्वन्द्वं तु होतापोऽनेष्टोत्रात्तारः ॥

901. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and,' the set is optionally made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meaning that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference,' (3) इतरेतरयोगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *viz.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1 S. 647) Composition is enjoined, therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and aggregation. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामटं गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following वृक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = वृक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाङ्मूचम्, वाग्मृषरम्, संज्ञापरिभाषम् ॥

1. When two or more independent words not related with each other, are grammatically in the same case, their conjunction, will be samuchchaya. As ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व "reverence God and Guru." Here there can be no compounding, as there is no sāmārthya. In this example, two *things* (dravya) have been collected under one verb (kriyā). Similarly in राज्ञो गज-श्चश्च "the elephant and the horse of the king." Here there is samuchchaya of two *things* under one thing. पटः शुक्लो रक्तश्च "The picture is white and red." Here two *attributes* are brought under *one* substantive. रक्तः पटः कुण्डलं च

“Red picture and ornament.” Here two substances are collected under one attribute.

2. When one action, is used as collateral to a principal action, it gives rise to the union called anwāchaya : as, भिक्षामदः गां चानय “Go for alms and bring the cow.” Here he might not bring the cow, if he does not see it, though his begging will not be stopped. But if he does not go out a begging, he cannot bring the cow. So going out a begging is the principal action.

Therefore, in भिक्षामदः गां चानय, there is no compounding, because the words are not directly related to one another. The want of sāmāthyā here is want of ekārthibhāva.

In धवस्यद्विरे “the Mīmōsea and the Grislea,” संज्ञापरिभाषम् “an appellative and a maxim of interpretation,” there is compounding, as itaretara and samāhāra, respectively.

The Dvandva compound of the four words होतृ, पोतृ, नेष्टृ and उद्गातृ may be either होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः or होतापोतानेष्टोद्गातारः ॥ The first denotes many hotṛis, potṛis &c. The second is an example where hotṛi and potṛi are first compounded as a Dvandva, and then नेष्टृ and उद्गातृ as another Dvandva. Then these two compound words are again compounded as a larger Dvandva.

In the first example, there is not आनङ् substitution for the final of होतृ and पोतृ (VI. 3. 25 S. 921) because there is no uttarapada after them. See S. 921 and 831.

६०२ । राजदन्तादिषु परम् । २ । २ । ३१ ॥

एषु पूर्वप्रयोगार्हं परं स्यात् । दन्तानां राजां राजदन्तः । धर्माद्विनियमः* ॥ अर्थधर्मौ । धर्मार्थौ । सम्पत्ति । जम्पत्ति । जायापत्ति । जायाशब्दस्य जम्भावो दम्भावश्च वा निपात्यते । भाकृतिगणोऽयम्* ॥

902. The upasarjana is to be put last in the words Rājadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) ‘a chief of teeth’ (i. e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples ; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. अग्नेवणम्. 3. लिप्तवासितम्. 4. नम्रपुषितम्. 5. सिक्तसं-
वृष्टम्. 6. वृष्टलुञ्जितम्. 7. अवल्लिप्तपक्वम्. 8. अप्रित्तितम्. 9. (अप्रित्तितम्). 10
उत्तगाढम्. 11. उलूखलपुसलम्. 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्. 13. दृषदुपलम्. 14. भारद्वा

जानि. 15. (भारगवायनबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथवाल्मीकम्. 17. भवन्त्यदमकम्. 18. शङ्खायम्. 19. स्नातकराजानौ. 20. विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ. 21. अक्षिभुवम्. 22. शारगवम्. 23. शङ्खार्यौ. 24. धर्मार्यौ. 25. कामार्यौ. 26. अर्थशब्दौ. 27. अर्थधर्मौ. 28. अर्थकानौ. 29. वैकारिमत्तम्. 30. गाजवाजम्. 31. गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालि-
धानपूलासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूलासम्). 34. पूलासकारण्डम्. 35. पूलासककु-
रण्डम्. 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूलासम्). 38. उशोरबीजम्. 39. (जिज्ञास्थि).
40. सिङ्गास्थम्. 41. (सिङ्गद्वयस्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति).
44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49.
पुत्रपत्. 50. केशदम्भू or दम्भूकेशौ. 51. शिरोविजु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53.
शिरोजातु. 54. सर्पिमधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिणी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तारी. 58.
युगवृद्धी. 59. वृद्धियुगौ.

Vārtika:—"In regard to the words धर्म and the like, there is no fixed rule. Thus अर्थधर्मौ or धर्मार्यौ 'wealth and virtue' or 'virtue and wealth.' So also दम्पती, जम्पती or जायापती. The word जाया is changed to जम् or दम् irregularly. These belong to ākritigaṇa.

Note:—दम्पती is really a compound of दम् "home" and पति 'master or mistress' दम् is the same word as the Latin domus "home," as in "domestic." दम्पती means "the two masters of the house—i. e. the husband and wife."

६०३ । द्वन्द्वे चि । २ । २ । ३२ ॥

द्वन्द्वे चिसंज्ञं पूर्वं स्यात् । हरिश्च हरश्च हरिहरो ॥ अनेकप्राप्तावेकत्र नियमोऽनियमः शेषे * ॥
हरिगुरुहराः । हरिहरगुरवः ॥

903. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (1. 4. 7 S. 243) stand first.

As हरिहरो 'Hari and Hara.'

Vārtika:—Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest do not follow any fixed rule. As हरिगुरुहराः or हरिहरगुरवः

Note:—Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्पष्टपटुः which is a Tat-purusha.

६०४ । अजाद्यदन्तम् । २ । २ । ३३ ॥

इदं द्वन्द्वे पूर्वं स्यात् । इशकृष्यौ । *

बहुवचनियमः * । अश्वरथेन्द्राः । इन्द्राश्वरथाः ॥ *

अन्तादजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन * ॥ इन्द्रामी ॥

904. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, ईशकृष्णो 'Īśa and Kṛishṇa.'

Vart :—When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule. As अक्षरयेन्द्राः or इन्द्राक्षरयाः ॥

Vart :—In the Dvandva compounds, the चि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजायदन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी. Here अग्नि though चि, does not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2 S. 175.)

Note :—Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70 S. 50.)? This rule does not apply when it is long वा as अदवा + वृषः = अदवावृषौ or वृषादवे.

६०५ । अल्पाक्षतरम् । २ । २ । ३४ ॥

शिवकेशवौ ॥

अतुनक्षत्राणां समाक्षराणामानुपूर्व्येण * ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः । कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ । समाक्षराणां क्रिय । ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ ॥

लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वम् * ॥ कुशकाक्षम् ॥

अभ्यर्हितं च * ॥ तापसपर्वतौ ॥

वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण * ॥ ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्वद्ब्राह्मणः ॥

भ्रातृज्यार्यसः * ॥ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ ॥

905. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus शिव + केशव = शिवकेशवौ ॥

Note :—When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखदुन्दुभीयाः or बीणाशंखदुन्दुभयः .

Vart :—Names of seasons and stars when they consist of equal number of syllables, should be arranged in the compound, according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ.

Why do we say 'when they consist of equal syllables?' Observe ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ, Here the shorter has been placed first.

Vart :—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first.

As, कुशकाशं ; 'a bundle of Kuśa and Kāśa grasses.' कुश and काश are two kinds of grass.

Vart :—The more honorable of the two is placed first ; as तापस पर्यतो "Tāpasa and Parvata." वासुदेवाश्नुनो "Vāsudeva and Arjuna" (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478).

Vart :—The castes are placed according to their order : as ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिय विद् शूद्राः 'Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya-Vaiśya and Śūdra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart :—The name of the elder brother is placed first ; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna.'

६०६ । द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् । २ । ४ । २ ॥

एषां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । पाणिपादम् । मार्शङ्गिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाश्वरोहम् ॥

समाहारस्यैकत्वादेकत्वे सिद्धे नियमार्थे प्रकरणम् ; प्राण्यङ्गादीनां समाहार एव यथा स्यात् ॥

906. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, members of a band of players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोम्रीवं 'the head and neck' मार्शङ्गिकपाणविकम् 'the players on the mṛdaṅga and paṇava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' बीणावादकपरिवादकम्, रथिकपाश-
तम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only ; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29 S. 901) A Samāhāra would have been naturally singular, because it denotes unity, the present rule is, therefore, a niyama or a restrictive rule. That is, the samāhāra compound of limbs is only singular, and other kind of compound of members of living body &c., need not be singular.

Note :—In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional ; (II. 4. 12. S. 916). The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14 S. 918). are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva ; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12 S. 916) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva.

६०७ । अनुवादे चरणानाम् । २ । ४ । ३ ॥

चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्सिद्धस्योपन्यासे ॥

स्थेयोर्लुङीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ उद्गात्कठकालापम् । प्रत्यघात्कठकौथुमम् ॥

907. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools, when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

Note:—The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and here means students or pupils who belong to a particular school and study that particular branch. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvāda. Another meaning of this word is “the recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt as distinguished from learning them the first time.”

Vārt:—This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इष् only; as उद्गात् कठकालापम् (इदं कठेषु कालापेषु च प्रतिष्ठितेषु चावास्थां यत्र गन्तव्यं मिति संकेतयित्वा तत् संकेतं विस्तृत्यासीनं प्रतीदृश्यते) ॥ प्रत्यघात् कठकौथुमम् ‘kaṭha and kauthuma established again.’

Note:—Why do we say ‘when meaning repetition’? Observe उद्गुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यघुः कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इष् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उद्गन्ति कठकालापाः ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk’s translation is, ‘The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.’

६०८ । अध्वर्युकतुरनपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ४ ॥

यजुर्वेदे विहितो यः क्रतुस्तद्वाचिनामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । अर्काम्भेधम् । अध्वर्युकतुः किम् । इषुवज्जौ सामवेदे विहितौ । अनपुंसके किम् । राजसूयवाजपेये ॥ अर्धर्चादी ॥

908. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided that, they are never used in the neuter gender.

As अर्काम्भेधम् ‘the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,’

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices ? Observe इषुवज्जौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' These sacrifices are ordained in the Sāma-Veda.

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices.' अर्धर्चादी (II. 4. 31 S. 816).

Note :—Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासौ ? Because the word क्रतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifice in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamāsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

६०६ । अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् । २ । ४ । ५ ॥

अध्ययनेन प्रत्यासन्ना भाख्या येषां तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । पदक्रमकम् ॥

909. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement.

Note :—Why do we say 'order of study' ? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote' ? See याज्ञिक्येयाकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

६१० । जातिरप्राणिनाम् । २ । ४ । ६ ॥

प्राणिवर्ज्यजातिवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । धानाशङ्कुलि । प्राणिनां तु विद्यूद्वाः । द्रव्यजातीयानामेव । नेह । रूपरसौ । गमनाकुञ्चने । जातिप्राधान्य एवायमेकवद्भावः । द्रव्यविशेषविवक्षायां तु बहुवचनमिति ॥

910. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus धानाशङ्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Note :—Why do we say 'words denoting genus' ? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Pāṇchajanya.' These are Sanjña words or Proper Names.

When denoting living beings then विद्यूद्वाः (and not विद्यूद्वा) 'Vaiśyas and Sudras.' Here there is plural number by I. 2. 58. S. 817, though the words are jāti denoting.

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jāti names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसौ 'colour, and savour,' गमनाकुञ्जने 'going and contraction.'

Even with jāti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, बदरामलकानि 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.' Here there is elision of the Taddhita affix by IV. 3. 163 S. 1541. The feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49. S. 1408. See also II. 4. 12 S. 916.

Note :—The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

६११ । विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः । २ । ४ । ७ ॥

ग्रामवर्ज्यनदीदेशवाचिनां भिन्नलिङ्गानां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । उद्धृष इरावती च उद्धेरावति । गङ्गा च गङ्गाशोणम् । कुरुवश्च कुरुक्षेत्रं च कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रम् । भिन्नलिङ्गानां किम् । गङ्गावद्वने मन्त्रकैक्याः । ग्रामाः किम् । जाम्बवं नगरम् । शाक्यकिनी ग्रामः । जाम्बवशाक्यकिन्यौ ॥

911. A samāhara Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and of countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus उद्धेरावति "The Uddhya and Irāvati," The Uddhya is a river (nada).

So also. गङ्गाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.'

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गङ्गावद्वने 'the Ganges and the Yāmuna.' Both being feminine gender; so also मन्त्रकैक्याः ॥ But the rule does not apply to गङ्गाकुरुक्षेत्रे for one is a river and the other a country.

The word विशिष्ट of the sūtra is derived from the root विशि meaning "to separate, differentiate," with वि ॥ It means separate.

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुदमयुर्यौ 'the hen and the peahen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवत्काकिन्यौ 'Jāmbaba (a city) and Sālukinī (a village)' which are the names of a village and a town.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.

Vart :—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pātaliputra.'

Vart :—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

६१२। क्षुद्रजन्तवः। २। ४। ८॥

एषां समाहारे इन्द्र एकवत्स्यात्। यूकालिचम्। भानकुलाक्षुद्रजन्तवः॥

912. A Samāhara Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिचम् 'the louse and the nit.'

Note :—The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size.

All below the mongoose are kshudrajanṭu.

६१३। येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः। २। ४। ६॥

एषां प्राग्वत्। अहिमकुलम्॥ गोव्याघ्रम्॥ काकोलूकमित्यादौ परस्माद्भिभाषा वृत्तवृत्तिः प्राप्तं चकारेण बाध्यते॥

913. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only, among whom there is permanent enmity (i. e. natural antipathy or quarrel), is singular.

The word विरोधः means enmity: and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, अहिमकुलं 'the snake and the mongoose.' गोव्याघ्रम् 'the cow and the tiger.' काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

Note:—Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गोपालिचालकावनाः कलहांदन्ते 'Gaupāli and Sālankāyana are quarrelling.' देवासुरैरघृतमम्बुनिधिर्मन्ये ॥ The enmity between the Devas and Asuras is not permanent, for they co-operated in churning the ocean.

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus the rule II. 4. 12 S. 916 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4. 2. S. 175) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as गोव्याघ्रम् 'the tiger and the cow' काकोवृकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

६१४ । शूद्राणामनिर्वसितानाम् । २ । ४ । १० ॥

अवहिष्कृतानां शूद्राणां प्राग्वत् । तत्तायस्कारम् । पात्राद्वहिष्कृतानां तु चण्डालघृतपाः ॥

914. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Śūdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तक्षायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith.'

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालघृतपाः 'the Chāṇḍāla and the Mritapa.'

Note:—The word अनिर्वसित means one not expelled (from the dish). This shows that there was interlining between the Śhūdras and the twice-born in the days of Pāṇini.

A Śūdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvāsita Śūdra.

६१५ । गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि च । २ । ४ । ११ ॥

यथोच्चारितानि साधूनि स्युः । गवाश्वम् । हासीरासमित्यादि ॥

915. The word gavâśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also हासीरासम् ॥ Here the elision of the first member required by I. 2. 67 S. 933 does not take place. These compounds are valid only so far as enumerated by Pāṇini specifically in the subjoined list.

1. गवाक्षम् ॥ 2. गवाक्षिकम् ॥ 3. गवैडकम् ॥ 4. अजाक्षिकम् ॥ 5. अजेडकम् ॥
 6. कुब्जवानम् ॥ 7. कुब्जकैरातकम् ॥ 8. पुत्रपौत्रम् ॥ 9. श्वचण्डालम् ॥ 10. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥
 11. शशीमाणवकम् ॥ 12. शाटीपिच्छकम् ॥ 13. उब्दखरम् ॥ 14. उब्दशशम् ॥
 * 15. मूषशकृन् ॥ 16. मूषपुरीषम् ॥ 17. यकृन्मेढः ॥ 18. मांसशोणितम् ॥ 19. र्भक्षरम् ॥
 20. दर्भपूतीकम् ॥ 21. अर्जुनशिरीषम् ॥ 22. नृणालपम् ॥ 23. शशीशसम् ॥
 24. कुटीकुटम् ॥ 25. भगवतीभागवतम् ॥

Vart :— In this list, the forms as given, are singular ; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वौ ॥ In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

९१६ । विभाषा वृत्तमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तरायाम् । २ । ४ । १२ ॥

वृक्षादीनां सप्तानां द्वन्द्वः । अश्ववडवेत्यादि द्वन्द्वव्यं च प्राग्वद्वा । वृक्षादौ विशेषाणामेव ग्रहणम् ।
 प्लक्षन्यमोधम् । प्लक्षन्यमोधाः । रुरुपृषतम् । रुरुपृषताः । कुशकाशम् । कुशकाशाः । ब्रीहियवम् । ब्रीहि-
 यवाः । दधिघृतम् । दधिघृते । गोमहिषम् । गोमहिषाः । शुक्रबकम् । शुक्रबकाः । अश्ववडवम् ।
 अश्ववडवौ । पूर्वापरम् । पूर्वापरे । अधरोत्तरम् । अधरोत्तरे ॥

फलसेनावनस्पतिमृगशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानां बहुप्रकृतिरेव द्वन्द्व एकवदिति वाच्यम् * ॥
 बदराणि चामलकानि च बदरामलकम् । जातिरप्राणिनामित्येकवद्भावः । नह बदरामलके ।
 रथिकाश्वारोहौ । प्लक्षन्यमोधौ इत्यादि । विभाषावृत्तेति सूत्रे येऽप्राणिनस्तेषां ग्रहणं । जातिरप्राणिनामिति
 नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थम् । पशुग्रहणं हस्यश्वादिषु सेनाङ्गत्वात्त्रित्ये प्राप्ते । मृगाणां मृगेरेव
 शकुनीनां तैरेवोभयत्र द्वन्द्वः । अन्यैस्तु सहेतरेतरयोग एवेति नियमार्थं मृगशकुनिग्रहणम् । एवं
 पूर्वापरमधरोत्तरमित्यपि । अश्ववडवग्रहणं तु पक्षे नपुंसकत्वार्थम् । अन्यथा परत्वात्पूर्ववदश्ववड-
 वाविति स्यात् ॥

916. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of 1. trees, 2. wild animals, 3. grass 4. corn, 5. condiment, 6. domestic beasts and 7. birds, and the compounds, 1. aśva-vaḍava, 2. purvâ-para and 3. adharottara, are optionally singular.

Thus, प्लक्षन्यमोधम् or प्लक्षन्यमोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees';
 रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशकाशम् or
 कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāśī grass'; ब्रीहियवम् or ब्रीहियवाः 'the rice
 and the barley' दधिघृतम् or ते 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or वाः 'the
 cow and the buffalo'; शुक्रबकम् or काः 'the parrot and the crane birds';
 अश्ववडवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the
 last; अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

Vart :—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is

singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively. When they are each in Plural number, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as ब॒दरा॑णि चामल॒कानि॑ = ब॒दरामल॑कम्. Here there is singular number by II. 4. 6 S, 910. But not so in the following ब॒दरामल॑के तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an âmalaki fruit are here'; रथिका॒श्चरि॑हो 'a charioteer and a horseman'; प्लक्ष॒न्यग्रो॑धो 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरु॒पृष॑तौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंस॒चक्र॑वाको 'a Hansa and a Chakravâka bird'; यू॒कालि॑त्ते 'a louse and a nit'; ब्री॒हिय॑वौ 'a brîhi and yava grain'; कु॒शका॑शौ 'the kuśa and kâśa grass. In this sūtra, those words which denote non-animate beings such as trees, and corn &c., would have taken compulsory singular by II. 4. 6. S. 910; the present sūtra ordains optional singular in their case. In the case of domestic animals like elephants and horses, the singular would have been compulsory under II. 4. 2. S. 906, because they form component parts of an army corps. This sūtra ordains option. Why are the words वृ॒ग, शकु॑नि mentioned separately in the sūtra; when they would have taken general Dvandva by the general rule II. 2, 29 S. 901? It is so taken in order to indicate that वृ॒ग words are compounded with वृ॒ग words only, and शकु॑नि with शकु॑नि for the purposes of this rule. With others they will form Itaretara dvandva, and not samâhâra.

Thus this is a niyama or restrictive rule. Beasts and birds cannot be mutually compounded into a samâhâra Dvandva. Beasts with beasts, and birds with birds will form a samâhâra; but beasts with birds will form Itaretara Dvandva only.

So also is the case with पूर्वा॒परम् and अ॒धरो॒त्तरम् ॥

The compound अ॒श्वव॑डव is read in the sūtra in order to indicate, that in the alternative it is neuter. For अ॒श्व and व॑डव being both प॒शु would have come under the scope of this rule, without specific mention. Their separate mention makes a particular rule regarding them. Therefore when we use अ॒श्वव॑डव in the singular, the rule II. 4. 27 S. 813 is debarred, the compound does not take the gender of the first, but is governed by II. 4. 17. S. 821 and is Neuter. In fact, the subsequent sūtra II. 4. 27 S. 813 is set aside by the prior sūtra II. 4. 17 S. 821 because the singular अ॒श्वव॑डव is a pratipada vidhâna samâsa.

६१७ । विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि । २ । ४ । १३ ॥

विरुद्धार्थानामद्वयवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वा स्यात् । शीतोष्णम् । शीतोष्णे । वैकल्पिकः समाहारद्वन्द्वार्थे द्वन्द्व इति सूत्रेण प्राप्तः स विरुद्धार्थानां यदि भवति तर्हि अद्वयवाचिनामेवेति नियमार्थनिर्दिष्टः । तेन द्वयवाचिनामितरेतरयोग एव । शीतोष्णे उदके स्तः । विप्रतिषिद्धं किम् । मन्त्रपाठनजन्यौ । इह पात्निकः समाहारद्वन्द्वो भवत्येव ॥

917. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of material substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. The word *adhikarāṇa* means material things a dravya. च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra. By sūtra II. 2. 29 S. 901, the samāhāra Dvandva is optional; for that sūtra is governed by the great option of II, 1. 11 S. 665. When there is such an optional compounding of antinomes, it can be of those antinomes only which do not denote a substance. Thus the present sūtra creates a niyama or restriction, of substance denoting antinomes, where we have Itaretara Dvandva only and not samāhāra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ which are not of contrary significations. Here there certainly will take place in the other alternative the optional samāhāra Dvandva also.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances, and therefore their compound is Itaretara Dvandva and optionally samāhāra also.

६१८ । न दधिपयश्चादीनि । २ । ४ । १४ ॥

एतानि नैकवस्तुः । दधिपयसी । इध्माबर्हिषी । निपातनादीर्घः । ऋक्सामे । वाङ्मनसे ॥

918. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayas' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; इध्माबर्हिषी 'the fuel and the ghee.' The short ष of इध्म is lengthened irregularly. So also ऋक्सामे 'the Rig and the Sāma-Veda'; वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind."

Note:—With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number, which the previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी ॥ 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिषी ॥ 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ 4. शिववे-
श्वरौ ॥ 5. स्कन्धविद्याखौ ॥ 6. परित्राट्कौशिकौ ॥ 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसहौ ॥ 8. शुक्लकृष्णौ ॥
9. इध्माबर्हिषी ॥ निपातनादीर्घः ॥ 10. दीक्षातपसी ॥ 11. अज्ञातपसी ॥ 12. मेधातपसी ॥

13. अध्ययनतपसी ॥ 14. उलूखलघुसले ॥ 15. आद्यावसाने ॥ 16. श्रद्धामिधे ॥ 17. ऋक्सामे ॥ 18. वाङ्मनसे ॥

६१६। अधिकरणैतावत्वे च । २ । ४ । १५॥

द्रव्यसंख्यावगमे एकवदेवेति नियमो न स्यात् । दश दन्तोष्ठाः ॥

919, A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (ctâvatva) of material things (adhikarâṇa) is not singular.

There is no general rule (niyama) that such a compound should be singular.

As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; Compare II. 4. 2.

६२०। विभाषासमीपे । २ । ४ । १६॥

अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य सामीप्येन परिच्छेदे समाहार एवेत्येवंरूपो नियमो वा स्यात् । उपदश दन्तोष्ठम् । उपदशः दन्तोष्ठाः ॥

920. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of material objects is optionally singular.

There may be a general rule (niyama) that such a compound shall be a samâhara only.

Thus उपदशदन्तोष्ठम् or उपदश दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten i. e. nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips.'

६२१। आनङ् ऋतोद्ध्वे । ६ । ३ । २५॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिनामृदन्तानां द्वन्द्वे आनङ् स्यादुत्तरपदे परे । होतापोतारौ । होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः । मातापितरौ । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामित्यतो मण्डूकप्लुत्या पुत्रे इत्यनुवृत्तेः पितापुत्रौ ॥

921. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोद्गातौ, but होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः ॥ Here the आनङ् replaces the ऋ of नेष्ट only which is followed by the uttarapada उद्गातृ, and not the ऋ of होतृ and पोतृ which are not followed by an uttarapada. प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्त्तापै मातापितरौ, The anuvṛitti of पुत्रे is understood here, from VI. 3. 21 S. 980 so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though

it does not end in क् ॥ As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥ याताननान्दौ ॥ The anuvṛitti of पुत्रे is read in this sūtra by the method of frog leap.

The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a र comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of क् ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in क्' ? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥

६२२ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

इहोत्तरपदे परे आनङ् । मित्रावरुणौ ॥

वायुशब्दप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधः * ॥ अग्निवायू । वाय्वग्नी । पुनर्द्द्वयमहं प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यस्य परिग्रहार्थम् ।
तेन ब्रह्मप्रजापती इत्यादौ नानङ् । एतद्वि नैकहविर्भागित्वेन श्रुतं नापि लोके प्रसिद्धं साहचर्यम् ॥

922. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devatâs.

Thus मित्रावरुणौ ॥

Vat :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वाय्वग्नी ॥

The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvṛitti from the last, shows that the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापती शिववैश्रवणौ ॥ These Devatâs are not joint in participating in a common oblation, nor are they known among people to always go to-gether. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

६२३ । ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः । ६ । ३ । २७ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे इत्येव ॥

923. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नि + सोम = अग्नी + सोम ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which स is changed to ष ॥

६२४ । अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः । ८ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अग्नेः परेषामेषां सत्य षः स्यात्समासि । अग्निष्टुत् । अग्निष्टोमः । अग्नीषोमौ । अग्नीवरुणौ ॥

924. **व** is substituted for the **स** of **स्तु**, **सोम** and **सोम** when preceded by **अग्नि** in a compound.

Thus **अग्निष्टुन्**, **अग्निष्टोमः**, **अग्नीषोमौ**। **अग्निवरुणौ** ॥

Ishti:—The **इ** of **अग्नि** is lengthened before **सोम** and it is after such lengthened **इ**, that the **स** of **सोम** is changed to **व**, otherwise not. As **अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ** ॥ So also **अग्निसोमौ तिष्ठतः** (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have **अग्ने सोमः** ॥

The word **अग्निष्टुन्** is formed by **क्तिप्**, the *sacrifice* in which **Agni** is praised (**स्तुयते**) is so called. **अग्निष्टोमः** is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (**संस्था**) of the **Soma-yāga**. **अग्नीषोमः** is a **देवता-द्वन्द्वः**: so where there is no **Devatā-Dvandva**, the **व** change will not take place. Thus where **Agni** and **Soma** are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to **Āśvalāyana** there is lengthening and **व** change in the last case also, as **अग्नीषोमौ ऋणेश्यामि** ॥

६२५। इद्वृद्धौ। ६। ३। २८ ॥

वृद्धिमस्युत्तरपदे अग्नेरिन्द्रादेशः स्याद्देवाताद्वन्द्वे। अग्रामरुतौ देवते अस्य आग्निमारुतं कर्म। अग्नीवरुणौ देवते अस्य आग्निवारुणम्। देवताद्वन्द्वे चेत्युभयपदवृद्धिः। अलौकिके वाक्ये आनङ्मीत्वं च बाधित्वा इत्। वृद्धौ क्तिप्। अग्निन्द्रः। नेन्द्रस्य परस्येत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिर्मातृवेषः। विष्णौ न * ॥ आग्नावैष्णवम् ॥

925. The short **इ** is the substitute of the final of **अग्नि**, in such a **Dvandva**, in which both members take the **Vṛiddhi**.

The substitution of **इ** for **इ** may appear superfluous; but it is really for the sake of debarring the long **ई** of the last sūtra.

Thus **आग्निवारुणी**, which would have required long **ई** by the last rule: **आग्निमारुतम्**, which would have required **आनङ्** by VI. 3. 26. Thus **आग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाहीमालभत**, **आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रीयेत** ॥ **अग्नीमरुतौ देवतेऽस्य** (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226), takes the **Taddhita** affix, **अण्** and by VII. 3. 21, S. 1239 both members of the compound take **Vṛiddhi**. When both members do not take **Vṛiddhi**, the rule does not apply: as **आग्नेन्द्रः** (**अग्निन्द्रः**), because **इन्द्र** does not take **Vṛiddhi**, by VII. 3. 22 S. 1240.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated when the word **विष्णु** follows: as **आग्नावैष्णवं चर्हं निर्वपेत्** ॥ The **इ** being prohibited, there comes **आनङ्** of 922.

९२६ । दिवो द्यावा । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे । द्यावाभूमी । द्यावाक्षमे ॥

926. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names of the Devatâs, when it is followed by a second member.

Thus द्यावाक्षमा, (Rig Veda X.36. 1) द्यावाभूमी ॥ (Rig Veda VII. 62. 4).

८२७ । दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् । ६ । ३ । ३० ॥

दिव इत्थं च द्यावा । अदिशे अकारोच्चारणं सकारस्य रुत्वं मा मूढित्येतदर्थम् । योश्च पृथिवी च दिवस्पृथिव्यौ । द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधिः ॥ द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी । दिवस्पृथिव्योररति-
रित्यत्र पदकारा विसर्गं पठन्ति ॥

927. For दिव् is also, substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatâs.

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस ending in अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or visarga or upadhmâniya when followed by पृथिवी Following is an anomalous use, there being no Dvandva compounding here. द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमते ॥ (Rig Veda II. 12.13.) For in the chhandas the usage determines the rule. In दिवस्पृथिव्योररतिः the authors of Pada Pâṭha read the दिवस् as दिवः with a visarga.

६२८ । उषासोषसः । ६ । ३ । ३१ ॥

उषस्शब्दस्योषासादेशो देवताद्वन्द्वे । उषासासूर्यम् ॥

928. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatâ-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूर्यम्, उषासानन्ता ॥ (Rig Veda X. 36. 1) These are samâhâra compounds of उषा and सूर्य &c.

६२९ । मातरपितराबुदीच्याम् । ६ । ३ । ३२ ॥

मातरपितरौ । उदीचां क्रिष् । मातापितरौ ॥

929. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरङ् substitution of the ऋ of मातृ ॥ Why do we say “according to Northern authors”? The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

९३० । द्वेन्द्राच्चुदपहान्तात्समाहारे । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥ .

अवर्गान्तादपहान्ताच्च द्वेन्द्रादट् स्यात्समाहारे । वाक् च त्वक् च वाक्त्वचम् । त्वक्सजम् ।
शमीदृषदम् । वाक्त्विषम् । छत्रोपानहम् । समाहारे किम् । प्रावृद्धारदौ ॥

930. The affix *ṭach* comes after a Dvandva compound ending in a palatal, or a *दू* or a *च्* or a *ह्* ; when the compound is a Samâhâra Dvandva (collective noun taken as a unity).

The anuvṛitti of Tatpurusha which commenced at V. 4. 86, ceases. The rule applies to समाहारद्वन्द्व "an aggregate Dvandva" which is always in Neuter singular ; and not to इतरेतरद्वन्द्व "or mutual conjunction". Thus वाक् च त्वक् च = वाक्त्वचम्, so also त्वक्सजम्, शमीदृषदम्, वाक्त्विषम्, छत्रोपानहम्, Why do we say "in a Samâhâra Dvandva" ? Observe प्रावृद्धारदौ ॥

Note :—Why do we say "after a Dvandva" ? The affix will not come after a Tatpurusha, as, पंच वाचः समाहृताः = पंचवाक् ॥ Why do we say "when ending in a consonant of च class, or द, ष, ह" ? Observe वाक्समिन् ॥

Here ends the chapter on the Dvandva Compounds.

———— :0: ————

अथैकशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXI.

ON EKAŚESHAS.

सरूपाणाम् ॥ रामा । रामाः ॥ विरूपाणामपि सगानार्थानाम् * ॥ वक्रण्डश्च कुटिलण्डश्च
वक्रण्डौ । कुटिलण्डौ ॥

Now we shall take up the subject of eka-śesha, i. e. where of the several words one only is retained, the others are elided. The eka-śesha is the reverse of Dvandva compound in which *all* the words are retained.

We have already seen the application of eka-śesha rule in the declension of nouns, where राम+राम=रामौ "Two Ramas" and not रामरामौ ; similarly राम+राम+राम=रामाः ॥ See I. 2. 64, S. 188. Here all the words are of the same form or सरूप ॥

The rule is not confined to sarūpa words only. Sometimes though the *form* may be different, there takes place eka-śesha : as by the following Vārtika.

Vārtika :—There is eka-śesha of words of dissimilar forms even, when they have the same *meaning* or *sense*. As वक्रण्डः+कुटिलण्डः=वक्रण्डौ or कुटिलण्डौ ॥ This Vārtika would become unnecessary, if we explain the word रूप in सरूप by रूप्यते बोध्यते "meaning, sense."

६३१ । वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः । १ । २ । ६५ ॥

यूना सहोक्तौ गोत्रं शिष्यते गोत्रयुवप्रत्ययमात्रकृतं चेत्ययोः कृष्णं व रूप्यं स्यात् । गार्ग्यश्च
गार्ग्यायणश्च गार्ग्यौ । वृद्धः किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ । यूना किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यौ । तल्लक्षणः किम् ।
भागवित्तिभागवित्तिर्को । कृष्णं किम् । गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

931. The vṛiddha (or a patronymic Gotra word) becomes ekaśesha, and is retained, when compounded with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that, the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affixes) only.

The word śesha of the sūtra I. 2. 64 S. 188, is understood here. The word "yûnâ" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word

Vṛiddha means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and the original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गौत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंशे युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking, a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family, when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ ॥ Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् IV, 1. 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix कृक् denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वात्स्यः + वात्स्यायनः = वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekaśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

This rule of ekaśeṣha does not apply, if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्यायणः = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ ॥ Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i. e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not

applicable. Thus Rule IV. 1. 148 S. 1172 says " a Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix डक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvtra." Thus भागवत्तिः + भागवत्तिकः = भागवत्तिभा-
गवत्तिकौ ॥

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix डक् is not merely a yuvan affix, but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवत्तायनः ॥

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to:—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word) + वास्तवायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवास्तवायनौ ॥

६३२ । स्त्री पुंवच्च । १ । २ । ६६ ॥

युना सहोक्तौ वृद्धा स्त्री शिष्यते तदर्थश्च पुंवत् । गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणो च गर्गाः । अस्त्रियामित्य-
नुवर्तमाने यम्योच्चेति लुक् । राक्षी च राक्षायणश्च राक्षी ॥

932. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word, but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained ; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra, and in the feminine gender, is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped ; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणौ = गर्गाः ॥ Here the affix यम्य is elided by II. 4. 64 S. 1108 which applies to non-feminine words only, because the anuvṛitti of अस्त्रियाम् is understood in that sūtra from II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The second word is shown in the dual case, in order to bring out the marked difference of form in the plural with masculation.

Similarly राक्षी + राक्षायणः = राक्षी (masculine dual of राक्षि) ॥

६३३ । पुमान् स्त्रिया । १ । २ । ६७ ॥

क्षिया सहोक्तौ पुमाश्च शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । हंसी च हंसश्च हंसौ ॥

933. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśeṣha, and the latter is dropped.

As हंसी + हंसः = हंसी ॥

९३४ । भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् । १ । २ । ६८ ॥

भ्राता च स्वसा च भ्रातरौ । पुत्रश्च दुहितां च पुत्रौ ॥

934. The words bhrâtri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasrī, 'sister' and duhitri 'daughter' respectively, are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in I. 2. 65 S. 931. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśeṣha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

९३५ । नपुंसकमनपुंसके नैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ६९ ॥

अङ्गीबेन सहोक्तौ क्लीबं शिष्यते तच्च वा एकवत्स्यात्तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । शुक्लः पटः । शुक्ला शाटी । शुक्लं वस्त्रम् । तद्विदं शुक्लम् । तानामानि शुक्लानि ॥

935. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix ; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः of I. 2. 65 S. 931 governs this sūtra also : thus शुक्लः पटः, शुक्ला शाटी, शुक्लं च वस्त्रम् ॥ " The white (masculine) cloth, the white (feminine) wrapper, and the white (neuter) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (neuter) ; or in the Plural शुक्लानि ॥

Note :—A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them ; provided that, the words differ in gender signs only ; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यो, मैथुनं, निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine ; 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one, adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśeṣha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not

apply. Thus शुक्रं + शुक्रं + शुक्रं = शुक्रानि the word is in the plural ; there is no ekavadbhāva.

६३६ । पिता मात्रा । १ । २ । ७० ॥

मात्रा सहोक्तौ पिता वा शिष्यते । माता च पिता च पितरौ—मातापितरौ वा ॥

936. The word pitri, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with māttri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौ वा ॥

६३७ । श्वशुरः श्वश्रुः । १ । २ । ७१ ॥

श्वश्रुः सहोक्तौ श्वशुरो वा शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । श्वश्रुश्च श्वशुरश्च श्वशुरौ । श्वश्रुश्च श्वशुरौ ॥

937. The word śvaśura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrī, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वश्रुः may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रुश्च श्वशुरौ ॥

६३८ । त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् । १ । २ । ७२ ॥

सर्वैः सहोक्तौ त्यदादीनि नित्यं शिष्यन्ते । स च देवदत्तश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादीनां (मयः सहोक्तौ यत्परं तच्छिष्यते * ॥ स च यश्च यौ ॥

पूर्वशेषोऽपि दृश्यते इति भाष्यम् ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादितः शेषे पुनरुपसक्तौ लिङ्गवचनानि * ॥ स च देवदत्तश्च तौ । स च देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्ता च नानि । पुनरुपसक्तयोस्तु परत्वान्नपुंसकं शिष्यते । स च देवदत्तश्च तौ ॥

अङ्गन्तत्पुरुषविशेषणानामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ कुक्कुटमथूर्यादिभिः । मयूरीकुक्कुटादिभिः । न च सा च अर्धपिप्पल्यां ते ॥

938. The pronouns 'tyad' &c., when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as ekaśeṣa, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. i. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim.' When these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; i. e.

whatever may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart :—When *त्यदादि* words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ ; यः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1. 27 S. 213), so यद् will be retained and not तद् ; similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद् ॥

Vārtika :—In the ekaśeṣha of *tyādadi* words, the masculine is retained to the exclusion of feminine; and neuter to the exclusion of masculine. As सा च देवदत्तश्च = तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्ता च = तानि ॥ Of the masculine and neuter, the neuter is retained, being taught subsequent to masculine. तच्च च देवदत्तश्च = ते ॥

Vartika :—It should be rather stated that when these Pronouns do not refer to Dvandva or Tatpurusha compounds. In the case of these, the sūtra II. 4. 26 S. 812 applies. The relative pronouns follow the gender of their antecedent noun. Thus कुक्कुटमयूर्याविम (इमे feminine dual), but मयूरीकुक्कुटाविम (इमा masculine dual). Similarly पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + अर्धपिप्पली (feminine) = अर्धपिप्पल्यः (feminine Plural). The relative Pronoun will be ताः ॥

६३९. ग्राम्यपशुसङ्घेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री । १ । २ । ७३ ॥

एषु सहविवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते । पुमान् स्त्रियेत्यस्यापवादः । गाव इमाः । ग्राम्येति किम् । हरव इमे । पशुग्रहणं किम् । ब्राह्मणाइमे । सङ्घेषु किम् । एनौ गावौ । अतरुणेषु किम् । वत्सा इमे ।

अनेकशक्तिश्चाति वाच्यम् * ॥ अश्वा इमे ॥

इह सर्वत्र एकशेषे कृतेऽनेकसुबन्ताभावाद् इन्द्रो न । तेन शिरसी शिरांसीत्यादौ समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तः प्राण्यङ्गत्वात्किञ्चावश्च न । पन्थानौ पन्थान इत्यादौ समासान्तो न ॥

939. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see I. 2. 67 S. 933). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders ; the feminine noun is preferred ; provided that, the words should

not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गान्धर्वाः 'these cows (and bulls).' अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya animals) and not to *wild* animals ; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As ह्यव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas' (male and female) क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by I. 2. 67. S. 933.

Vart:—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young."? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इम 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of I. 2. 67. S. 933.

In all these examples under previous rules, when once the eka-śesha takes place, there is no longer Dvandva compounding, as these are not *many* nouns. The rules of compounding, therefore, do not apply to eka-śesha words. Thus शिरसी (dual), शिरांसि (Plural) have not acute on the final, which would have been the case had they been treated as compound, for then rule VI. 1. 123 S. 3734 would have applied. Nor is there eka-vadbhāva of these words, though they denote members of living beings. (II. 4. 2. S. 906) Similarly in पन्यानौ पन्यानः &c. there is not the affixing of samāsānta. (V. 4. 74. S. 940).

॥ इत्येकशेषः ॥

HERE ENDS EKASESIIA.

अथ सर्वसमासशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXII.

ON COMPOUNDS IN GENERAL.

कृत्तद्धितसमसैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपाः पञ्च वृत्तयः । परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिः । वृत्त्यार्थावबोधकं वाक्यं विग्रहः । स द्विविधः । लौकिकोऽलौकिकश्च । परिनिष्ठितत्वात्साधुलौकिकः । प्रयोगानर्होऽसाधुर लौकिकः । यथा । राज्ञः पुरुषः । राजन् भस् पुरुष सु इति । अविग्रहो नित्यसमासः ॥

अस्वप्विग्रहो वा समासश्चतुर्विध इति तु प्राचोवाहः । अन्वयीभावतत्पुरुषबहुव्रीहिहन्दाधिकारबाहिर्भूतानामपि सहस्रुपेति समासविधानात् ॥

पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽन्वयीभावः । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः । अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः । उभयपदार्थप्रधानो ह्रस्वः इत्यपि प्राचां प्रवादः प्रायोऽभिप्रायः । सूपमति उष्मन्गङ्गमिस्त्राद्यन्वयीभावे, अतिमालाहो तत्पुरुषे, द्विषा इत्यादिबहुव्रीहौ वन्तोष्मिस्त्रादिह्रस्वे चाभावात् । तत्पुरुषविशेषः कर्मधारयः, तद्विशेषः द्वियुः ॥ अनेक पदस्य ह्रस्व बहुव्रीह्योरेव । तत्पुरुष कृत्तद्धितेत्युक्तम् । किञ्च ॥

सुपां सुपा तिङा नाम्ना धातुनाऽप्य तिङां तिङां । सुबन्तेनेति विज्ञेयः समासः षड्विधो बुधैः ॥ १ ॥

सुपां सुपा, राजपुरुषः । तिङा, पर्यभूषयत् । नाम्ना, कुम्भकारः । धातुना, कदहः अजसम् । तिङां तिङा, पितृवत्कारता । खाश्तमोदता । तिङां सुपा, कृन्तविचक्षणेति यस्यां क्रियायां सा कृन्तविचक्षणा । एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे इति मयूरव्यंसकादौ पाठास्तमासः ॥

The Grammatical Function or modification (*vṛiti*) is of five sorts, namely, 1. *Kṛit*—the process by which a primary noun is derived from a verbal root. 2. *Taddhita*—the operation by which a secondary noun is formed from a Primitive Noun. 3. *Samāsa*—the process by which two or more nouns are composed to form one noun. 4. *Eka-śeṣa*—the process by which one is retained to the exclusion of other nouns, and the noun so retained denotes all the nouns so excluded. 5. Lastly *Sanādyanta dhātus*—the process by which a verb is formed from a noun, and a derivative verb from a Primitive verb; such as the Desiderative the Causative, the Intensive, and the Denominative verbs.

The word *vṛitti* means the power of expressing a sense different from what was inherent originally in the word. When a word undergoes a *vṛitti* or modification, it gains an additional sense. This additional sense always refers to some thing other than the original connotation of the word. Therefore the conjugation of a root by adding लि &c. affixes is not a *Vṛitti*: because here the root does not undergo any change of sense. To express the sense of another word by a different word is a *vṛitti*.

A sentence that explains or shows the sense of a vritti is called *vigraha* or the analysis of a word. The analysis of a word shows what *Vritti* or modification the original element has undergone.

The *vigraha* or analysis is of two sorts—logical and grammatical. That which is shown by a sentence, as employed in ordinary language, wherein the words employed are joined together by the rules of sandhi, and are *completely formed* words, is logical analysis. That which is shown by technical terms of grammar, which convey no meaning to outsiders, is a grammatical analysis.

Thus राजपुरुषः when analysed logically will be राज्ञः पुरुषः ; but when analysed grammatically, it will be राजन् + ज्ञस् + पुरुष + सु ॥

That which is not capable of laukika analysis is a *nitya samāsa* : or a *nitya-samāsa* is that which is not capable of analysis into its component words.

It is generally said, but not very accurately, that the compounds are of four sorts—namely 1. *Avyayībhāva*, 2. *Tatpurusha*, 3. *Bahuvrīhi* and 4. *Dvandva*. But there are compounds not covered by these four, namely compounds formed under the general rule बहुव्रीहि ॥ (S. 649).

"An *Avyayībhāva* is a compound in which the sense of the first member is the principal or predominant."

"A *Tatpurusha*-compound has the sense of the subsequent member predominant."

"A *Bahuvrīhi* is a compound in which the sense of a third term, not to be found in the compound, is predominant."

"A *Dvandva* is a compound in which the sense of both the members of a compound is predominant."

The above definitions are of ancient grammarians ; they are not however strictly accurate. For these definitions do not hold good in the case of *Avyayībhāva* compounds like उन्मत्तगङ्गा, *Tatpurusha* compounds like अतिनाल, *Bahuvrīhi* like द्विषा ; and *Dvandva* like हस्तोष्ठम् ॥

Karmadhāraya is a subdivision of *Tatpurusha*. *Dvigu* is a particular case of *Karmadhāraya*.

The *Dvandvas* and *Bahuvrīhis* only can consist of many words. The *Tatpurusha* seldom consists of more than two words as in बहुव्रीहिः ॥ For thus it is said.

VERSE.

1. The case-inflected words may be compounded with another case-inflected word 2. Or with a tense inflected word, 3. Or with a crude noun. 4. Or with a root. 5. The tense-inflected word may be compounded with another tense inflected word 6. Or with a case-inflected word. Thus compounds are of six kinds.

1. सुपां सुपा, Declined noun with another declined noun, as राजपुरुषः ॥

2. सुपां तिङा, A noun with a conjugated verb, as, परि-अभ्युपयत् ॥

3 सुपां नात्ता A noun with a nascent noun or upapada samāsa. as, कुम्भकारः ॥ Here the compounding takes place prior to the adding of सुप् ॥

4. सुपां धातुना, A noun with a root as कट्टूः । अजलम् ॥ This compound कट्टू is so exhibited in Vārtika under sūtra III. 2. 178 S. 3158, and the word अजलम् is formed by the sūtra III. 2. 167 S. 3147.

5. तिङां तिङा । A conjugated verb with another verb, — as विवत खावता, खावतमोवता ॥ See Mayūravayansaka class of compounds II. 1, 72 S. 754.

6. तिङां सुपा, A conjugated verb with a noun, as कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ In the Mayūra vyansakādi class, we find the rule एहीडाह्योऽन्यपदार्थे ॥ The compound is formed under taht rule.

अथ सर्व समासान्न प्रकरणम्॥

CHAPTER XXIII.

SAMĀSĀNTA AFFIXES IN GENERAL.

६४० । ऋक्पूरब्धूःपथामानजे । ५ । ४ । ७४ ॥

अ अनजे इति छेदः । ऋगाद्यन्तस्य समासस्य अप्रत्ययोऽन्तावयवः स्यात् । अजे या धूस्तदन्तस्य
न । अर्थः ॥ अनुचबहुच्चावध्येत्येव ॥ नेह अनुक्तसाम । बहुक् सूक्तम् । विष्णोः पूः विष्णुपुरम् ।
जीवत्वं लोकात् । विमलापं सरः ॥

940. The affix अ comes after rik, pur, ap, dhûr and pathin, when finals in a compound, but not so when dhûr is in conjunction with aksha.

The anuvṛitti of the word bahuvrîhi does not enter here. It applies to all compounds in general. The word अनजे qualifies धूर, as it cannot qualify the words ऋक् &c.

Thus (1) rik :—अर्धः ' half a hymn ', अनुचः, बहुचः

Note.—Why do we say "when not in conjunction with अज्?" Observe,
अजस्य धूः = अजधूः, दृढधूरजः ॥

The words अनुचः and बहुचः apply to students of Rik: thus अनुचः means "a boy who has not read the Rig Veda." बहुचः "One who has read the Rig Veda." The affix अ is not applied when it refers to the Vedas, as अनुक् साम, "the Sâma Veda which is not divided into hymns." बहुक् सूक्तम् ॥
"a hymn consisting of many Rig verses."

(2) pur :—विष्णोः पूर = विष्णुपुरम् ' the town of Vishṇu.' So also, ललाटपुरम्
नान्दीपुरम् ॥ The Neuter gender is due to usage, although the word पूर is feminine.

(3) Ap :—As विमलापं सरः ' a lake with pure water.' For other compounds of अप् see the following sūtras.

Note :—In अर्धचः the compounding is by II. 2. 2. S. 713. It becomes masculine by II. 4. 31 S. 816. In the case of अनुक् ann बहुक् we may have the general samāsānta कप् (V. 4. 154, S. 891) giving the forms अनुक्कम् &c. For अप् धूर and पथिन् see the subsequent sūtras.

In the case of the word अप् the following rule applies, by which the initial अ of अप is changed to ई ॥ Thus द्वि + अप् + अ = द्वि + ईप् + अ ॥

६४१ । अन्तरुपसर्गोऽप्योऽप ईत् । ६ । ३ । ६७ ॥

अप इति कृतसमासान्तस्यानुकरणम् । षष्ठ्यर्थे प्रथमा । एभ्योऽपस्य ईत्स्यात् । द्विगता आपो यस्मिन्निति द्वीपम् । अन्तरीपम् । प्रतीपम् । समीपम् । समापं देवयजनमिति तु समा अपो यस्मिन्निति बोध्यम् । कृतसमासान्तग्रहणश्लेह । स्वप् । स्वपी ॥

अवर्णान्ताद्वा * ॥ प्रेपम् । परेपम् । प्रापम् । परापम् ॥

941. After द्वि, अन्तर् and after Prepositions, a long ई is the substitute of अप ॥

The word अप् is exhibited with the samāsanta अ i. e. अप् + अ = अप ॥ The nominative अक् has the force of the genitive here. That is अपः = अपस्य ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74. S. 940. By I. 1. 54. S. 44. ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only. Thus द्वीपम् 'an island,' अन्तरीपम् 'in the midst of waters' प्रतीपम् 'in the direction of the waters' i. e. 'adverse.' समीपम् ॥ 'near.'

Note :— Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम देवयजनम् ॥ 'a land in which are made offering of oblations to the gods.'

The word समाप may be analysed as समाः + आपः, i. e. समा आपो यस्मिन् ॥ Here समा is a noun and not an upasarga, and so the rule does not apply. It is not the preposition सम ॥ The word देवयजनं means the ground where Devas are worshipped "Holy land : " "sacrificial ground."

As the word अप् is exhibited in the sūtra with the samāsanta अ ; the ई substitution will not take place where the samāsanta अ is not added. Thus V. 4. 69 S. 954 prohibits samāsanta when 'honor' is indicated. Therefore सु + अप् = स्वप् ; Fem. स्वपी ॥

Vārtika :—Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रेपम् or प्रापम् 'a puddle', परापम् or परेपम् 'an out let of water'. The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप् ; here, however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

With regard to the word अप् the following rule also applies.

६४२ । ऊदनोर्देशे । ६ । ३ । ६८ ॥

अनोः परस्यापस्य ऊत्स्याद्देशो । अनुपो देशः ।

राजधुरा । अक्षे तु अक्षध्रः । दृढध्रत्तः । सखिपयः । रम्यपथो देशः ॥

942. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देवः । 'a marshy place.'

Note :—But अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed ; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उप = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

The word धुर also takes अ by V. 4. 74. S. 940. As :—राजधुरा 'the kings load (of Government)'; but when relating to अक्ष then अक्षधूः 'the yoke attached to the fore-part of the pole of a car'; दृक्धूरक्षः 'a car with strong poles.'

The word पथिन् also takes, अ by V. 4. 74 S. 940. As :—सखिपथः 'the road of a friend' रम्यपथो देवः 'a place the road of which is pleasant.'

६४३ । अच् प्रत्यन्वचपूर्वात्सामलोमः । ५ । ४ । ७५ ॥

एतत्पूर्वात्सामलोमान्तात्समासादश्च स्यात् । प्रतिसामम् । अनुसामम् । अवसामम् । प्रतिलोमम् । अनुलोमम् । अवलोमम् ॥

कृष्णोदक्पाण्डुसंख्यापूर्वाद्या भूमेरजिप्यते * ॥ कृष्णभूमः । उदग्भूमः । पाण्डुभूमः । द्विभूमः प्रासादः ।

संख्याया नदीगोदावरीभ्यां च * ॥ पञ्चनदम् । सप्तगोदावरम् ॥

अजिति योगविभागादन्यत्रापि । पञ्चनाभः ॥

943. The affix अच् comes after the words sâman and loman, when prati, anu and ava precede them.

As प्रतिसामम्, 'harshly' अनुसामम्, 'in a friendly way,' अवसामम् 'away from gentleness,' प्रतिलोमम्, 'inversely' अनुलोमम् 'directly.'

Ishti :—The affix अच् comes after the word भूमि preceded by the words कृष्ण, उदक्, पाण्डु, and also 'a numeral. Thus कृष्णभूमः 'a place having the ground black,' उदग्भूमः 'the ground sloping Northwards,' पाण्डुभूमः 'having white ground' द्विभूमः प्रासादः 'a palace of two floors.'

Vārtika :—And also after the words गोदावरी and नदी when preceded by a numeral. As. पञ्चनदम्, 'the land of five rivers,' i. e. the Panjab, सप्तगोदावरम्, the name of a country, (see II. 1. 20).

Note :—This affix is added to words other than those mentioned above : as पञ्चनाभः, ऊर्जनाभः, सक्तराजः, शीर्घराजः, अराजः ॥ Here the affix अच् is added to नामि and राजि ॥ All this can be done by dividing the above sūtra into two parts viz. (1) अच् (2) प्रत्यन्व &c. That is (1) अच् comes after all compounds and (2) after सामन् and लोमन् preceded by प्रति &c.

६४४ । अक्षोऽदर्शनात् । ५ । ४ । ७६ ॥

अचक्षुःपर्यायवक्ष्योऽच स्वास्तमासान्तः । गवामक्षीव गवाक्षः ॥

944. The affix ach comes after the word akshi, when not meaning 'the eye,' but 'hole.'

The word अच is understood here. Thus गवाक्षः 'a hole for the rays of light, i. e. a small window.' The word क्षो here means 'ray of light.' गवः किरणः ॥ Or a gavāksha is so called because it is like the eye of cows.

Note:—The word दर्शन in the sūtra does not mean 'to see,' here, but is a synonym of 'eye.'

६४५ । अचतुरविचतुरसुचतुरस्त्रापुसद्यन्वनडुहक्सामवाङ्मनसाक्षुषदार-
गवोर्वष्टीवपदष्टीवनकंदिवरात्रिदिवाहर्दिवसरजसनिःश्रेयसपुरुषायुषध्यायुषत्र्यायुषर्ग्य-
जुषजातोक्षमहोक्षवृद्धोक्षोपशुनगोष्ठश्वाः । ५ । ४ । ७७ ॥

एते पञ्चविंशतिरजन्ता निपात्यन्ते । आद्यास्त्रयो बहुव्रीहयः । अविद्यमानानि चत्वार्यस्य अच-
तुरः । विचतुरः । सुचतुरः ॥

इयुपाभ्यां चतुरोऽजिष्यते* ॥ विचतुराः । चतुर्णां समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपचतुराः ।

तत एकादश द्वन्द्वाः । स्त्रीपुंलौ । धेन्वनडुहौ । ऋक्सामे । वाङ्मनसे । अक्षिणी च भ्रुवौ च अक्षि-
भ्रुवम् ।

वाराक्ष गावश्च वारयवम् ।

ऊरू च अष्टीवन्तौ च ऊर्वष्टीवम् । निपातनाद्विलोपः ।

पदष्टीवम् । निपातनात्पादशब्दस्य पङ्गावः ।

नक्तं च दिवा च नक्तन्दिवम् ।

रात्रौ च दिवा च रात्रिन्दिवम् । रात्रेर्मान्तत्वं निपात्यते ।

अहनि च दिवा च अहर्दिवम् । वीप्सायां द्वन्द्वा निपात्यन्ते अहन्यहनीत्यर्थः ।

सरजसमिति साकल्येऽव्ययीभावः । बहुव्रीहौ तु सरजः पङ्कजम् ।

निश्चितं श्रेयो निःश्रेयसम् । तत्पुरुष एव । नेह निःश्रेयान् पुरुषः ।

पुरुषस्यायुः पुरुषायुषम् ।

ततो द्वियुः । द्वयायुषम् । त्रयायुषम् ।

ततो द्वन्द्वः । ऋग्यजुषम् ।

ततश्चयः कर्मधारयाः । जातोक्षः । महोक्षः । वृद्धोक्षः ।

शुनः समीपं उवशुनम् । विलोपाभावः सम्प्रसारणं च निपात्यते ।

गाष्ठेश्वा गोष्ठश्चः ॥

945. The following twenty-five words are irregularly formed by adding the affix *ach*:—*achatura*, *vichatura*, *suchatura*; *stri-puṇsau*, *dhenv-anaḍuhan*, *rik-sāme*, *vān-manase*, *akshibhruvam*, *dāra-gavam*, *ūrvashṭhivam*, *pada-shṭhivam*, *naktamdivam*, *rātrim-divam*, *ahar-divam*, *sara-jasam*, *nīḥ-sreyasam*, *purushā-yusham*, *dvyā-yusham*, *tryā-yusham*, *rig-yajusham*, *jāto-kshaḥ*, *maho-kshaḥ*, *vridddho-kshaḥ*, *upaśunam*, and *gosṭhaśvaḥ*.

The first three of these words are Bahuvrihi : (1) *अचतुरः* = *अहरयान्यविद्यमानानि वा चत्वारि यस्य* 'that whose four are absent or non-existent.' (2) *विचतुरः* = *विगतानि चत्वारि यस्य* "whose four are gone." So also (3) *सुचतुरः* = *शोभनानि चत्वारि यस्य* 'whose four are good.' Had these been Tatpurusha, the forms would have been *अचत्वारः*, *विचत्वारः* &c.

Ishti:—The affix *अच्* comes after *चतुर्* when preceded by *त्रि* and *उप*. Thus *त्रिचतुरः* and *उपचतुरः* "near the four."

The next eleven words are Dvandva compounds. They are clear. Thus (4) *स्त्री च पुनाञ्च* = *स्त्रीपुंसौ* 'the man and woman'; (but not *हेतु स्त्रियाः पुमान् स्त्रियं प्रति पुमान् शूरः*) = *स्त्रीपुमान्* "a brave towards women only");

(5) *धेनुश्च अनङ्गुश्च* = *धेनवनङ्गौ* "cow and bull."

(6) *रिक् च साम च* = *रिक्सासे* "the Rik and the Saman."

(7) *वाक् च मनश्च* = *वाङ्मनसे* "the speech and mind."

(8) *अक्षिणीश्च भ्रुवौ च* = *अक्षिभ्रुवम्* "the eyes and the brows." The compound is singular as being parts of members of human body, (II. 4. 2 S. 905).

(9) *वाराश्च गावश्च* = *वारगवम्* "the wives and cows." Here the final syllable (called *टि*) is elided.

(10) *ऊरू + अङ्गीवन्तौ + अच्* = *ऊर्ध्वङ्गीवम्* "Thighs and knees" ||

(11) So also *पादौ + अङ्गीवन्तौ* = *पद् + अङ्गीव + अच्* = *पदङ्गीवम्* "Feet and knees" ||

(12) *नक्तं च दिवा च* = *नक्तंदिवं* 'by night and day.' These are two indeclinables having the force of locative, and this compounding is also irregular.

(13) *रात्रि च दिवा च* = *रात्रिदिवम्* "By night and day" ||

(14) The words *अहर्* and *दिवस्* both mean 'day:' the compound *अहर्दिवम्* is not, however, a superfluous compound of two synonyms. It is used here in a distributive sense = *अहन्यहनि* "day by day."

(15) The word सरजसम् is an Avyayībhāva, meaning 'with the pollen' i. e. 'all,' as सरजसमभ्यहिरात् ॥ The affix does not come when it is a Bahuvrīhi : as सङ् + रजसा = सरजः पङ्कजम् ॥

(16) The word निः श्रेयसं = निश्चितं श्रेयः 'sure (never failing) happiness.' and is a Tatpurusha : but not so in निः श्रेयान् पुरुषः ॥

(17) Then is the word पुरुषायुषम् a Genitive Tatpurusha = पुरुषस्यायुः ॥ 'limit of a man's life.' Not so when it is a Dvandva, as पुरुषश्च आयुश्च = पुरुषायुषी ॥

The words (18) द्वायुषम् and (19) त्र्यायुषम् are Samāhāra Dvig compounds. Therefore not here, द्वयोरायुः = द्वायुः, त्र्यायुः ॥

(20) The word कृग्यजुषम् is a Dvandva. Therefore, not here कृग्यजुषोन्मुग्धस्य = कृग्यजुषोन्मुग्धः (य कृचोयजुंषि मन्वते) ॥

The three words ending in उक्षन् are Karmadhāraya. (21) जातोक्षः "a young bull ;" (22) महोक्षः "a big bull ;" (23) वृद्धोक्षः "an old bull." Not so when these are Bahuvrīhi : as जातोक्षा ब्राह्मणाः "Brahmanas possessing young bulls."

(24) The word उपशुनन् is an Avyayībhāva = शृणुः समीपम् ॥ Here the non-elision of the final syllable, and the change of व of श्वन् into उ (Samprasāraṇa) are irregular.

The word गोष्ठश्चः is a Locative Tatpurusha, as गोष्ठेश्चा = गोष्ठश्च ॥ "a dog in a cowpen, a slanderer."

६४६ । ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्चसः । ५ । ४ । ७८ ॥

अच् स्यात् । ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । हस्तिवर्चसम् ॥

पल्यराजभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पल्यवर्चसम् । राजवर्चसम् ॥

946. The affix ach comes after the word varchas, when preceded in a compound by the words Brahma or hasti.

Thus ब्रह्मवर्चसम् 'Sanctity resulting from the contemplation of Brahma,' हस्तिवर्चसम् 'strength of an elephant.' Varchas means 'light,' 'strength.'

Vart :—So also when Varchas is preceded by the words palya and rājan : as, पल्यवर्चसम्, राजवर्चसम् ॥ The word पल means 'meat ;' पल्य 'meat-eater ;' पल्यवर्चसम् "the strength of the meat-eater."

६४७ । अचसमन्धेभ्यस्तमसः । ५ । ४ । ७९ ॥

अवतमसम् । संतमसम् । अन्धयतीत्यन्धं पचाद्यच् । अन्धं तमः अन्धतमसम् ॥

947. The affix ach comes after the word *tamas*, when preceded by the words *ava*, *sam* and *andha*, in a compound.

Thus अवतमसम् 'slight darkness' सन्तमसम् 'great darkness' अन्धतमसम् 'complete darkness so as to obstruct the sight.'

The word अन्ध is derived from the *churādi* root अन्ध with the affix अच् of पचादि class (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) ॥

९४८ । श्वसोवसीयःश्रेयसः । ५ । ४ । ८० ॥

वसुशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । ततः ईयसुनि वसीयः । श्वसशब्द उत्तरपदार्थप्रशंसामाक्षीर्विषयतामाह । मयूरभ्यंसकादित्वात्समासः । श्वोवसीयसम् । श्वःश्रेयस ते भूयात् ॥

948. The affix ach comes after the words *vasīyas* and *śreyas*, when they follow the word *śvas* in a compound.

Thus श्वोवसीयसम्, श्वःश्रेयसम् ॥ The word वसीयः is derived from वसु meaning "praiseworthy," "rich," by adding the affix ईयसुन् (V. 3. 57 S. 2005). The word श्वः is usually employed in blessing or praising the object expressed by the second term. These compounds belong to the class of *Mayūravyaśsakādi* (II. 1. 72 S. 754) Thus श्वः श्रेयसम् ते भूयात् = शोभन श्रेयस्ते भूयात् ॥ The word श्वोवसीयसम् is a synonym of श्वः श्रेयसम् ॥

९४९ । अन्ववतप्ताद्रहसः । ५ । ४ । ८१ ॥

अनुरहसम् । अवरहसम् । तप्तरहसम् ॥

949. The affix ach comes after the word *rabas*, when it follows *anu*, *ava*, and *tapta* in a compound.

Thus अनुरहसम् 'secluded' अवरहसम् 'a little secluded' तप्तरहसम् 'a hot place of seclusion' i. e. which is very strongly secluded, which is too hot for another to enter.'

९५० । प्रतेरुरसः सप्तमीस्थात् । ५ । ४ । ८२ ॥

हरसि प्रति प्रत्युरसम् । विभक्त्यर्थेऽव्ययीभावः ॥

950. The affix ach comes after the word *uras*, when it follows the word *prati* in a compound, and it has the sense of the locative.

Thus प्रत्युरसम्—उरसि वर्त्तते 'against the heart.' This is an Avyayibhāva compound, the indeclinable having the force of a vibhakti (II. 1. 6 S. 652.)

Note:—Why do we say "when having the sense of the locative?" Observe प्रत्युरः = प्रतिगतपुरः ॥

९५१ । अनुगवमायामे । ५ । ४ । ८३ ॥

एतन्निपात्यते वीर्यत्वे । अनुगवं यानम् । यस्य आयाम इति समासः ॥

951. The word anugava is irregularly formed by adding the affix ach, and has the sense of "suited to the length of the cows."

Thus अनुगवं यानं "the chariot suited to the length of the oxen," This compound is formed by II. 1. 16 S. 670.

Note:—Why do we say when meaning "the length?" Observe, गवां पद्माद्—अनुगु ॥

९५२ । द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदिः । ५ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अष्टप्रत्ययद्विलोपः समासश्च निपात्यते । यावती प्रकृतौ वेदिस्ततो द्विगुणा त्रिगुणा वाऽश्वमेधादौ तत्रेवं निपातनम् । वेदिरिति किम् । द्विस्तावती त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

952. The words dvistâvâ and tristâvâ are irregularly formed, when qualifying a vedi or 'altar.'

The affix अच् is added and the final syllable (*i. e.* दि) is elided. Thus द्विस्तावा वेदिः "an altar twice as big as an ordinary one." त्रिस्तावा वेदि "thrice as big as an ordinary altar." Such big altars are used in important sacrifices like Āśvamedha &c. The words are compounds of द्विः and त्रिः plus तावत् meaning "as much." Why do we say "when applied to an altar"? Observe द्विस्तावती रज्जुः, त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

९५३ । उपसर्गाद्ध्वनः । ५ । ४ । ८५ ॥

प्रगतोऽध्वनं प्राध्वो रथः ॥

953. The affix ach comes after the word adhvan, preceded by an upasarga in a compound.

Thus प्रगतोऽध्वानं = प्राध्वो रथः, 'a chariot.'

Note:—Why do we say "when preceded by an Upasarga"? Observe परमाध्वा उत्तमाध्वा ॥

९५४ । न पूजनात् । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

पूजनार्योत्प्रेभ्यः समासान्ता न स्युः । सुराजा । अतिराजा ॥

स्वतिभ्यामेव * ॥ नेह । परमराजः ।

पूजनात्किम् । गामतिक्रान्तोऽतिगवः । बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यङ्गोरित्यतः प्रागेवायं निषेधः । नेह । सुसक्त्यः । स्वक्षः ॥

954. The samāsānta affixes are not applied to those words, the first member of which is a word expressing praise.

The present rule prohibits the application of the samāsānta affixes when such words are preceded by a word expressing praise. Thus V. 4. 91 S. 788 ordains the affix टच् when the word राजन् enters a compound, as, महा + राजन् = महा + राजन् + टच् = महाराजः, and not महाराजा ॥ But सुराजा 'a good king' अतिराजा, 'an excellent king.'

Vārt :—The word expressing praise must be सु or अति and not any word expressing praise in general. Therefore, the prohibition does not apply in परमराजः and परमगवः ॥

Why do we say 'a word expressing praise' ? Observe अतिगवः 'a fool ;' literally 'one who surpasses a bull in folly.' This prohibition applies up to sūtra V. 4. 113 S. 852 exclusive. Thus सुसक्त्यः 'having handsome thighs ;' स्वक्षः, 'having beautiful eyes' here the affix कृच् (V. 4. 113 S. 852) is not prohibited.

९५५ । किमः क्षेपे । ५ । ४ । ७० ॥

क्षेपे वः किञ्चिदस्ततः परं यत्तदन्तास्समासान्ता न स्युः । कुस्त्रितो राजा किराजः । किसखा । किंगौ । क्षेपे किम् । किराजः । किसलः । किंगवः ॥

955. The samāsānta affix is not applied to a word preceded by किम् in the sense of reproach.

Thus किं + राजन् = किराजन् as किराजा यो न रक्षति " He is no-king who does not protect." किसखा योऽभिदुह्यति, किंगौर्यो न वहति ॥ (V. 4. 91. S. 788 V. 4. 92, S. 729 II. 1. 64 S. 743). The compounding here takes place by Rule II. 1. 64. S. 743

Why do we say 'when meaning reproach' ? Observe कस्य राजा = किराजः ; किसलः, किंगवः ॥

९५६ । नञस्तत्पुरुषात् । ५ । ४ । ७१ ॥

समासान्तो न । अराजा । असखा ; तत्पुरुषात्किम् । अधुरं शकटम् ॥

956. The samâsânta affix does not come after a Tatpurusha compound of words like râjan &c, herein taught, when the negative particle न precedes them.

Thus अराजा 'a no-king, i. e. one who is not a king ;' असखा, 'one who is not a friend ;' (V. 4. 91 S. 788 prohibited). Why do we say "after a Tatpurusha compound ?" The same words preceded by the negative particle will take the samâsânta affix when forming compounds, other than Tatpurusha, as अश्वरं शक्रदम् 'a car having no yoke.'

६५७ । पथो विभाषा । ५ । ४ । ७२ ॥

नङ्पूर्वात्पथो वा समासान्तः । अपथम् । अपन्याः । तत्पुरुषादित्येव । अपथो देशः । अपथं वर्तते ॥

957. The samâsânta affix does not optionally come after a Tatpurusha compound of the word पथिन् with नञ् ॥

This declares an option, where under the last sūtra the omission would have been necessary. Thus अपथम् or अपन्याः 'absence of road' (See V. 4. 74 S. 940 and II. 4. 30 S. 815). But अपथोदेशः 'having unsafe roads.' Here it is Tat-purusha.

Here ends the Samâsanta.

अथालुक्समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON NON-ELISION OF CASE-AFFIXES IN CERTAIN COMPOUNDS.

६५८ । अलुगुत्तरपदे । ६ । ३ । १ ॥

अलुगधिकारः प्रागानङः उत्तरपदाधिकारस्त्वापादसमाप्तेः ॥

958. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 S. 982 inclusive, is always to be supplied the phrase “the elision does not take place, before the second member of the compound.”

*Note:—*The words अलुक् ‘there is no elision,’ and उत्तरपदे “before the second member” are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words jointly govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, S. 982; while उत्तरपदे singly extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1. S. 200.) Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 S. 959 says “the affixes of the Ablative after ‘stoka’ &c.” The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. “the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c., are not elided before the second member of the compound.” Thus स्तोकान् धुक्तः = स्तोकान्धुक्तः, अल्पान्धुक्तः ॥ Why do we say “before the second member” ? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

६५९ । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २ ॥

एभ्यः पञ्चम्या अलुक् स्यादुत्तरपदे । स्तोकान्धुक्तः । एवमन्तिकार्थवृथार्यकृच्छ्रेभ्यः ।

उत्तरपदे क्रिप् । निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकान्निस्तोकः ॥

ब्राह्मणाच्छांसिन् उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शास्त्राणि उपचाराद् ब्राह्मणानि ; सानि शंसतीति ब्राह्मणाच्छंसी ऋत्विग्विशेषः । द्वितीयार्ये पञ्चम्युपसंख्यानदिक् ॥

959. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c. is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्धुक्तः, अल्पान्धुक्तः, अन्तिकादागतः, अभ्यासादागतः, दूरादागतः, विप्रकृष्टादागतः, कृच्छ्रान्धुक्तः ॥

*Note:—*By I. 2. 16, S. 179. a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called pratipadika, and by I. 4. 71 S. 650 the endings of a Prātīpadika

are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोक्रान् युक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक्र &c., in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोक्राभ्यां युक्तः, स्तोक्रेभ्यः युक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोक्रान् युक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 153, S. 3650 VI. 2. 144 S. 3878), the word स्तोक्राभ्यां युक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39 S. 701.

Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोक्रान् = निःस्तोक्रः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta deos not apply here.

Vart:—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शस्त्राणि = ब्राह्मणानि ; तानि शंसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् "a kind of Ritvic priest."

Note:—The object of making words like स्तोक्रान् युक्तः a compound is three fold. First एकपदम् *i. e.* they become *one* word. Thus the descendant of स्तोक्रान् युक्तः will be स्तोक्रान्युक्तिः, the Taddhita affix being added to the whole. Similarly the descendant of स्तोक्रान्युक्ता (Feminine) will be स्तोक्रान्युक्तेयः ॥ Second एकस्वर्यम् *i. e.* one accent, thus स्तोक्रान्युक्तः has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. S. 3878, read with VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, VI. 1. 158 S. 3650; Thirdly विशेषण योगाभावः *i. e.* the absence of adjective. No separate adjective can be added to these words *separately*.

Note:—The śāstras ordained in the Brāhmanas are called also metaphorically ब्राह्मणानि ॥ The priest who praises such śāstras is called ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् Here the fifth case has the force of the Accusative, by virtue of this vārtika. The शस्त्र is a kind of hymn of praise. The difference between śāstra and stotra is thus explained: श्रगीत मन्त्र साध्यगुणि निष्ठगुणाभिधानं स्तोत्रम् । अश्रगीतमन्त्रसाध्यगुणिनिष्ठ गुणाभिधानं शस्त्रम् ॥ One is sung with musical accompaniment, the other is merely recited. These are the technical terms of the sacrificial Priests.

६६० । ओजःसहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः । ६ । ३ । ३ ।

ओजसाकृतमित्यादि

अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अञ्जसाकृतम् । भार्जवेन कृतमित्यर्थः ॥

पुंसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति च * ॥ यस्यामजः पुमान् स पुंसानुजः । जनुषान्धो जात्यन्धः ॥

960. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् 'done with strength' &c.

Vart :—अङ्गस् also should be enumerated. Thus अङ्गसाकृतम् 'done correctly.'

Vart :—The compounds पुंसांनुजः and अनुबन्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसां हेतुनानुजः=पुंसांनुजः 'having an elder brother' अनुबा हेतुनाऽन्धः=अनुबन्धः 'blind from birth'. The word अनु is another name of जन्मम् 'birth.'

६६१ । मनसः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ४ ॥

मनसायुता ॥

961. After मनस् when the compound is a name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसायुता ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when a Name' ? Observe मनोदत्ता, मनोयुता ॥

९६२ । आज्ञायिनि च । ६ । ३ । ५ ॥

मनसःइत्येव । मनसा आज्ञातुं शीलमस्य मनसाज्ञायी ॥

962. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन्=मनसाऽऽज्ञायितुं शीलमस्य ॥ 'One knowing by mind.'

६६३ । आत्मनश्च । ६ । ३ । ६ ॥

आत्मनस्तृतीयाया अलुक् स्यात् ॥

पूरण इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पूरणप्रत्ययान्ते उत्तरपदे इत्यर्थः । आत्मनापञ्चमः । जनार्दनस्त्वा-
ल्लभ्यतुर्थ एवेति बहुव्रीहिर्बोध्यः ।

पूरणे किम् । आत्मकृतम् ॥

963. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided.

Vartika :—"When an Ordinal Numeral follows" should be added.

Thus आत्मनापञ्चमः, 'himself and four others.'

Note :—The Instrumental case here takes place under the *Vartika* तृतीया-
विधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसर्ख्यानं (II. 3. 18 *Vart* S. 561). And the compounding takes place by
II. 1. 30, S. 692 by separating कृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra
or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पञ्चमः=आत्मनापञ्चमः ॥

How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ्य in अनार्त्तस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ्य एव ? It is a Bahuvrihi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थ्योऽस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when an ordinal numeral follows'? Observe आत्मकृतम् .

६६४ । वैयाकरणाख्यायौ चतुर्थ्याः । ६ । ३ । ७ ॥

आत्मन इत्येव । आत्मनेपदम् । आत्मनेभाषा । तार्थ्ये चतुर्थ्येषा । चतुर्थीति योगविभागा-
स्तमासः ॥

964. The Dative case-ending is not elided after आत्मन्, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, S. 698 and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha. If we do not read the anuvritti of आत्मन्, we can then dispense with the subsequent sūtra, for then it will mean "the Dative ending is not elided in a technical term of grammar."

६६५ । परस्य च । ६ । ३ । ८ ॥

परस्मैपदम् । परस्मैभाषा ॥

965. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदम् "The Parasmaipada." &c.

९६६ । हलन्तादन्ताच्च सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ९ ॥

हलन्तादन्ताच्च सप्तम्या अलुक् संज्ञायाम् । त्वचिसारः ॥

966. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus त्वचिसारः :

९६७ । गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

आभ्यां स्थिरस्य सत्य षः स्यात् । गविष्ठिरः । अत्र गवीति षचनान्देशालुक् । युधिष्ठिरः । अरण्ये-
तिलकाः । अत्र संज्ञायामिति सप्तमीसमासः ॥

हव्युभ्यां च * ॥ हविस्पृक् । विविस्पृक् ॥

967. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर, 'firm in the sky.'

Though गो does not end in a consonant and so VI. ३. १. S. १६६ does not apply to it, yet it retains its Locative ending by the implication of this rule. So also ष ending words: as युधाष्ठिरः and अरण्य तलकः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. १. ४४ S. ७२१ and the ७th case affix is not elided by VI. ३. १ S. १६६.

Note :—Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or ष" ? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूय्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name' ? Observe अक्षशौण्डः ॥

Vart :—The Locative ending is not elided after हृद् and तद्दि; as हृदिस्पृक्, तदिदिस्पृक् = हृदयं तदिदि च स्पृशति ॥ The Locative has the force of accusative.

This rule is an exception by anticipation to VIII. ३. III S. २१२३.

६६८ । कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ । ६ । ३ । १० ॥

प्राचां देशो यत्कारनाम् तत्र हलादावुत्तरपदे हलवन्तास्सप्तम्या भलुक् । हुकुटेकार्पापणम् । हृदि माषकः । पूर्वोण सिद्धे नियमार्थम् । कारनाम्येव प्राचामेव हलादावेति । कारनाम्नि किम् । अभ्याहितपशुः । कारादन्यस्यैतदेव नाम । प्राचां किम् । यूयपशुः । हलादौ किम् । अविकटोरणः । हलवन्तास्किम् । नद्यां शोहः नदीशोहः ॥

968. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus हुकुटे कार्पापणम्, हृदिमाषकः ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a *niyama* or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we 'say when it is the name of a tax' ? Observe अभ्याहितपशुः = अभ्याहितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues,' but not of a 'tax' Why do we say "of the Eastern people" ? Observe यूयपशुः = यूयपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant' ? Observe

अविकटे उरणः = अविकटोरणः The word उरण means 'sheep.' A kind of tribute consisting of sheep given in the rainy season (avikata = मेघसंचात) ॥ Why do we say 'ending in a consonant or अ' ? Observe नद्यां शोहः = नदीशोहः ॥

६६६ । मध्याद्गुरो । ६ । ३ । ११ ॥

मध्येयुहः ॥ अन्ताद्य* ॥ अन्तेयुहः ॥

969. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As मध्येयुहः 'A word of three syllables having a long one in the middle.'

Var!—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेयुहः ॥

६७० । अमूर्धमस्तकात्स्वाङ्गादकामे । ६ । ३ । १२ ॥

कण्ठेकालः । उरसिलोमा । अमूर्धमस्तकात्किम् । मूर्धशिखः । मस्तकशिखः । अकामे किम् । दुखे कामोऽस्य मुखकामः ॥

970. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक' ? Observe मूर्धशिखः, मस्तकशिखः ॥ Why do we say 'other than काम' ? Observe :—दुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥

Note :—When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply : as अक्षसौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलिबाणः, जङ्घाबलिः ॥

६७१ । बन्धे च विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १३ ॥

हलन्तास्तप्तम्या अलुक् । हस्तेबन्धः । हस्तबन्धः । हलन्तेति किम् । युतिबन्धः ॥

971. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः ॥

Note :—This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrīhi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19 S. 977 when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not. The word बन्धः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we 'say the first member ending in a consonant or vowel अ' ?
Observe सुनिबन्धः ॥

६७२ । तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १४ ॥

स्तम्भेरमः । कर्णेजपः । कृचिन्न । कुरुचरः ॥

972. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्भेरमः 'an elephant.' कर्णेजपः "a secret traducer." But also कुरुचरः ॥

९७३ । प्रावृष्टशरत्कालादिवां जे । ६ । ३ । १५ ॥

प्रावृषिजः । शरदिजः । कालजः । विविजः । पूर्वस्यायं प्रपञ्चः ॥

973. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृष्ट, शरत्, काल and दिव्, when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृषिजः "produced in the rainy season ; a storm." शरदिजः, "autumnal," कालजः, 'produced in proper time'; "Heaven-born" This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

६७४ । विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् । ६ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभ्यः सप्तम्या षलुक् जं । वर्षेजः । वर्षजः । क्षरेजः । क्षरजः । शरेजः । शरजः । वरेजः । वरजः ॥

974. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्षे, क्षर, शर, and वर, when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः "produced by distillation or from a cloud ;" शरेजः or शरजः, "Kārtikeya." वरेजः or वरजः 'blessing-born'.

९७५ । घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । १७ ॥

सप्तम्या विभाषाऽलुक् स्यात् । घे पूर्वाह्ने, तरे । पूर्वाह्ने, तरे । पूर्वाह्ने, तमे । पूर्वाह्ने, तमे । काले । पूर्वाह्ने, काले । पूर्वाह्ने, काले । तने । पूर्वाह्ने, तने । पूर्वाह्ने, तने ॥

975. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time, ending in a consonant or अ, when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes तर and तम are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः--पूर्वाह्ने, तरे or पूर्वा-

ज्ञेतेर, पूर्वाङ्गत्वे or पूर्वाङ्गत्वे ॥ कालः—पूर्वाङ्गकाले or पूर्वाङ्गकाले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाङ्गत्वे or पूर्वाङ्गत्वे ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'after a time-name' ? Observe शुक्लतेरे, शुक्लत्वे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥ The word काल means the word-form काल and not time-denoting words in general. The affix तन is taught in IV. 3. 23. S. 1391.

६७६ । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् । ६ । ३ । १८ ॥

लेशयः । खशयः । मामेवासः । मामवासः । मामेवासी ॥ मामवासी ॥ हलन्ताविश्वेव । भूमिशयः ॥

अपो योनियन्मत्तुषु * ॥ अप्सु योनिरुत्पत्तिर्यस्य सोऽप्सुयोनिः । अप्सु भवोऽप्सव्यः । अप्सुमन्ता-वाज्यभागौ ॥

976. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन्, when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus लेशयः, or खशयः, मामेवासः or मामवासः, मामेवासिन् or मामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पूर्वाङ्गशयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vart :—The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when योनि, or the affix यत् or मत्तुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the दिगादि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54 S. 1429). Some give अप्सुजः and अप्सुचरः as additional illustrations. The two mantras अप्सवमे सधिष्टव (Rig VIII. 43. 9) and अप्सु मे सोमो अन्नवीत् (Rig I. 23. 20, X. 9. 6) are called अप्सुमन्तौ verses: the oblations offered with these are also so called.

६७७ । नेन्सिद्धवन्धातिषु च । ६ । ३ । १९ ॥

इमन्ताविषु सप्तम्या भलुप्र । स्थण्डिलशायी । साङ्काश्यसिद्धः । चक्रबन्धः ॥

977. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन् "an ascetic who sleeps on the bare ṣṭhaṇḍīla or sacrificial ground." साङ्काश्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः ॥

Note :—The compounding takes place by *yoga-vibhāga* of sūtra II. 1. 40 S. 717. Some use the word *चक्रबन्धः* as an illustration under this rule : *बन्ध* then is derived by *बन्ध्* of III. 1. 134 S. 2896.. The *बन्ध* ending in *घञ्* is governed by VI. 3. 13. S. 971. This sūtra is an exception to *Tatpuruṣa* VI. 3. 14 S. 972. In the *Bahuvrīhi*, option of S. 971 takes place.

The prohibition of this sūtra applies to *Tatpuruṣa* compounds only.

६७८ । एषे च भाषायाम् । ६ । ३ । २० ॥

सप्तम्या बहुलम् । समस्यः । भाषायां किम् । कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्टः ॥

978. The Locative ending is not preserved before *य* in the spoken language.

Thus *समस्यः* ॥ Why do we say 'in the spoken language'? Observe *आखरेष्टः* in the Veda, as in *कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्टः* ॥ *स* is changed to *ष* by VIII, 3. 106 S. 3643.

६७९ । षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे । ६ । ३ । २१ ॥

चौरस्य कुलम् । आक्रोशे किम् । ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

वाग्विक्लपयद्भ्यो युक्तिरण्डहरेषु * ॥ वाचोयुक्तिः । दिशोरण्डः । पश्यतोहरः ॥

आहुष्यायणाऽऽहुष्यपुत्रिकाऽऽहुष्यकुलिकेति च * ॥ अहुष्यापत्यं आहुष्यायणः । नडादिस्वात्मकम् । अहुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः आहुष्यपुत्रिका । मनोज्ञादिस्वाहुम् । एवमाहुष्यकुलिका ॥

देवानामिय इति च मूर्खे * ॥ अन्यच्च देवमियः ॥

रोपपुच्छलाङ्गुलेशु ह्युनः * ॥ ह्युनःरोपः । ह्युनःपुच्छः । ह्युनोलाङ्गुलः ॥

दिवश्च रासे * ॥ दिवोवासः ॥

979. The Genitive case-affix is retained, when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult.'

Thus *चौरस्यकुलम्* ॥ Why do we say "when insult is meant"? Observe *ब्राह्मणकुलम्* ॥

Vart :—The Genitive is not elided after *वाक्* when followed by *युक्तिः*; after *दिशू* before *ण्ड*, and after *पश्यत्* before *हर* ॥ As, *वाचोयुक्तिः*, *दिशोरण्डः*, *पश्यतोहरः* ॥ *पश्यन्तमनाहत्य हरति* "a robber who steals in the very sight of the owner, such as a goldsmith." The compounding is by II. 3. 38. S. 635.

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words *आहुष्यायणः*, *आहुष्यपुत्रिका* and *आहुष्यकुलिका* ॥ *अहुष्य* is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun *अहम्*, and is enumerated in the *नडादि* class (IV. 1. 99) and takes *फक्* in forming the Patronymic, *अहुष्यापत्यम्* = *आहुष्यायणः*, *अहुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः* = *आहुष्यपुत्रिका* formed by *डुम्* (V. 1. 133 S. 1798). So also *आहुष्यकुलिका* ॥

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः

Note :—The author of Siddhânta Kaumudi says “when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devânâṃ-priya” There is no authority for this, either in the Mahābhāṣya or the Kāśikā. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant ‘a fool.’ The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshita through Brahmanical spite. The Tattvabodhini justifies it by saying that fools only worship Devas, the wise know themselves to be Brahma and so do not offer prayer to any lower spirit. Fools are, therefore, the beloved of Devas.

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided after ष्वन् when होष, पुच्छ and क्षांभल follow it :—श्वनः होषः, श्वनः पुच्छः, श्वनोक्ष्मांभलः ॥ These are names of three Rishis.

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिव् when शस follows : as दिवोशसः ॥

६८० । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । २२ ॥

षष्ठ्याः पुत्रे परेऽलुक्वा निन्दायाम् । शस्याः पुत्रः । शसिपुत्रः । निन्दायां क्तिप् । ब्रह्मणी पुत्रः ॥

980. The genitive affix is optionally retained, when insult is meant, if पुत्र follows.

Thus शस्याः पुत्रः or शसिपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say ‘when insult is meant’? Observe ब्रह्मणीपुत्र ॥

६८१ । ऋतो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २३ ॥

विद्यासंबन्धयोनिसंबन्धवाचिन ऋवन्तात्षष्ठ्या अलुक् । होतुरन्तेवासी । होतुःपुत्रः । पितुरन्तेवासी । पितुःपुत्रः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यस्तत्पूर्वोत्तरपदग्रहणम् * ॥ नेह । होतृधनम् ॥

981. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पितुः पुत्रः ॥

Vartika :—The relationship through ‘study’ or ‘blood’ should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृ गृहम् पितृगृहम् ॥

६८२ । विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः । ६ । ३ । २४ ॥

ऋवन्तात्षष्ठ्य अलुक् वा स्वसृपत्योः परयोः ॥

982. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ , when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Note :—Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातृष्वसा , or मातृष्वसा , पितुःस्वसा or पितृष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII. 3. 84 ; S. 984. and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85 S. 983.) So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहिष्वपतिः , ननान्दु पतिः or ननान्दुपतिः ॥

६८३ । मातुःपितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ८५ ॥

आभ्यां स्वसुः सस्य षो वा स्यात् समासे । मातृष्वसा । मातुःस्वसा । पितृष्वसा । पितुःस्वसा ।
दुक्पक्षे तु ॥

983. The स् of स्वसृ is optionally changed to ष् , after मातुर् and पितुर् in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा , or मातृष्वसा ; पितृस्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ The words मातुर् and पितुर् end in र् , which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24 S. 280). In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a र् , the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a र् ending word.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वस , when the words are used separately in a sentence.

But when the genitive case-affix is elided, then the following sūtra applies.

६८४ । मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा । ८ । ३ । ८६ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य स्वसुः सस्य षः स्यात्समासे । मातृष्वसा । पितृष्वसा । असमासे तु मातुःस्वसा ।
पितुः स्वसा ॥

984. The स् of स्वसृ is changed to ष् after मातृ and पितृ in a compound where the case-affix is elided.

As मातृष्वसा , पितृष्वसा ॥ When there is no compounding then मातुः स्वसा and पितुः स्वसा . That is there is not even the *optional* ष of sūtra VIII. 3. 85 S. 983, when these words are used separately as a sentence.

Thus we have three cases :—

- (1) अलुक् समासे as, मातुः स्वसा or मातृष्वसा "mother's-sister."
- (2) Ordinary समास , as, मातृष्वसा "mother's-sister."
- (3) No samāsa , as मातुः स्वसा "mother's sister."

Here ends the chapter on Aluk Samāsa

अथ समासाश्रय विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXV.

SOME RULES DEPENDING ON COMPOUNDS.

६८५ । धरूपकल्पचेलञ्जुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ङीत्थोऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः । ६ । ३ । ४३ ॥

भाषितपुंस्काचो ङी तदन्तस्त्वनेकाचो ह्रस्वः स्यात् धरूपकल्पप्रत्ययेषु परेषु चेलङादिषु चोत्तर-
परेषु । ब्राह्मणितरा । ब्राह्मणितमा । ब्राह्मणिरूपा । ब्राह्मणिकल्पा । ब्राह्मणिचेली । ब्राह्मणिजुवा । ब्राह्म-
णिगोत्रेत्यादि । ज्ञम् पञ्चाद्यच्च वच्चदेशयुग्ययोरभावो निपात्यते । चेलङादीनि वृत्तिविषये कुत्सनवा-
चीनि ॥ तैः कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैरिति समासः । उभः किम् । इत्तातरा । भाषितपुंस्कात्किम् । आमलकीतरा
कुवलीतरा ॥

985. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, and before the words चेल (with the feminine in ई), जुव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix ङी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus च—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा ॥ ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणि-
जुवा, ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणमता and ब्राह्मणहतता ॥ च, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलङ् &c.
are words as second members; जुवः is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134 S. 2896)
added to झू, गुण and वच्च substitution being prevented anomalously. The
words चेल &c. denote censure as regards the livelihood of the person. The
compounding in the case of these takes place by II. 1. 53 S. 732.

Why do we say “ending in ई (ङी)” ? Observe इत्तातरा, युत्तातरा ॥ Why do we say “consisting of more than one syllable” ? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say “having a corresponding masculine” ? Observe आमलकीतरा ; कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली denote trees and are invariably feminine, having no equivalent masculine forms.

Note :—The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called च (I. 1. 22. S. 2003). They denote superlative comparative degrees. रूपप् is added in denoting praise (V. 3. 66 S. 2021). चेल is derived from चिल वसने ‘to dress.’ It means ‘garment.’ At the end of a compound it denotes bad, wicked, vile. The word is read in पञ्चादि class as चेलङ् (III. 1. 134. S. 2896) The ङ् indicates that the Feminine is with ङीप् (IV. 1. 15. S. 470).

In ब्राह्मणितरा there is not masculation as required by VI. 3. 35 S. 836 because of the prohibition of VI. 3. 41 S. 842.

६८६ । नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ४४ ॥

अङ्गवन्तनद्या ऋन्तस्येकाच यादिषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । ब्रह्मवन्धुतरा । ब्रह्मवन्धुतरा । खितरा । खीतरा ॥

कृन्तया न * ॥ लक्ष्मीतरा ॥

986. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadi (I. 4. 3 S. 266 and 4 S. 303), the substitution of short vowel before च &c. under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? They are of two sorts. First :—Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (ङी) and are called Nadi ; and secondly :—feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मवन्धुतरा or ब्रह्मवन्धुतरा, खितरा, or खीतरा ॥ The rule of masculation also does not apply.

Vart :—Nadi words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted : as लक्ष्मीतरा, लक्ष्मीतरा formed by the Upādi affix ई (Up III. 158, 160).

९८७ । उगितश्च । ६ । ३ । ४५ ॥

उगितः परा या नदी तदन्तस्य यादिषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । विदुषितरा । ह्रस्वाभावपक्षे तु तसिनादि भविति पुंवन् । विदुतरा । वृत्त्यादिषु विदुषीनरेत्यप्युदाहृतं तन्निर्मुलम् ॥

987. The feminine ई (ङी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before च &c. (VI. 3. 43 S. 985).

Thus विदुषितरा ॥ It is formed by the Taddhita affix क्तु ॥ In the alternative when there is no shortening, there is masculation under VI. 3. 35. S. 836, when we get the form विदुत्तरा ॥

In the Kāśikā, Prakriyā Kumudī &c, the alternative form given is विदुषीतरा । This is not valid : for the long ई can never come, as the rule of पुंवन् (S. 836) will at once apply in this alternative.

Note :—Or this latter form विदुत्तरा may be considered to have been evolved from विदुन्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

६८८ । हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयद्वल्गुत्वासेषु । ६ । ३ । ५० ॥

हृदयं लिखतीति हृल्लेखः । हृदयस्य मित्वं हृदयम् । हृदयस्त्वेवं हृदयम् । हृदयसः । लेखेत्यनन्तस्य यद्वल्गुत्वासेषु तु हृदयलेखः । लेखयद्वल्गुत्वासेषु हृदयकम् उत्तरपदाधिकारि तदन्तविधिर्नास्तीति ॥

988. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदं लिखति = हृद्वेः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृदम्, हृदयस्येहम् = हार्दम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृदलासः ॥ The word लेख here is derived by अण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by यम् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयं लिखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम्” ॥

Paribhasha :—“An affix, when employed in a rule in which the word-उत्तरपदे is valid, i. e. in a rule of VI. 3. 1. S. 958 does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.”

Note :—As a general maxim, an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तद्वि स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word य, अय &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य affix &c. But in this 3rd chapter of the sixth Book, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the above maxim : उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम् ॥ On the contrary, the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तर तम and तन in VI. 3. 17. S. 975 do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in the present sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares “हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख, and the affixes यत्, अण्, and लास follow”. Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण्, then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 S. 1391 for the affix तन ॥

६८६ । वा शोकस्यञ्जरोगेषु । इ । ३ । ५१ ॥

हृच्छोकः । हृदयशोकः । सौहार्दस्य । सौहृदस्यम् । हृद्रोगः । हृदयरोगः । हृदयशब्दपर्यायो हृच्छोकोऽप्यस्ति । तेन सिद्धे प्रपञ्चार्यमिहम् ॥

989. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग, or the affix अण् follows.

Thus हृच्छोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्दस्य or सौहृदस्यम् ॥ Here अण् is added, as हृदय belongs to Brāhmaṇādi-class V. 1. 124. S. 1788. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members हृ and हृ by VII. 3. 19 S. 1133. So also हृद्रोगः or हृदयरोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृन् which is a full word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.

६६० । पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु । ६ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषुत्तरपदेषु पादस्य पद इत्यदन्त आदेशः स्यात् । पादाभ्यामजतीति पदाजिः । पदातिः । अज्य-
तिभ्यां पादे चोतीन् प्रत्ययः । अज्यभ्यामो निपातनात् । पदगः । पदोपहतः ॥

990. पद् (Pada) is substituted for पाद् (pāda)
before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजति ; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामतति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are
formed by इण् from अज् and अत् (Un IV. 131), and irregularly अज्
is not changed to वी though required by II. 4. 56 S. 2292 before this affix.
So also पदगः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पदिनोपहतः ॥

Note :—The substitute is पद् pada, ending in short अ, and not पद् 'pad' :
for had पद् been the substitute we could not form पद् + ग = पदगः ॥ Moreover in the next
sūtra, the substitution taught is पद् (Pad) without the final अ ; so the पद् of this
is with final अ ॥ The word पद् has no case-affix as a sūtra anomaly.

६६१ । पद्यत्यतदर्थे । ६ । ३ । ५३ ॥

पादस्य पत्स्यादतदर्थे यति परे । पादो विध्यन्ति पद्याः शर्कराः । अतदर्थे किम् । पादार्थमुत्कं
पाद्यम् । पादार्थाभ्यां चोति यत् ॥

इको चरताडुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पादाभ्यां चरति पदिकः । पर्पादित्वात् छन् ॥

991. पद् is substituted for पाद् before the affix यत्,
used in any sense other than that of "suited there to."

Thus पादौविध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः ॥ Why do we say 'when यत् is used in
any sense other than that of "suited there to" ? Observe पाद्यम् = पादार्थमुत्कं ॥
(see IV. 4. 83 S. 1635 and V. 4. 25 S. 2093).

Vart :—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of ' he walks there by ', पद्
is substituted for पाद् ; as पादाभ्यां चरति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10 S. 1558.) by छन् affix.

Note :—The word पाद् in this sūtra means ' the actual foot ', a part of animal
organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, S. 1699 as
द्विपाद्यम्, निपाद्यम् because पाद् here denotes ' a measure '.

९९२ । हिमकाविहतिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५४ ॥

पञ्चिमम् । पस्काधी । पञ्चतिः ॥

992 पद् is substituted for पाद् before हिम, काविन् and
हति ॥

Thus पञ्चिमम्, (= पादस्य शीवं) पत्काभिन् (= पादचारिणः) (with शिनि of III. 2. 78. S. 2988) as in अथ पत्काभिणी यान्ति, and पञ्चतिः (पदाभ्यां हन्यते) ॥ इति is formed with क्तिन् (कर्मणि क्तिन्) ॥

६६३ । ऋचः शे । ६ । ३ । ५५ ॥

ऋचः पादस्य पत्स्याच्छे परे । गायत्री पच्छः शंसति । पादपादमित्यर्थः । ऋचः क्तिन् । पादशः कार्षापणं ददाति ॥

993. पद् is the substitute for पाद् before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री शंसति=पादं पादं शंसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. S. 2110. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्षापणं ददाति ॥

६६४ । वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु । ६ । ३ । ५६ ॥

पादस्य पद् । पद्घोषः । पादघोषः । पन्मिश्रः । पादमिश्रः । पच्छब्दः । पादशब्दः ॥ निष्के चेति वाच्यम् * ॥ पन्निष्कः । पादनिष्कः ॥

994. This substitution of पद् for पाद् is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पन्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vart:—So also before निष्कः as पन्निष्कः or पादनिष्कः ॥

६९५ । उदकस्याद् संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ५७ ॥

उदमेघः ॥

उत्तरपादस्य चोति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ क्षीरोदः ॥

995. उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha',

Note :—The well-known Patronymic from this is क्षीरमेघिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vart:—उद is the substitute for उदक, when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name : as, क्षीरोदः ॥

६६६ । पेयवासवाहनभिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५८ ॥

उदपेयविनष्टि । उदवासः । उदवाहनः । उदभिषदः । सद्युगे तु पूर्वेषु सिद्धम् ॥

996. उद् is substituted for उक् before पेक्ष, वास, वाहन्, and धि ॥

Thus उदपेक्षं विनष्टि formed by ययुल् by III. 4. 38. S. 3359. उदवासः = उक्कस्यवासः, so also उदवाहनः ॥ उदकं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उदधिः 'a water jar'. The affix is कि (III. 3. 93 S. 3271). When the meaning is 'ocean', this form उदधिः will be evolved by the preceding sūtra, for then it is a sanjñā or name.

६६७ । एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ५९ ॥

उदकुम्भः । उक्कुम्भः । एकेति किम् । उक्कस्याली । पूरयितव्येति किम् । उक्कपर्वतः ॥

997. उद् is optionally substituted for उक्क before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उदकुम्भः, or उक्कुम्भः, उदपात्रम् or उक्कपात्रम् ॥ Why do we say 'एकहलादि' meaning 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'? Because the rule does not apply to उक्कस्याली as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant. Why do we say 'that which is filled with water'? Observe उदकपर्वतः ॥

६६८ । मन्यौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

उदमन्यः । उक्कमन्यः । उदौदनः । उक्कोदनः ॥

998. उद् is optionally substituted for उक्क before मन्य, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उदकेन मन्यः = उदमन्य or उक्कमन्यः । उदकेनौदन, उदौदनः or उक्कोदनः । सक्तुः । उदकेन सक्तुः, उदसक्तु or उक्कसक्तुः । बिन्दु । उदकस्य बिन्दुः, उदबिन्दुः or उक्कबिन्दुः । वज्र । उदकस्य वज्रः उदवज्रः or उक्कवज्रः । भार । उदकं किमतीति उदभारः । or उक्कभारः । हार उदकं हरतीति, उदहारः or उक्कहारः । वीवध । उदकस्य वीवध, उदवीवधः or उक्कवीवधः । गाह । उदकं गाहत इति, उदगाहः or उक्कगाहः ॥

६६९ । इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्गो गालवस्य । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

इगन्तस्याङ्गन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्वादुत्तरपदे । ग्रामनिपुत्रः । ग्रामणीपुत्रः । इकः किम् । स्नापतिः । अङ्ग इति किम् । गौरीपतिः । गालवमहणं पूजार्थम् । अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवृत्तेः ॥

इयङ्कुवङ्गाविनामव्ययानां च नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ श्रीमदः । भूभङ्गः । शुक्लीभावः ॥

अधूकुसादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ भूकुसः । भूकुटिः । भूकुसः । भूकुटिः । अकारोऽनेन विधीयत इति व्याख्यानान्तरम् ॥ भूकुसः । भूकुटिः ॥ भूना कुंसो भ्रमणं बोधो वा यस्य सः स्त्रीवैवधादिर्गतकः । भ्रव. कुटिः कौटिल्यम् ॥

999. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second

member for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (डी)

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (डी) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound, before the second member. Thus आशयिषुः or आशयिषुः, अन्नबन्धुषुः or अन्नबन्धुषुः ॥

Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe रमापतिः ॥ Why no we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix डी'? Observe गौरीपतिः ॥ The name of Galava is mentioned pujārtha; for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra.

Vat :—It does not apply to Avyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इवङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीमन्ः । भूमन्ः । सुक्रीभावः ॥

Vat :—It does however apply to भूकुस &c, as भूकुसः, or भूकुसः, or भूकुसः । भूकुसः । Others say च is substituted for भू &c. as भूकुसः and भूकुसः ॥ भूकुस means an 'actor,' literally "he who talks (kunse) by the contraction of the eye-brows, or whose ornament (kunsā) are the eye-brows." A male actor who plays the part of a female. भूकुसि means 'knitting of the eye-brows, or frown.'

१००० । एक तद्धिते च । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

एकशब्दस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात्तद्धिते उत्तरपदे च । एकस्या भागतं एकरूप्यम् । एकशीरम् ॥

1000. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या भागतं = एकरूप्यम् ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम् ॥

Note :—The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. 3 35. S. 836 i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine, which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the final letter, and not to a vowel situated in the beginning of a word.

१००१ । ज्यापोः संज्ञाकृन्वसोर्धुलम् । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

रेवकिपुः । अजक्षीरम् ॥

1001. The short *i* is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ङी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः । नान्दीघोषः, । नान्दीविशालः ॥

So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिहारा, प्रदर्विषा ; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as काल्युनीवीर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥

आप् ending words in Name : भजसीरम् ; शिलप्रस्थम् ; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas :—भजसीरेण ह्यहोति, ऊर्णम्रसा पृथिवीं विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णसूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

१००२ । त्वे च । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

त्वप्रत्यये ङ्गापौर्वा ह्रस्वः । भजस्त्वम् । भजास्त्वम् । रोहिणित्वम् । रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

1002. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus भजाया भावः = भजस्त्वं or भजास्त्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

Note :—These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

Now we take up the compounding of कौमुदगन्ध्या + पुत्रः ॥ In compounding these, tow words, the following rule applies.

१००३ । व्यङ्गः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे । ६ । १ । १३ ॥

व्यङ्गस्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य संप्रसारणं स्यात्पुत्रपत्योरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे ॥

1003. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

Therefore कौमुदगन्ध्या + पुत्र = कौमुदगन्धि + पुत्रः ॥ Then applies the next sūtra, by which इ is lengthened.

Note :—When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix व्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus करीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धिः (a Bahuvrīhi compound taking the samāsanta affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 127 S. 866) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धि + भण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088) = कारिषगन्ध ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) Thus we have कारिषगन्ध्या (see IV. 1. 73 S. 1198). Now in forming the Tatpurusha

compound of this word with पुञ् or पति, the final इ will be changed into इ and we have कारीषगन्धी पुञः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The आ of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108 S. 330), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139 S. 1004). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुञः or कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix इञ्" ? Observe इञ्चापुञः। कभीयापुञः ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुञ् or पति" ? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याकुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpurusha compound" ? Observe कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य ग्रामस्य = कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरयं ग्रामः ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The affix इञ् is here the feminine affix इ followed by चाप् (आ) (see IV. I. 77 and 74).

१००४ । संप्रसारणस्य । इ । ३ । १३०. ॥

संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घः स्यादुत्तरपदे । कौमुदगन्ध्यायाः पुञः कौमुदगन्धीपुञः । इवत्यतिविभाषया इहो न । स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जनेनेति तदादिनियमप्रतिषेधात् । परमकारीषगन्धीपुञः । उपसर्जनं तु तदादिनिषमन्नेह । अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुञः ॥

1004. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कौमुदगन्धीपुञः । कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13 S. 1003.

कारीषस्येव गन्धीऽस्य = कारीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta by V. 4. 136 and 137 S. 875 and 876). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61 S. 999 does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option ; moreover, on the maxim of परस्पर, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139 S. 1004 and the rule VI. 3. 61 S. 999 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानं "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival, सङ्कृता विप्रतिषेधेयद्वयधितं तद्वाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself : प्रत्ययप्रत्यये चत्नात् स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तम्य ग्रहणम्" ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply

in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word-form is subordinate : स्त्रीप्रत्यये चातुपसर्जने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुषः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुषः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याय = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुषः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

१००५। बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ । ६ । १ । १४ ॥

बन्धुशब्दे उत्तरपदे व्यङ्गः संप्रसारणं स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । कारीषगन्ध्या बन्धुरस्येति कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः । बहुव्रीहौ विति किम् । कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः । स्त्रीनिर्देशस्तु शब्दस्वरूपापेक्षया ॥ मातृमातृकमातृषु वा " ॥ कारीषगन्धीमातः । कारीषगन्ध्यामातः । कारीषगन्धीमातृकः । कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः । कारीषगन्धीमाता । कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । अस्मादेव निपातनात्मातृशब्दस्य मातृशब्दः । 'नयुतश्च' (८३३) इति कविकल्पश्च । बहुव्रीहौ चैवेदम् । नेह । कारीषगन्ध्याया माता कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । विश्वसामर्थ्याच्चित्स्वरौ बहुव्रीहिस्वरं बाधते ॥

1005. There is vocalisation of the affix **बन्धु** when the word **बन्धु** follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौटुम्बगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Though the word **बन्धुनि** is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word. It is shown as neuter only as regards the word-form **bandhu**.

Vart :—There is vocalisation of **बन्धु** in a Bahuvrīhi compound with **मातृ**, **मातृक** and **मातृ** optionally : as कारीषगन्धीमातः or कारीषगन्ध्या मातः, कारीषगन्धीमातृक or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in **कृ** take the samāsānta affix **कप्**, so **मातृ** would have become **मातृक** by force of V. 4. 153, S. 833. So the separate enumeration of **मातृ** and **मातृक** here shows that **कप्** is also optional. The rule is confined to Bahuvrīhi compounds. Therefore in Tatpurusha compounds there is no option, we have only one form, as कारीषगन्ध्याया "the mother of Kārtishagandhyā".

The indicative **च** of **मातृ** makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710), thus debarring the special accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1. S. 3735).

१००६ । इष्टकेशीकामालानां चित्तूलभारिणु । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

इष्टकाशीनां तदन्तानां च. पूर्वपदानां चित्तादिषु क्रमादुत्तरपदेषु इत्यः स्यात् । इष्टकचितम् । पक्षेष्टकचितम् । इषीकतूलम् । दुज्जेषीकतूलम् । मालभारी । उत्पलमालभारी ॥

1006. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित्, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिण् ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c as they fall under Padādhikāra. So that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्षेष्टकचितम्. दुज्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

१००७ । कारे सत्यागदस्य । ६ । ३ । ७० ॥

मुम् स्यात् । सत्यङ्कारः । अगदङ्कारः ।

अस्तोषेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अस्तुङ्कारः ॥

धेनोर्भव्यायाम् * ॥ धेनुर्भव्या ॥

लोकस्य पूणे * ॥ लोकम्पूणः । पूण इति मूलविभुजादिस्थाक्कः ॥

इत्येऽनभ्याशस्य * ॥ अनभ्याशमित्यः । वूरत्. परिहर्तव्य इत्यर्थः ।

आष्ट्राग्न्योरिन्धे * ॥ आष्ट्रमिन्धः । अग्निमिन्धः ॥

गिलेऽगिलस्य * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलः । अगिलस्य किम् । गिलगिलः ॥

गिलगिले च. * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

उष्णभङ्गयोः करणे. * ॥ उष्णङ्करणम् । भङ्गङ्करणम् ॥

1007. मुम् is the augment of सत्य- and अगद- when the word कार follows.

As सत्यङ्कारः = सत्यङ्करोति or सत्यस्यङ्कारः 'to take oath'. So also अगदङ्कारः "a physician."

Vart :—So also of अस्तु; as अस्तुङ्कारः "efficacious, working as a medicine."

Note :—So also in Vedas, of भञ्ज before कार—e. g. भञ्जङ्कार, in secular language भञ्जङ्कारः ॥

Vart :—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुर्भव्या (धेनुश्चासौभव्या च) ॥

Vart :—Of लोक before पूण; e. g. लोकपूणा "filling or pervading the

world." As लोकमृजेः परिमलेः परिपूरितस्य ॥ पूज is formed by the affix क (III. 2. 5. S. 2919 vart.) added to the root पूज् ॥ as it belongs to the Mūla-vibhujādi class.

Vart :—Of अनभ्यास before इत्य as अनभ्यासानित्यः "to be shunned from afar."

Vart :—Of भाष्ट्र and ञमि, before इन्धः, as भाष्ट्रमिन्धः, ञमिमिन्धः "one who fries or roasts."

Vart :—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. तिमिङ्गिलः "a kind of fish which swallows a *timi*." But गिलगिलः ॥

Vart :—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vart :—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णकरण and भद्रकरण ॥

१००८ । रात्रेः कृति विभाषा । ६ । ३ । ७२ ॥

रात्रिञ्चरः । रात्रिचरः । रात्रिमदः । रात्र्यदः । अखिर्यनिदं सूत्रम् । खिति तु भरुर्द्विषसिति नित्यमेव वक्ष्यते । रात्रिमन्यः ॥

1008. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमदः or रात्र्यदः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. This sūtra applies to words not formed by a खिन् affix. The augment हुम् is compulsory by VI. 3. 67 S. 2942 before a kṛt-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिमन्यः ॥ Here the affix खश् (III. 2. 83 S. 2993) is added to the root मन्; and as it is a sārvaadhātuka affix, because it has an indicatory ख, therefore the vikaraṇa इयन् is added.

१००९ । सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ७८ ॥

उत्तरपदे । सपलाशम् । संज्ञायां किम् । सहयुध्वा ॥

1009. स is substituted for सह, in a Name, when followed by another word in a compound.

Thus सपलाशम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुध्वा formed by कनिष् (III. 2. 96 S. 3006). The ई is not added in the Feminine, because of the vārtika under IV. 1. 7. S. 456.

१०१० । ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च । ६ । ३ । ७९ ॥

अनयोः परयोः सहस्य सः स्यादुत्तरपदे । सदुद्धर्ते ज्योतिषमधीते । सङ्गोष्णा खारि ॥

1010. स is the substitute for सह, in a compound when followed by another word, when it has the sense of

‘upto the end’ (in connection with a literary work) or ‘more.’

Thus सकलं = कलान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also समुहूर्तम् = (सुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ सः संग्रहं (= संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by °अन्त-वचने (II. 1. 6 S. 652). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81 S. 660. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that ‘of the end of a book.’ When the sense is that of ‘more,’ we have सन्नोणाख्यारी, समाप्तः कार्षापणः । सकाकिणीको माषः ॥

१०११ । द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये । ६ । ३ । ८० ॥

अनुमेये द्वितीये सहस्य सः स्यात् । सराक्षसीका निशा । राक्षसी साक्षादनुपलभ्यमाना निशायाऽनुमीयते ॥

1011. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter, however, is not directly perceived.

Note:—Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, ‘the non-principal is called the ‘second’ or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called अनुपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus साम्नि (कपोतः) ‘a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where.’ सपिशाचा वात्या “a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas.”

सराक्षसीका निशा. Here the fire, the Piśācha or the Rākshas as are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon, storm-wind and night. In सराक्षसीका, there is added क् by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

१०१२ । समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्धप्रभृत्युदकेषु । ६ । ३ । ८४ ॥

समानस्य सः स्वादुत्तरपदे नतु मूर्धादिषु । अनु भ्राता सगर्भः । अनु सखा सद्युधः । जो नः सनुत्यः । सन्नभय इत्यर्थे सगर्भसयूयसनुताद्यत् । अमूर्धादिषु क्रिप् । समानमूर्धा । समानप्रभृतयः । समानोदकाः । समानस्योति यागो विभज्यते । तेन सपक्षः साधर्म्ये सजातीयमित्यादि सिद्धमिति काशिका । अथवा सहस्रशब्दः सहस्रवचनोप्यास्ति । सहस्रः सख्या ससर्षीति यथा । तेनाद्यमस्वपदविग्रहो बहुव्रीहिः । समानः पक्षोऽस्येत्यादि ॥

1012. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas but not before मूर्धन्, प्रभृति and उर्ध्वः ॥

Thus अनुभाता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सग्रन्थः, योनः समुत्पः (IV. 4. 114 S. 3460). समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भः formed by क्त affix IV. 4. 114 S. 3460. Why do we say 'not before मूर्धन् &c.' Observe समानमूर्ध्नी, समानप्रभृत्यः, समानो-र्ध्वः ॥

"The sūtra should be divided into two viz., समानस्य forming one sūtra, and छन्दस्यमूर्ध्वं &c., another. This we do in order to get the forms सपक्षः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयम् &c., in secular language also." Thus says the author of the Kāśikā.

Or we may say the word सह means also सदृश, as we have already seen in the word ससखी (= सदृश सख्या). Therefore the above are Bahuvrīhis, which should be analysed thus समानः पक्षोऽस्य = सपक्षः &c. Here स is an elliptical form of सह meaning sadṛśa. See VI. 3. 82 S. 849 by which सह is changed to स ॥

Note:—This sūtra is a Vaidic rule and ought to have been taught by Bhattoji in the Vaidic chapter. He has taught it here in order to show that by Yoga vibhāga it can be applied to ordinary language also.

But if the view be taken that in सपक्षः &c., the स is सह, then there is no necessity of Yoga-vibhāga; for the Māhābhāṣya has not shown this splitting of this particular sūtra.

१०१३ । ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयवचनबन्धुषु ।
६ । ३ । ८५ ॥

एषु द्वादशसुत्तरपदेषु समानस्य सः स्यात् । सज्योतिः । सजनपद इत्यादि ॥

1013. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before the twelve words ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सजनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सर्वयः, सवयः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

Note:—सज्योतिस् (neut) is the period of impurity which lasts up to the setting of the sun or the asterism in which the impurity commenced.

१०१४ । चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि । ६ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य सः स्याच्चरणे समानत्वेन गम्यमाने । चरणः शाला । ब्रह्म वेदः । सव्यवहार्यं व्रतमपि ब्रह्म । तच्चरतीति ब्रह्मचारी । समानः सः सब्रह्मचारी ॥

1014. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study ब्रह्म means the Vedas. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sabrahmachāri. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow, is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥

Note :—सब्रह्मचारिन् therefore means a co-student, one who reads the same Vedic portion as the other.

१०१५ । तीर्थे ये । ६ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तीर्थे उत्तरपदे यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते समानस्य सः स्यात् । सतीर्थः = एकगुरुकः । समानतीर्थेण सीति वक्ष्यत्ययः ॥

1015. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ, when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थः = समान-सीर्थे यादौ (IV. 4. 107 S. 1658) 'a fellow-student,' i. e. whose preceptor is one and the same person: who are studying under a common teacher. The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 107 S. 1658.

१०१६ । विभाषोदरे । ६ । ३ । ८८ ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते इत्येव । सोदर्थः । समानोदर्थः ॥

1016. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

सोदर्थः or समानोदर्थः (IV. 4. 108 S. 1659).

१०१७ । हृद्दृश्वतुषु । ६ । ३ । ८९ ॥

सहृक् । सहृशः ॥

हृशे चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सहृशः । वतुरुत्तरार्थः ॥

1017. स is substituted for समान, before हृक्, हृश् and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सहृक्, सहृशः ॥ The affixes क्त्, and क्तिन् are added to हृश् under III. 2. 60 S. 429. *Vart* which give us the forms हृक् and हृश ॥

Vart:—So also before हत्त as सहत्तः ॥ हत्त is formed by क्त affix under III. 2. 60S. 429 Vārtika.

The affix वत्तु is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

१०१८ । इदं किमोरीशकी । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

इदं हत्तवत्तुषु इदम् ईश किम् की स्यात् । ईदक् । ईदशः । कीदक् । कीदशः । वत्तुवाहरणं वक्ष्यते ।
हत्ते च । ईदशः । कीदशः ॥ आ सर्वनाम् ॥ हत्ते च । तादक् । तादशः ॥ तावान् । तादत्तः । शीर्षः ।
मत्तोत्वे । अमूदक् । अमूदशः । अमूदशः ॥

1018. ई is substituted for इदम् and की for किम् before the words हक् , हश् and the affix वत्तु ॥

Thus ईदक्, ईदशः and इवान् , कीदक्, कीदशः and कियान् ॥

Note :—ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई + इयत् and की + इयत् by V. 2. 40 S. 1841 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311 and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vart :—So also before हत्त, as ईदत्तः and कीदत्तः ॥

So also when the rule VI. 3. 91 S. 430 applies and आ is added to pronouns, as तादक्, तादशः, तावान् and तादत्तः ॥

So also in the case of the Pronoun अहम् when it takes the long अ (VII. 3. 91 S. 430), and म and उ substitutions: (VIII. 2. 80 S. 419) as—
अमूदक् ; अमूदशः ; अमूदशः ॥

१०१९ । समासेऽङ्गुलेः सङ्गः । ८ । ३ । ८० ॥

अङ्गुलिष्वशास्त्रस्य सत्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । अङ्गुलिषङ्गः । समासे किम् । अङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥

1019. ण् is substituted for the स् of ङ्गस after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्ग ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe अङ्गुलेः सङ्गं ॥

Note :—The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. सङ्गस्य ॥

१०२० । भीरोः स्थानम् । ८ । ३ । ८१ ॥

भीरुष्वशात् स्थानस्य सत्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । भीरुस्थानम् । असमासे तु । भीरोः स्थानम् ॥

1020. ण् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरि in a compound.

Thus श्रीरुद्रानम् ॥ The word "compound" is understood here also ; otherwise श्रीतोः स्थाने ॥

१०२१ । ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आभ्यां स्तोमस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्वात्समासे । ज्योतिष्टोमः । आयुष्टोमः । समासे किम् । ज्योतिषः स्तोमः ॥

1021. The स् of स्तोमः is changed to ष् after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिष्टोमः, आयुष्टोमः ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound' ? Observe ज्योतिषः स्तोमः where there is no compounding.

१०२२ । सुषामादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ९८ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्यः । शोभनं साम यस्य सुषामा । सुषन्धिः ॥

1022. The स् is changed to ष् in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥ So also सुषन्धिः ॥

Note :—1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 गौरिषक्यः संज्ञायाम् 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलावाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेचनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेचनम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्; षेचनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 हरिषेणः, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, रोहिणीषेण ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, S. 2123 others would never have taken ष्, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachantiya (I. 4. 94 S. 555) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्री; so VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The word सेध here is a चम् formed word, from विधू हिंसा संराद्धोः; if it be derived from विध गत्यात्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113 S. 2278. The words सुषन्धिः, दुःषन्धिः &c., are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92 S. 3270); and the स of सम् is changed to ष् ॥ The words सुष्टु दुष्टु are Upâdi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिषक्यः is a Bahuvrīhi, the स of सक्रिय is changed to ष् and the Samâsânta षच् is added (V. 4. 113 S. 852). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63 S. 1001. The change takes place when it is a Name. The word प्रतिष्णिका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root ञा, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106 S. 3283), and we have प्रतिष्णा with दाप्; then क is added by V. 3. 73 S. 2028 and आ shortened (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), and इ added by VII. 3. 44 S. 463 The word नौषेचनं is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिषेचनं is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीध्वति ॥ There are two sūtras in the above list. They are explained below.

१०२३ । एति संज्ञायामगात् । ८ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सस्य नृधन्यः । हरिषेणः ॥ एति किम् । हरिसक्यम् । संज्ञायां किम् । पृथुसेनः । अगकारात्किम् । विष्वक्सेनः । इण्कोरित्वेव । सर्वसेनः ॥

1023 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इण् or कु is changed to ए, when the word is a name, and when the स् is not preceded by ग् ॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेणः, so also वारिषेणः, जानुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथु-सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34 S. 831). Why do we say 'when the स् is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इण्कोः (VIII. 3. 57 S. 211) is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेने ॥

Note ;—This sūtra is read in the list of Sushāmādi class (see the last sūtra 1022) so also the next sūtra. They have been inserted in the Aṣṭādhyāyī from the Gaṇapāṭha.

१०२४ । नक्षत्राद्या । ८ । ३ । १०० ॥

एति सस्य संज्ञायामगकारान्धन्यो वा । रोहिणीषेणः । रोहिणीसेनः । अगकारात्किम् । सप्त-भिषक्सेनः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1024 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ए substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणीषेणः or रोहिणीसेनः ॥ Why do we say 'when not preceded by अ'? Observe भिषक् सेनः where the preceding letter is ए ॥

Note :—These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the सुषामादि Gaṇa. They have, since long, been raised to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ए changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under the Sushāmādi gaṇa.

१०२५ । अवष्टुचतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारक-रागच्छेषु । ६ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अन्यशब्दस्य दुगागमः स्वाशशीरादिषु परेषु । अन्यवासीः । अन्यवासा । अन्यवास्या । अन्यवास्थितः । अन्यदुत्सुकः । अन्यदूतिः । अन्यद्वागः । अन्यशीयः ॥ अवष्टीत्यादि किम् । अन्यस्याऽन्येन वासीः अन्यासीः । कारको छे च वाचं निषेधः । अन्यस्य कारकः अन्यत्कारकः । अन्यस्यावमन्वदीयः । गह्वरेराकृतिगण-स्याच्छः ॥

1025. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (दु), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यवाशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यवाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यवास्था
अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यवास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यदूतिः, अन्यः कारकः
अन्यस्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्वारागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यद्विद्यः ॥
It takes छ because it belongs to गृहादि class (IV. 2. 138 S. 1362.) Gāhādī is Akritigaṇa.

Why do we say 'when not in the Genitive or the Instrumental'? Observe अन्यस्व आशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c: as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकः, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यद्विद्यम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अपञ्चि and अतृतीया), implies this.

१०२६ । अर्थे विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १०० ॥

अन्यदर्थः । अन्यार्थः ॥

1026. दुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थे follows.

As अन्यदर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

१०२७ । कोः कत्तत्पुरुषेऽचि । ६ । ३ । १०१ ॥

अजादावुत्तरपदे । कुत्सितोऽश्वः कश्चः । कश्चम् । तत्पुरुषे किम् । कुट्टो राजा ॥
चौ च * ॥ कुत्सिताश्वय कश्चयः ॥

1027. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpuruṣa, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कश्चः, कश्चम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpuruṣa? Observe कुट्टो राजा ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel." ?
Observe कुट्टाश्वय, कुट्टुश्वः ॥

Vat :—कत् is substituted before चय, as कत्तयः = कुत्सिताश्वयः ॥

१०२८ । रथवदयोश्च । ६ । ३ । १०२ ॥

कश्चयः । कश्चः ॥

1028. कद् is substituted for कु before रय and वद also.

Thus कद् रयः. कद् वदः ॥

१०२६ । तृणे च जातौ । ६ । ३ । १०३ ॥

कचृणम् ॥

1029. कद् is substituted for कु. when तृण follows denoting a species.

As कचृणा नाम जाति ॥ But कुस्तितानि तृणानि = कुचृणानि ॥

१०३० । का पथ्यक्षयोः । ६ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कापथम् । काक्षः । अक्षराद्येन तत्पुरुषः । अक्षराद्येन बहुव्रीहिर्वा ॥

1030. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथम् and काक्षः ॥ The latter is a Tatpurusha, if the second word is *aksha* ; and it is Bahuvrīhi also, if the second term is *akshi*.

१०३१ । ईषदर्थे । ६ । ३ । १०५ ॥

ईषजलं काजलम् । अजादावपि परस्वात्कांश्च । काम्लम् ॥

1031. का is the substitute of कु, when the meaning is 'a small.'

As काम्लपुरम्, कालवणम् । काजलम् "a little water." Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 S. 1027 because this sūtra is *subsequent* in order ; as काम्लम् ॥

१०३२ । विभाषा पुरुषे । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

कापुरुषः । कुपुरुषः । अमाताविभाषेयम् । ईषदर्थे हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधान्नित्यमेव । ईषत्पुरुषः । कापुरुषः ॥

1032. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कुपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāṣā. In the sense of 'a little ईषद्', the substitution is compulsory and not optional, by the setting aside of the prior, as ईषत् पुरुष = का पुरुषः ॥

१०३३ । कवं चोष्णे । ६ । ३ । १०७ ॥

उष्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे कोः कं का च वा स्यात् । कवोष्णम् । कोष्णम् । कदुष्णम् ॥

1033. का and कव are optionally the substitutes of कृ when उष्ण follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

१०३४ । पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

पृषोदरप्रकाराणि शिष्टैर्यथाचारितानि तथैव साधूनि स्युः । पृषतः उदरं पृषोदरम् । ततोपः । वारिवाहको बलाहकः । पूर्वपदस्य वः उत्तरपदादेश्च लत्वम् ॥

भवेद्गुणमाजसंः सिंहो वर्णावपर्ययात् । गूढोऽस्मा वर्णविकृतेवर्णनात्पृषोदरम् ॥

दिकशब्देभ्यस्तीरस्य तारभावो वा * ॥ दक्षिणतारम् । दक्षिणतीरम् । उत्तरतारम् । उत्तरतीरम् ॥

दुरो वासानाशवन्ध्येषूत्पन्नोत्तरपदादेः दुस्वं च * ॥

दुःखेन वाच्यते वृडाशः । दुःखेन नाच्यते वृणाशः । दुःखेन दम्भ्यते वृडमः । खल् चिभ्यः । इन्मेर्नलोपो निपात्यते । दुःखेन ध्यायतीति वृहयः । आतद्येति कः । ब्रुवन्तांस्त्वां सीदन्तीति वृसी । ब्रुवच्छब्दस्य वृ आदेशः सरेरधिकरणे उड् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1034. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषोदर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपदिष्टम् = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुदरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्धानं यस्य = पृषोद्धानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वारिवाहकः = बलाहकः, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहकः ; जीवनस्य मृतः = जीमृतः, here वन has been elided ; वासानां वाचनं = वमवाचनम् ; here वम replaces वाव ; and वाचन for वाचन ॥ उड् खमस्य = उलूखलम् ; here उलू replaces ऊर्ध्व, and खल replaces खम ॥ 'दिशि ताशः = विशाचः ॥

मह्यं रौ ल = मयूरः ॥ Here मही is replaced by मयू, and the final of ह is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अश्वस्य, कपिस्य &c.

The following verse enumerates the anomalies of Prishodara class compounds :—

VERSE.

The word हस्त is formed by the augment of a letter ; the word सिंह is formed by the transposition of letters ; the word गूढोऽस्मा is formed by mutation of letters, and the word पृषोदर is formed by the destruction of letters.

Note :—हंस is formed from the root हन् with the affix हन् (of Pachādi class III, 1. 134 S. 2896); and the augment सक्. हन् + सक् + अच् = हंसः ॥ From √ हिस् is formed सिंह by the Pachādi हन्, the letters ह and स change position *inter se*.

Vart :—तार becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as वाक्त्रिगतारम्, or वाक्त्रिगतारम्, उत्तरतारम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vart :—The final of हुर् is changed to उ, before वाच, नाच, वच and ध्वे and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus हुःखेन वाचयते, नाचयते, वचयते च = वृषाचः, वृषाचः, वृषमः ॥ In the last (वृषम) there is elision of the nasal also. These three words are formed by the affix खल् (III, 3. 126 S. 3305) हुःखेन ध्यायति = वृष्यः ॥ Here is added the affix क् to the root ध्या (ध्वे) preceded by the upapada हुः, by III. I. 126 S. 2898.

ब्रुवन्तोऽस्यां सीवन्ति = वृसी ॥ Here सर् takes the affix उद् in the locative, and ब्रुव is replaced by वृ ॥ वृनीनामसनं वृसी "The seat of a sage is called bṛisī." (See Amarakoṣha II. 7. 46).

१०३५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । ३ । ११४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1035. In the following sūtras upto the end of the third pāda of the sixth Adhyāya, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an uninterrupted flow of speech."

Note :—Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 S. 3537 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns." Thus विद्महिस्त्वा सत्यति ब्रूव गोनाम् ॥ The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विद्म, हि, स्वा, सत्याति, ब्रूव, गोनाम् ॥

१०३६ । कर्णे लक्षणस्याऽविद्याष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रक्षुवस्वस्तिकस्य । ६ । ३ । ११५ ॥

कर्णशब्दे परे लक्षणवाचकस्य शीर्षः । द्विगुणार्कः । लक्षणस्य किम् । सोमनर्कः । अविद्याशीनां किम् । विद्वकर्णः । अष्टकर्णः । पञ्चकर्णः । मणिकर्णः । भिन्नकर्णः । छिन्नकर्णः । छिद्रकर्णः । क्षुवकर्णः । स्वास्तिककर्णः ॥

1036. Before कर्णे, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not

when the words are विष्ट, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, मित्र, छिन्न, छिद्र, सुच and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus विष्टाकर्णः॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say 'when it denotes such a mark'? Observe द्योभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of विष्ट &c'? Observe विष्टकर्णः॥ अष्टकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, मित्रकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिद्रकर्णः, सुचकर्णः, स्वस्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः ॥

१०३७ । नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु कौ । ६ । ३ । ११६ ॥

किञ्चन्तेषु एषु परेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः । उपानत् । नीवृत् । प्रावृद् । मर्मावित् । नीरुक् । अमीरुक् । ऋतीषद् । परीतत् । क्वाविति किम् । परिग्रहनम् । विभाषा पुरुष इत्येतां मण्डूकप्लुत्या विभाषानुवर्तते सा च व्यवस्थिता । तेन गतिकारकयोरेव । नेह । पट्टरुक् । तिग्मरुक् ॥

1037. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यध्, रुच्, सन् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्वि ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vṛt) प्रावृद्, उपावृद्, (with vṛsh) मर्मावित्, हृद्यावित्, श्वावित्, (with vyadh) नीरुक्, अमीरुक् (with tuch) ऋतीषद्, (with sah) तरीतद् (with tan). The nasal is elided after णम् before क्वि (VI. 4. 40 S. 2986), and by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say 'when क्वि follows'? Observe परिग्रहनम् ॥

In this sūtra we read the anuvritti of the word "vibhāṣā" ("optionally") from the aphorism VI. 3, 106 S. 1032, which does not govern the intervening ten sūtras, but applies to this VI. 3. 116 S. 1037, by the method, called 'frog-leap.' The option of this sūtra is, however, a vyavasthita vibhāṣā or a settled option. Namely, it applies only when the upapadas are *gatis* or *śārakas*. Therefore not here, पट्टरुक् or तिग्मरुक् ॥

१०३८ । वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलुकादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११७ ॥

कोटरादीनां वने परे किंशुलुकादीनां गिरौ परे दीर्घः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

1038. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किंशुलुक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटर + वन ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

Note :—Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिद्धकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किञ्चलुकागिरिः, भञ्जनागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ञ in वन by VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039. But असिपञ्चवनम् and कृष्ण-गिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिध्रक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किञ्चलुक (किञ्चलक), 2 शाल्व (शाल्वक), 3 नड*, 4 भञ्जन, 5 भञ्जन. 6 लोहित, 7 कुक्कुट ॥

१०३९ । वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकासारिकाकोटराग्नेयः । ८ । ४ । ४ ॥

वनशब्दस्वोत्तरपदस्य एभ्य एव ञप् नान्येभ्यः । इह कोटरान्ताः पञ्च शर्चाविधौ कोटरादयो बोध्याः । तेषां कृतशीर्षाणां णत्वविधौ निर्वेशो नियमार्थः । अंशशब्दस्य तु विध्यर्थः । पुरगावणम् । मिश्रकावणम् । सिध्रकावणम् । सारिकावणम् । कोटरावणम् । एभ्य एवेति किम् । असिपञ्चवनम् । वनस्याग्ने अग्नेवणम् । राजदन्तादिषु निपातनास्सप्तम्या भलुक् । प्रातिपदिकायमात्रं प्रयत्ना । किञ्चलुका गिरिः ॥

1039. The न of वन, is changed into ञ, when prece- by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrkâ, sârikâ, koṭarâ, and agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपशान् and संज्ञायाम् of the sūtra VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावणम्, कोटरावणम् ॥ These are names of hells of various kinds. अग्नेवणम् (II. 2. 31 S. 902) शारिका-वणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above five up to कोटर is by VI. 3. 117 S. 1038 and the word कोटरादि of the last sūtra refers to these five words of the present sūtra. Though the word अग्ने वणं = अग्नेवनस्य is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, S. 966 applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantâdi list (II. 2. 31 S. 902). The seventh-case-affix is included in the meaning of a Prâtipadika, hence the word agre-vanam is in the Nominative case. So also किञ्चलुकागिरिः ॥

The substitution of ञ for न with regards to the first five words would have taken place by the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VIII. 4. 3. S. 857. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, after these, shows that this is a restrictive or निबन्धन rule, so far as the five words up to koṭrâ are concerned. But with regards to agre it is a vidhi. The न of वन is changed into ञ, when preceded by these words only and

no other. Thus कुबेरवनं, वातधारवनम्, असिपत्रवनम् ॥ The word agrevaṇam is not a Name, and therefore sūtra 857 would not have applied to it. Hence with regard to agre the present sūtra is a vidhi or an original rule,

१०४० । वले । ६ । ३ । ११८ ॥

वलप्रत्यये परे शीर्षः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । कृषीवलः ॥

1040. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus कृषीवलः ॥ This is formed by the affix वलच् (V. 2. 112 S. 1919.)

१०४१ । मतौबह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११६ ॥

अमरावती । अनजिरादीनां किम् । अजिरवती । बह्वचः किम् । ब्रीहिमती । संज्ञायामित्येव । नेह । वलयवती ॥

1041. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मत् (IV. 2. 85 S. 1304.) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII. 2. 11. S. 1899. Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c.' Observe अजिरवती, खडिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, अक्रवाकवती ॥ Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables'? Observe ब्रीहिमती ॥ The phrase "when it is a name" has been read into the sūtra. When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening. As वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खडिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 अक्रवाक ॥

१०४२ । शरादीनां च । ६ । ३ । १२० ॥

अरावती ॥

1042. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name.

As अरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11, S. 1899.) But not so after ब्रीहि &c as these belong to अनादि class (VIII. 2. 9 S. 1897.)

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 ब्रीहि, 5 कपि, 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 शुक्ति, 9 इन्द्र ॥

१०४३ । इको वहेऽपीलोः । ६ । ३ । १२१ ॥

इगन्तस्य शीर्षः स्याद्दहे । ऋषीवहम् । कपीवहम् ॥ इकः किम् । पिण्डवहम् । अपीलोः किम् । पीलुवहम् ॥

अपील्लादीनामिति वाच्यम् * ॥ शरुवहम् ॥

1043. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, मुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vari:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As शरुवहम् ॥

१०४४ । उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १२२ ॥

उपसर्गस्य बहुलं शीर्षः स्याद्घञन्ते परे न तु मनुष्ये । परीपाकः । परिपाकः ॥ अमनुष्ये किम् । निषादः ॥

1044. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus परीपाकः or परिपाकः ॥

Note:—It does not take place, as प्रसेचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before साह and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासाहः and प्राकारः, ॥ Otherwise प्रसाहः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः, प्रतिराधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥

Why do we say, "when human beings are not meant"? Observe निषादः "The caste Nishāda." It is formed by घञ् under sūtra III. 3. 121 S. 3300 (निषीदत्यस्मिन् पापम् इति निषादः) ॥ The word प्रतीहारः 'gate=keeper' is apparently an exception.

१०४५ । इकः काशे । ६ । ३ । १२३ ॥

इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य शीर्षः स्यात्काशे । वीकाशः । नीकाशः । इकः किम् । प्रकाशः ॥

1045. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As वीकाशः, नीकाशः, ॥ काश is formed by अश् (III. 1. 134 S. 2896). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

१४६ । अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२५ ॥

उत्तरपदे दीर्घः । अष्टापदम् । संज्ञायाम् किम् । अष्टपुत्रः ॥

1046. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टापदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when the compound is a name'? Observe अष्टपुत्रः, where the compound is not a name.

१०४७ । चितेः कपि । ६ । ३ । १२७ ॥

एकचित्तीकः ॥

1047. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचित्तीकः ॥ The कप् is added by V. 4, 154 S. 891.

१०४८ । नरे संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वानरः ॥

1048. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a name.

Thus विश्वानरः, but विश्वेनरः = विश्वे नर यस्य when it is not a name.

Note :—The word viśva is understood here from the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VI. 3. 128 S. 379.

१०४९ । मित्रे चर्षो । ६ । ३ । १३० ॥

विश्वामित्रः । ऋषौ किम् । विश्वमित्रो माणवकः ॥

हुनो वन्तदंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्दवराहपुच्छपद्मेषु दीर्घो वाच्यः * ॥ आदन्तः इत्यादि ॥

1049. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvāmītra'. Why do we say 'the name of a Rishi'? Observe विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Visvāmītra'.

Vart :—The final of अन् is lengthened before the following वन्त, दंष्ट्रा, कर्ण, कुन्द, वराह, पुच्छ and पद्म:—as आदन्तः, आदंष्ट्रः, आकर्णः, आकुन्दः, आवराहः, आपुच्छः, आपद्मः ॥

Note :—The word दंष्ट्रा is read in the Vārtika with a long final आ ॥ Some

read it as short final, and say **श्वावृद्धः** is a Bahuvrīhi where the final of **श्वा** is lengthened, but the lengthening does not take place in a Tatpurusha.

१०५० । अनिरन्तः शरेणुप्लक्षाम्नकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूषाभ्योऽसंज्ञायामपि । ८ । ४ । ५ ॥

एभ्योवनस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रवशम् । कार्ष्यवणम् । इह वात्परस्वाणत्वम् ॥

1050. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kârshya, khadira, and pīyūkshâ.

Thus प्रवणम् ; कार्ष्यवणम्, ॥ The word is कार्ष्य and not कार्ष्य, and it is this व that causes the ण change.

Note :—The word vana is understood from the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039.

१०५१ । विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः । ८ । ४ । ६ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्वं वा स्यात् । दूर्वावणम् । दूर्वावनम् । शिरीषवणम् । शिरीषवनम् । ह्यङ्ग्यङ्ग्यामेव * ॥ नेह । देवदारुवनम् ॥

इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ इरिकावनम् । निरिकावनम् ॥

1051. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

Note :—When the pûrvapada is a word denoting शाखाधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing or alterant letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ The word vanaspati is defined in Amarakosha as those trees which produce fruits without flowering, such as fig trees &c (udumbara). The शिरीष is not a vanaspati in this sense : because it has visible flowers and fruits both. But the word vanaspati in the sūtra is taken here as synonymous with 'tree' in general. See note below. This is an optional rule.

Thus :—दूर्वावनम् or दूर्वावणम् ; Here दूर्वा is the name of शाखाधि ॥ Similarly शिरीषवनम् or शिरीषवणम् ; is an example of vanaspati.

Vart :—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or a trisyllabic word Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ॥

Vart:—Prohibitor should be stated with regard to the words इरिका &c. As इरिकावनम् । निरिकावनम् ॥

Note:—Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kārika:—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit, apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, भोषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

१०५२ । वाहनमाहितात् । ८ । ४ । १ ॥

आरोह्य बहुकृते तद्व्यतिथ्यान्निमित्तात्परस्य वाहननकारस्य जत्वं स्यात् । इक्षुवाहनम् । आहितात्किम् । इन्द्रवाहनम् । इन्द्रस्वामिकं वाहनमित्यर्थः । बहतेर्ल्युटि वृद्धिरिहैव सूत्रे निपातनात् ॥

1052. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when an alterant letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् 'a sugar-cart'.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called, आहित ॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried". Observe इन्द्रवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Indra'.

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह, and the वृद्धि lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

१०५३ । पानं देशे । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य पानस्य नस्य जत्वं स्याद्देशे गम्ये । क्षीरं पानं येषां ते क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः । सुरापाणाः प्राच्याः । पीयते इति पानम् । कर्मणि ल्युट् ॥

1053. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains an alterant letter causing change ; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान meaning "that which is drunk." is formed by the affix ल्युट् III. 3. 113 S. 2841. The force of the affix is to denote the object. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśīnaras'. सुरापाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine drinking Prāchyas'.

Note:—Why do we say "when denoting a country" ? Observe दक्षिपानं the drink of the Dākshis.

The words दूषीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

१०५४ । वा भावकरणयोः । ८ । ४ । १० ॥

पानस्थेयेव । क्षीरपानम् । क्षीरपाणम् ॥

गिरिनद्यक्षीनां वा * ॥ गिरिनदी । गिरिणदी । चक्रनितम्बा । चक्रणितम्बा ॥

1054. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" is an example of भाव or condition.

Note :—Similarly क्षीरपाणः or क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk.' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vart :—Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी; or गिरिणदी ; चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणितम्बा ॥

१०५५ । प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिमक्तिषु च । ८ । ४ । ११ ॥

पूर्वपदस्याग्निमित्रात्परस्य एषु स्थितस्य नस्य णो वा स्यात् । प्रातिपदिकान्ते, माषवापिणौ । नुमि. ब्रीहिवापाणि । विभक्तौ. माषवापेण । पक्षे. माषवापिनावित्यादि । उत्तरपदे यत्प्रातिपदिकं नवन्त्येव णत्वम् । नेह । गर्गाणां भगिनी गर्गभगिनी । अत एव नुम्ग्रहणं कृतम् । अङ्गस्य नुम्बिधान्तात्तदङ्गो हि नुम् नतृत्तरपरस्य । किञ्च । प्रहिण्वन्नित्यादौ हिंवन्तुमा णत्वार्थमपि नुम्ग्रहणम् । प्रन्वनमित्यादौ तु क्षुब्धादिस्तात्र ॥

युवादेर्ने * ॥ रम्ययूना । परिपक्वानि ॥ (एकाजुत्तरपदे णः ॥ नित्यामित्युक्तम् । वृत्रहणौ । हरि मानयतीति हरिमायी । नुमि, क्षीरपाणि । विभक्तौ, क्षीरपेण । रम्यदिना ॥)

1055. Optionally ए is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रातिपदिकान्त first. माषवापिणौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'mâsha-sowing' formed by णिनि under III. 2. 81. S. 2991

To take the example of a नुम् augment ; ब्रीहिवापाणि or ब्रीहिवापानि nominative plural neuter. The augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 from ब्रीहाम् वपयन्ति = ब्रीहिवाप with कर्मणि ञञ्, the plural णि is added by VII. 1. 20 S. 312 and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माधवायेन or माधवायेन, ॥

The word प्रातिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prati-padika'. But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member, of a compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गायां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिनी if the word is derived from गर्गभजः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृभोगीयः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place. The very fact that नुम् is taught separately in the rule leads to this inference. The नुम् is ordained with regard to an *anga*; so it is a portion of the *anga* as a *whole* (whether such *anga* consist of a single word or several words glued into a compound), and *not* of the last word of the compound. So the root हिवि takes नुम् and becomes हिविन् (Bhuādi root 622). This न् is changed to य as in ग्रहिण्यन् । But in प्रेन्यनम् no change takes place; as it belongs to kshubhnādi class (VIII. 4. 39 S. 792).

The word माधवापिणी. or णी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim:— (II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit- affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृत्तिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माधवापिन् (माध + वापिन्) and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prātipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As रन्ध्रयुनः (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययुनः ॥ प्रतिपत्तानि is a gati-samas, शीघ्रादी शरत् ॥

१०५५ । क । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

(वृत्तिः ॥ एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन्नित्यसमासे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तित्यस्य पूर्वपदस्याभिनिताजुत्तरस्य नकारस्य नित्यं णकार आदेशो भवति ॥)

1055. A. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is न् invariably in the room of न् of the second member, provided that the न् is at the end of a

prâtipadika, or is the augment **नुम्**, or occurs in a vibhakti ; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

This sūtra has already been read as Sūtra 307 see page 171. It is repeated here to complete the context. This is an obligatory rule, as we have used the word nityam in explaining it. See Sūtra 307.

Thus वृषहृणो 'the Vṛtra-killer' = वृषहन्तवन्तो with क्तिप् (III. 2. 87 S. 2998) So also हरि मानयति = हरिमाणी " Hari worshipper." हरिपाणि " Drinkers of milk " : सुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine' : are examples of **नुम्** VII. 3. 88, क्षीरपेण and रस्यविजा are examples of case-terminations.

Note :—The word रस्यवि 'a beautiful bird' ; is a compound of रस्य and वि (रस्यवासौ विभ) ॥ The जा is Instrumental Singular (VII. 4 120 S. 244).

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context ? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

१०५६ । कुमति च । ८ । ४ । १३ ॥

कवर्गवस्युत्तरपदे प्राग्वत् । हरिकामिणौ । हरिकामाणि । हरिकामेण ॥

1056. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, (there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment **नुम्**, or occur in a vibhakti.)

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As हरिकामिणौ, **नुम्** :—हरिकामाणि ॥ विभक्ति :—हरिकामेण ॥

१०५७ । पदव्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । ३८ ॥

पदेन व्यवधानेऽपि णम् न स्यात् । माषकुम्भवापेन । चतुरङ्गयोगेन ॥

अतश्चित इति वाच्यम् * ॥ आर्द्रगोमयेण ॥ शुष्कगोमयेर्णे ॥

1057. The न् is not changed to ण when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न् ॥

The word **पदेन व्यवाय** is a compound meaning **पदेन व्यवाय** 'separated by a Pada'. Thus **माषकुम्भवापेन चतुरङ्गयोगेन** ॥ Here the Padas **कुम्भ**, and **अङ्ग**, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vart :—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like **आङ्गनामयेण**, **सुष्कनामयेण** ॥

Note :—Here **गो** takes the affix **मयङ्** by IV. 3. 145, S. 1525 and the word **गो** is a Pada by I. 4. 17, S. 230 and it intervenes between **मयङ्** and the first word. The author of *Mahābhāṣya* however does not approve of this *Vārtika*. According to him the **पदेन व्यवाय** means **पदे व्यवाय** ॥

१०५८ । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः । ६ । १ । १४३ ॥

अथ सुग्निपात्यते । कुस्तुम्बुरु धान्याकम् । क्लीबस्वमतन्त्रम् । जातिः क्रिय । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि । कुस्तितानि तिन्दुकीफलानीत्यर्थः ॥

1058. The word **कुस्तुम्बुरु** is irregularly formed with the augment **सुट्** and means 'a species of herb'.

The **कुस्तुम्बुरु** is the name of coriander : i. e. **धान्याकं** ; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the *sūtra* in the Neuter gender does not, however, show that the word is always Neuter. Why do we say when meaning a species of herb ? Observe **कुस्तुम्बुरुणि = कुस्तितानि तुम्बुरुणि**) ॥ The word **तुम्बुरु** here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

१०५९ । अपरस्परः क्रियासातत्ये । ६ । १ । १४४ ॥

सुग्निपात्यते । अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति । सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः । क्रियेति क्रिय । अपरस्परः गच्छन्ति । अपरे च परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

1059. The word **अपरस्परः** is formed by the augment **सुट्** when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus **अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति** ॥ Why do we say 'un-interrupted action' ? For, when the continuity of action is not meant, we have **अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्ति** ॥

Note :—The **सातत्ये** comes from **सततं**, by adding **व्यञ्ज्** to form the abstract noun, **सततस्य भावः** (V. 1. 123 S. 1787) = **सातत्ये** ॥ How do you explain **सततम्**, it ought to be **सन्ततम्** ? The **स्** of **सम्** is optionally elided before **तत्**, on the strength of the *Kārika* :—"the **स्** of **अव्यञ्जस्** is elided before a word ending in a *kṛitya* affix, the **स्** of **तुम्** is elided before **काम** and **मनस्**, the **स्** of **सम्** is elided optionally before **हित** and **तत्**, the final **अ** of **मांस** is elided before **पाक** or **पचन** ॥" As (1) **अवश्यं कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं**, (2) **भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, भोक्तुमनः** ॥ (3) **सहितं = सहितं, सम् तत् = सततं** ॥ (4) **मांस पाकः, मांस पचनम्** ॥

१०६० । गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु । ६ । १ । १४५ ॥

सुट् सस्यं षत्त्वं च निपात्यते । गावः पश्यन्तस्मिन्देशे स गोभिः सेवितो गोष्पदः । असेविते गोष्पदान्तरण्यनि । प्रयोगे गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् । सेवितेत्यादि किम् । गोः पदं गोपदम् ॥

1060. The word गोष्पद is formed by सुट्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोष्पदो देशः = गावः पश्यन्तस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्तरण्यनि ॥ The word गोष्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows.' Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land. Why do we say 'a locality visited &c.' For when it has not the above senses, the form is गोपदम् = गोः पदम् ॥

Note :—What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra; the word गोष्पद will give अगोष्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद = अगोष्पद ? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश "like that but not that". As अन्नान्नान्न means "a man who is a Kshatriya &c not a Brāhmana, but does not mean a stone &c". Therefore अगोष्पद with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद ॥

१०६१ । आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् । ६ । १ । १४६ ॥

आत्मवापनाय स्थाने सुट् निपात्यते । आस्पदम् । प्रति किम् । आपरापदम् ॥

1061. The word आस्पद is formed by सुट् when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority.' Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आपरापदम् = आपदम् ॥

१०६२ । आश्चर्यमनित्ये । ६ । १ । १४७ ॥

अद्भुते सुट् । आश्चर्ये यदि स मुञ्जीति । अनित्ये किम् । आश्चर्यं कर्म । शोभनम् ॥

1062. The word आश्चर्य is formed by सुट्, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix चट् to the verb चर with

the preposition **अव**, and the augment **सुट्** ॥ Thus **आचर्ये बहि स भुञ्जीत** ॥ Why do we say 'unusual'? For when not having this sense, we have **आचर्ये कर्त्तुं शोभनम्** ॥

१०६३ । वर्चस्केऽवस्करः । ६ । १ । १४८ ॥

कुत्सितं वर्चः वर्चस्कम् भक्ष्यमलं तस्मिन् सुट् । अवकीर्यत इत्यवस्करः । वर्चस्के किम् । अवस्करः ॥

1063. The word **अवस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called **वर्चस्क** (कुत्सितं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root **कृ** is added the affix **अप्** (III. 3. 57 S. 3232), the preposition **अव**, and irregularly the **सुट्** ॥ Thus **अवस्करोऽन्नमलम्** ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have **अवस्करः** ॥

१०६४ । अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् । ६ । १ । १४९ ॥

अपकरोऽन्यः ॥

1064. The word **अपस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from **कृ**, with the preposition **अप** and the affix **अप्** (III. 3. 57 S. 3232) and **सुट्** augment. When not having this meaning we have **अपस्करः** ॥

१०६५ । विष्किरः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा । ६ । १ । १५० ॥

पक्षे विकिरः । वाचचनेनैव सुद्धिकल्पे सिद्धे विकिरमहणं तस्यापि शकुनेरन्यत्र प्रयोगो नाभूदिति वृत्तिस्तत्र । भाष्यविरोधात् ॥

1065. The word **विष्किर** is formed with **सुट्** optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being **विकिर** ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix **क** (III. r. 135 S. 2897) to **कृ**, with the preposition **वि** and the augment **सुट्** ॥ The word **विकिर** also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase **शकुनिर्विकिरो वा** is added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra. Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्याः विकिराः कुक्कुदादौ ॥ "Though the sūtra **विकिरो वा शकुनो** would have given the optional form **विकिर**, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that **विकिर** always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise **विकिर** would have

referred to something other than a bird.”—this opinion of Kāsika is not valid, as it is opposed to the Mahābhāṣya.

१०६६ । प्रतिष्कशश्च कशेः । ६ । १ । १५२ ॥

कश्च गतिशासनयोरित्यस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य पञ्चाद्यधि सुट् । नपठ्यते ष्वं च । सहायः पुरोयायी वा प्रतिष्कश इत्युच्यते । कशेः किम् । प्रतिगतः कशां प्रतिकशोऽश्वः । यद्यपि कशेरिव कशा तथापि कशेरिति धातोर्महणमुपसर्गस्य प्रतेर्भङ्गार्थम् । तेन धात्वन्तरोपसर्गात् ॥

1066. To the root कश्च ‘to go, to punish’, is added the augment सुट्, when preceded by the perpositon प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अच् affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus ग्राममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे स्वं प्रतिष्कशः ‘I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary.’ The word प्रतिष्कशः means “a messenger, a herald, an emissary”. Why do we say “to the root कश्च”? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां=प्रतिकशोऽश्वः ‘a horse guided by the whip.’ Here though कशा is derived from कश्च, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्च, and not to a derivative word.

१०६७ । प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी । ६ । १ । २५३ ॥

हरिश्चन्द्रमहणमन्त्रार्थम् । ऋषीति किम् । प्रकण्वो देशः । हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः ॥

1067. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. 1. 151 S. 3527 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. Why do we say ‘Rishis’? For when not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देशः, (कण्वं पापं तस्मिन् यस्मान्), हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य सुगन्धस्य) ॥

१०६८ । मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरित्राजकयोः । ६ । १ । १५४ ॥

मकराद्योऽप्युत्पन्नस्य सुडिनिष् निपात्यते । वेण्विति किम् । मकरो ग्राहः । मकरी सधुः ॥

1068. The word मस्कर means ‘a bamboo’, and मस्करिन् means ‘a mendicant monk’.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an underived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when ‘a bamboo’ is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say “when

meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोमाहः "an alligator", मकरी सघ्नः "an ocean".

Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix अच्, the long आ being shortened. Thus मा क्रियते येन प्रतिषिध्यते = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of तच्छील्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशीलः = मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "माकुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

१०६६ । कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे । ६ । १ । १५५ ॥

ईषत्तीरमस्यास्तीति कास्तीरं नाम नगरम् । अजस्येव तुन्दमस्यति अजस्तुन्दं नाम नगरम् । नगरे किम् । कातीरम् । अजस्तुन्दम् ॥

1069. The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities.

Why do we say 'names of cities'? For when not meaning cities we have कातीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजस्तुन्दम् (अजस्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

१०७० । कारस्करो वृक्षः । ६ । १ । १५६ ॥

कारं करोतीति कारस्करो वृक्षः । अन्यत्र कारकरः । केचित्तु कस्कादिभिर्दे पठन्ति न सूत्रेषु ॥

1070. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार + कृ + ट (III. 2. 21) = कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism. Some read it in Kashkādi (VIII. 3. 48 S. 144).

१०७१ । पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् । ६ । १ । १५७ ॥

एतानि सप्तद्वानि निपात्यन्ते नामि । पारस्करः । किष्किन्धा ।

तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चौरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च* ॥ तात्पूर्वे चत्वेन वकारोपि बोध्यः । तद्बृहतोर्दे-कारतकारौ लुप्येते । करपत्योस्तु सुट् । चौरदेवतयोरिति सप्तद्वयापाधिः । तस्करः । बृहस्पतिः ॥

प्रायस्य चित्तिचित्तयोः* ॥ प्रायश्चित्तिः । प्रायश्चित्तम् वनस्पतिरित्यादि । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1071. The words पारस्कर &c. are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुट् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pāraskara'. किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave',

Vartika :—तस्कर् 'a thief' and वृहस्पति 'N. of a deity' are formed by inserting सुद् in the compounds of तत् + कर, वृहत् + पति and eliding त् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning a thief and a diety'? Observe तस्करः, वृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चौर and देवता are used in the Gaṇapāṭha merely for the sake of diversity; the word संज्ञा would have connoted that.

Vart :—Before the words चित्ति and चित्त is added the augment सुद् when प्राय precedes. Thus प्रायचित्तम्, प्रायचित्तिः ॥

1 पारस्करो देवः, 2 कारस्करो वृद्धः, 3 रथस्या नरी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणाद्, 5 किष्किन्धा सुहा, 6 तद्बृहन्तोः करपत्याचौरदेवतयोः सुद् तत्प्रापञ्च (तस्करः चौरः, वृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्रातु तुम्पतौ गवि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिसङ्ख्यः ॥

प्रस्तुम्पात् गौः ॥ When the root तुप तुम्प 'to injure,' is preceded by the preposition प्र, there is added सुद् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रतुम्पतिः वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति. चैः, प्रस्तुम्पती गायै, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गायः ॥

This is an ākritigaṇa.

अथ तद्धितापत्याधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TADDHITA PATRONYMIC AFFIXES.

१६७२ । समर्थानां प्रथमाद्या । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

इदं पदमधिक्रियते । प्राग्दिश इति यावत् । सामर्थ्ये परिनिष्ठत्वम् । कुनसधिकार्यत्वमिति यावत् ॥

1072. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, *vis.* (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction, (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first; (3) वा 'on the alternative,' exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation: that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्दिशो विभाक्तः (V. 3. 1. S. 1947.) The word *sāmārthya* means the word-form after it has undergone the Sandhi operation: *i. e.* in its *parinishṭhata* state. The word *parinishṭhata* means a completed word, *i. e.* a word on which sandhi operation has been performed, and so it has completed its junction. Thus सु + इत्थित = सुत्थित ॥ Add इत्थ, and we have सौत्थितः, and not सौ + इत्थित = साइत्थितः (S. 1088). The *ābhivyakti* of वा however extends further than S. 1947.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional."

Note:—The fifteen sutras that follow, teach the rules which are generally applicable to all Taddhitas. We shall take up the further explanation of this sūtra in S. 1088.

१०७३ । प्राग्दीव्यतोऽयम् । ४ । १ । ८३ ॥

तेन दीव्यतीत्यतः प्रागणधिक्रियते ॥

1073. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the aphorism tena divyati &c.

Up to the aphorism IV. 4. 2 S. 1550, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an adhikāra sūtra or a paribhāṣā sūtra or a vidhi sūtra.

१०७४ । अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८४ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्यात् प्राग्दीर्घतीयेष्वर्थेषु । वक्ष्यमाणस्य ण्यत्वापवादः ॥

Note :—This is an exception to the aphorism, IV. 1. 85. S. 1077 by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with 'pati'. The present sūtra enjoins अण् instead.

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 दातपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति 6 स्थानपति 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 शेषपति ॥

१०७५ । तद्धितेष्वचामादेः । ७ । २ । ११७ ॥

अिति णिति च तद्धिते परेऽचामादेरेचो वृद्धिः स्यात् ॥

1075. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicator अ or ण् follows.

Note :—As गार्ग्यः from गर्ग + दृश्, so also वास्यः ॥ वासिः (वृत् + इश्), घ्रासिः, औपगवः (with अण् from उपशु) कापठवः &c. This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and VII. 2. 116, S. 2282 as त्वाद् : from त्वद्, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

१०७६ । किति च । ७ । २ । ११८ ॥

किति तद्धिते च तथा । अश्वपतेरपत्यादि आश्वपतश्च । गाणपतश्च । गाणपत्यो मन्त्र इति तु प्रामादिकमेव ॥

1076. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicator क् follows.

Note :—As नाडावन् with क्, so also चारावणः (IV. 1. 99 S. 1101), and आसिकः and शालाकिकः with ठक् (IV. 4. 1 S. 1548).

Thus अश्वपति + अण् = अश्वपतन् (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 142 S. 311. So also गाणपतन् ॥

The form गाणपत्नः as used by Haradatta in गाणपत्नी मंत्रः is wrong.

Note :—The Tattvabodhini, however, justifies this use of Haradatta.

१०७७ । दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदार्णयः । ४ । १ । ८५ ॥

दित्यादिभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्राग्दीर्घतयिष्वर्येषु ण्यः स्यादणोऽपवादः । दैत्यः । अदितेरादित्यस्य वा आदित्यः । प्राजापत्यः ।

थमाद्येति काशिकायाश्च * ॥ याम्यः ॥

पृथिव्या मात्रौ * ॥ पार्थिवा । पार्थिवी ॥

देवाद्यमात्रौ * ॥ देव्यश्च । देवम् ॥

बहिषटिलोपो यञ्च * ॥ बाह्यः ॥

ईकञ्च * ॥ बाहीकः ॥

स्याघोऽकारः * ॥ अश्वस्थानः । पृषोदरादित्वात्सस्य तः ॥

भवार्ये तु लुग्वाच्यः * ॥ अश्वस्थाना ॥

लोमोऽपत्येषु बहुष्वकारः * ॥ बाह्वाहीमोऽपवादः । उडुलोमाः । उडुलोमान् । बहुषु किम् ॥ औडुलोमिः ।

गोरजादिप्रसङ्गे यत् * ॥ गव्यम् । अजादिप्रसङ्गे किम् । गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य आगतं गोरूप्यम् । गोमयम् ॥

1077. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena dīvyati &c, after the proper names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya ; and that which has the word पति as its final member.

‘hus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः ‘ the son of Diti.’ आदित्यः ‘ the descendant of Aditi.’ The form आदित्य may also denote the son of आदित्य or sacred to Aditya. आदित्यम् ‘ sacred to Aditya.’ Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्यः ; so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word थम; as, याम्यम् ॥ This Vartika is found in the Kāsika and not in the Mahābhāṣya.

Note :—In the Chhandas, after the words बाह्य, बहि and विह्वल comes the affix ण्य ॥ As, बाह्यम् (Vs, 13. 58.) गव्यम् and विह्वलम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes झ and ञ्च come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + झ = पार्थिवः ; पृथिवी + ञ्च = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, S. 454 and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15, S. 470,

Vart :—The affixes **अम्** and **अङ्** come after the word **देव** 'a god.' As **देव्यम्** or **देवम्** 'divine.'

Vart :—There is elision of the final syllable of **बहिस्**, before the affix **अम्**; as **बहिस् + यम् = बाह्यः** 'external.'

Vart :—And the affix **ईकम्** may be employed. As **बहिस् + ईकम् = बाहीकः** 'external.' (VII. 2. 118, S. 1076).

Note :—In the Chhandas it takes the affix **ईकम्** as **बाहीकः**; the difference being in the accent. (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686),

The word **बहिस्** is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its **टि** portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the **टि** of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called **भ bha**. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाङ् (the **टि** of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the **टि** of the base **bha** is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the avyaya **भारात्** we get **भाराती** &c; here the **टि** is not elided.

Vart :—Of the word **स्याम्** the **टि** is replaced by **अ**, as **अभ्य + स्याम् = अभ्यस्याम्** ॥ The **स** is changed to **त** as the compound belongs to Prishodarādi class.

Vart :—But there is elision of the Taddhita affix **अ** after **स्याम्** when the sense is that of 'existence' only, as **अभ्यस्यामा** ॥ The word **अभ्यस्याम्** means **अभ्यस्येव स्यामस्य** "whose strength is like that of a horse". It is a Bahuvrihi.

Vart :—The **टि** of **जोमन्** is replaced by **अ** in the plural, when the patronymic affixes follow; as **उडुलोमाः, उडुलोमान्** ॥ Why do we say "in the plural number"? Witness **औडुलोमिः**, (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096).

Vart :—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word **गो**, let the affix **अत्** be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c.) from **गो** is expressed by **गव्यम्** (VI. 1. 79 S. 63), Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe **गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य** or **आगतं = गोकव्यम्** and **गोमयम्** ॥

Note :—These affixes **व्य** &c. taught in this sūtra will come to the exclusion of all the other affixes here-in-after taught which are employed in especial senses. Thus **अज्** is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words **दिति** &c. **अज्** will not be employed, but **व्य**, as **दैत्यः** 'a descendant of दिति' ॥ So also **दानस्पत्यम्** (= **वनस्पतीनाम् सङ्घः**), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 S. 1243 &c. In fact the rule **विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम्** (I. 4. 2 S. 175) does not hold here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form **दैत्यः** ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word **दिति** but from **दित्ति**, the feminine of the word **दिति**

formed by the affix डीङ् (IV. F. 45, the word दिति being formed by the Kṛi-affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take डीङ् in the feminine). To the feminine word दिति is added ङक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhāṣhā प्रातिपदिकमहणे निष्प्रविशितस्यापि महयम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form दैतेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahābhāṣhya or any Vārtika.

१०७८ । उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । ८६ ।

औत्सः ॥

अग्निकलिभ्यां ङक् वक्तव्यः * ॥ अग्नेरपत्यादि आग्नेयम् । कालियम् ॥

1078. The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c.. in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-dīvyati &c..

This debarb the affix अञ् taught in IV. r. 83 S 1073. as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः, औत्सपानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्साङ्गclass.

I उत्स, 2 उत्पान, 3 विकर, 4 विनर, 5 महानर, 6 महानस, 7 महाप्राणः, 8 मरुण, 9 तलुन, 10 वष्कयासे, 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 विश्वप्, 16 अतुष्टम्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उक्षीनर, 20 भीष्म, 21 वीलुङ्ग, 22 उदस्थान देशे, 23 पृषदंश, 24 मङ्गकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्यंदिन, 27 वृष्ट, 28 मरुत्, 29 सत्त्वत्, 30 कुह, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उणिह, 34 ककुब्, 35 सुवर्ण, 36 देव, 37 भीष्माङ्गच्छन्सि ॥

Note :—The word भीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody.' Therefore it is not so here : भीष्मी विश्वप् 'The Graishmi Trisṭup metre.' But धैष्मः 'belonging to summer.' The word छन्दस् here means 'metre,' and not Veda. The word वष्कयासे = वष्कय असे, the phrase असे meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be नावष्कयिः ॥ The Paribhāṣhā महणवसा प्रातिपदिकेनतदन्त विधिप्रातिपदेषः does not apply here. Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have अधेनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place' : as औदस्थानो देशः ; otherwise औदस्थनिः 'the son of Udashāna.' The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share', otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्श्वतोऽङ्गः ॥

Vārt :—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prāgdivyatiya. (See IV. 2 8, S. 1209) आग्नेयम् and कालियम् meaning 'born of Agni' and 'of Kali' respectively.

Here ends the section of affixes that denote patronymics &c. in general.

१०७९ । स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां नञ्स्नञी भवनात् । ४ । १ । ८७ ॥

धात्यानां भवन इत्यतः प्रागर्थेषु स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां क्रानानञ्स्नञी स्तः । स्त्रीयः । पौंसः । वलर्थे न । स्त्रीपुंसयेति ज्ञापकात् । स्त्रीवत् । पुंसवत् ॥

1079. The affixes नञ् and स्नञ् come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as “dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ” (V. 2. 1 S. 1802).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीय 'feminine'.

Note :—The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore, the word स्त्रीय will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीयुभवं (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), 'existing in females', or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) 'a collection of females'; or स्त्रीभ्यां जायते (IV. 2. 74 S. 1453) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हिंस (V. I. 5 S. 1665) 'suitable for females.' &c.

Similarly पुंस + जञ् = पौंसय 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1. 115. S. 1778. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुंसवत् (and not पौंस) in sūtra VI. 8. 34, S. 831 thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, I. 2. 66 S. 932 the affix जञ् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत् ॥ The forms स्त्रीयं. स्त्रीता पुंस्यं and पुंस्या are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. S. 1783 The स् of पुंस is elided before जञ् by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54; had it not been elided, one affix नञ् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two,

१०८० । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये । ४ । १ । ८८ ॥

द्विगोर्निमित्तं यस्तद्विगोऽजादिरनपत्यार्थः प्राग्दीव्यतीत्यस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः पुरोडाशः पञ्चकपालः । द्विगोर्निमित्तस्येति किम् । पञ्चकपालस्येवं खण्डं पाञ्चकपालम् । अजादिः किम् । पञ्चगर्गह्वयम् । अनपत्ये किम् । द्वयोर्मित्रयोरपत्यं द्वैमित्रिः ॥

1080. A Tadhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dīvyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग् दीव्यत; of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः the sacrificial rice cake 'prepared in five cups.'

Why do we 'of a Dvigu compound', The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्यैव = पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ "a piece belonging to the five cups."

Note :—Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthāna-shashti, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu', the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided after such a word, because it becomes a prātipadika like others, as पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपालस्य संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so; there is no Taddhita, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपालस्य संस्कृतः ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz. पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samāhāra Dvigu). A Samāhāra and a Taddhitārtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपालस्य संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe the affix is not elided in पञ्चभ्यो गर्गभ्य आगतं = पञ्चगर्गरूप्यम् or पञ्चगर्गमयम् ॥ Because the elision of those affixes only takes place which begin with a vowel, while rupa and maya begin with a consonant.

Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्वैमित्रिः a descendant of two Mitras.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Note :—Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati*?" Observe द्वैपारायणिकः ॥

Note :—How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्याः, पाञ्चनदः and वाट्कुलः? The word त्रैविद्याः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्रयवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्याः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पञ्चसु नदीषु भवः but पञ्चानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पञ्चनदः, पञ्चनदे भवः = पाञ्चनदः ॥ So also with वाट्कुलं ॥

१०८१ । गोत्रेऽलुगाचि । ४ । १ । ८९ ॥

अजादौ प्राग्दीव्यतीये विवक्षिते गोत्रप्रत्ययस्यालुक् स्यात् । गगर्गां छात्राः । वृद्धाच्छः ॥

1081. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sutras II. 4. 63 S. 1146 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial

vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dīvyati &c. (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्यः is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64 S. 1108). But the disciples of गणाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) which is a prāgdīvyatiya affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix, the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्यः + छ ॥

Here applies the next sūtra.

१०८२ । आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति । ६ । ४ । १५१ ॥

इलः परस्यापत्यकारस्य लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते परे न स्वाकारे । गार्गीयाः । प्राग्दीव्यतीये किम् । गर्गेभ्यो हितं गर्गीयम् । अन्वि किम् । गर्गेभ्य भागतं गर्गरूप्यम् ॥

1082. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गार्ग्याः + छ = गार्गीयाः (VII. 1. 2. S. 475) and not गर्गीयाः

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a prāgdīvyatiya affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'what is fit for the Gargas.'

Note :—Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1. S. 1661) has the sense of 'suitable for that,' as taught in sūtra V. 1. 5. S. 1665 not one of the prāgdīvyatiya senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गेभ्य भागतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गार्गरूप्यम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य, a prāgdīvyatiya affix taught in sūtra IV. 3. 81 S. 1461 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य.

१०८३ । यूनि लुक् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

प्राग्दीव्यतीये अजातो प्रत्यये विवक्षिते युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । ग्लुचुकस्य गोपापत्यं ग्लुचुकायनिः । वक्ष्यमाणः फिन् । ततो यून्वण् । ग्लौचुकायनः । तस्य ठापोऽपि ग्लौचुकायनः । अणोलुकि वृद्धत्वाभावाच्छो न ॥

1083. There is *luk*-elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper Prāgdīvyatiya affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining.

Thus the Patronymic from ग्लुबुक is ग्लुबुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160S. 1184) with the affix किन् to be taught hereafter. The Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौबुकायनः (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) with the affix अण्; the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौबुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333 formed from ग्लुबुकायनि). When अण् is elided the word ग्लौबुकायन becomes ग्लुबुकायन, and as the first syllable has no Vṛiddhi letter now, there is no adding of छ in the sense of pupils; for छ is added by IV. 2 114 S. 1337 only after those words whose first syllable has a Vṛiddhi letter.

१०८४ । पैलादिभ्यश्च । २ । ४ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् । पीलाया वेत्यण् । तस्मादणो अय्य इति किम् । तस्य लुक् । पैलः पिता पुत्रश्च ॥

तद्राजाच्चायः ॥ अय्यमणधेत्यणन्तासङ्गशाब्दाणो अय्य इति किमो लुक् । आङ्गः पिता पुत्रश्च ॥

1084. And after the words पैल &c., there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पीला + अय्य = पैलः (IV. 1. 118 S. 1121). 'The Gotra descendant of Pīlā.' पैलः + किम् (IV 1. 156 S. 1180). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix किम् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word.

Note :—Some say that the 'Paila &c., words are formed by the affix इय्; (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 1085. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prāchyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. सात्यकि. 4. सात्यकामि. 5. राहवि. 6. रावशि. 7. औदञ्जि. 8. औदत्रजि. 9. औदमेधि. 10. औदव्याजि. 11. औदमाञ्जि. 12. औदभृजि. 13. देवस्थानि. 14. पैङ्गलायनी. 15. राहक्षति. 16. मौलिङ्गि. 17. राजि. 18. औदन्धि. 19. आङ्गाह्वानि. 20. औञ्जिह्वान. 21. औदशुजि. 22. तद्राजाच्चायः

G. sūtra :—The Yuvan affix is elided after a word formed by the tadrāja affix अय्य ॥ Thus the word आङ्ग is formed by adding the affix अय्य under IV. 1. 170 S. 1188 to अङ्ग; to this is added किम् under IV. 1. 156 S. 1180. This किम् is elided. As आङ्गः meaning both father and son.

१०८५ । इजः प्राचाय । २ । ४ । ६० ॥

गोत्रे य इम् तदन्ताद्युपप्रत्ययस्य लुक् त्यात् तथेहोत्रं प्राचां भवति । पञ्जागारयापत्यम् । अतः

इम् । अग्निप्रोयेति फक् । तस्य लुक् पान्नागारिः पिता पुत्रश्च । प्राच्यां किम् । शक्तिः पिता । शक्षायाणः पुत्रः ॥

1085. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prāchya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागरा + इम् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendant of Pannāgāra'; after this the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. Why do we say प्राच्याम् ? The word प्राच्याम् here qualifies the word Gotra understood, and does not mean that it is an optional rule, "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians." When the Gotra of Prāchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus शक्तिः the Gotra descendant of Daksha; and शक्षायाणः 'son of Dākshi.' (Yuvan.)

१०८६ । न तौल्वलिङ्गः । २ । ४ । ६१ ॥

तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात् । पूर्वेषु प्राप्तः । तुल्वलः । तत् इमि फक् । तौल्वलिः पिता । तौल्वलायनः पुत्रः ॥

1086. After the words तौल्वलिः and the rest, there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः formed by इम् added to तुल्वल is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103).

1. तौल्वलि. 2. धारणि. 3. पारणि. 4. शक्णि. 5. दैलीवि. 6. दैवति. 7. वार्कलि. 8. नैवति. 9. नैवकि. 10. दैवमिषि. 11. दैवमति. 12. दैवयज्ञि. 13. चाफटकि. 14. वैल्वकि. 15. वैकि. 16. वैङ्कि. 17. आनुहारति. 18. आनुराहति. 19. पौष्करसाहि. 20. आनुरोहति. 21. आनुति. 22. प्रादोहनि. 23. नैमिषि. 24. प्राडाहति. 25. बान्धकि. 26. वैशीति. 27. आसिनासि. 28. आहिासि. 29. आसुरि. 30. नैमिषि. 31. आसिबन्धकि. 32. पौष्पि. 33. कारेणुपासि. 34. वैकि. 35. वैरकि. 36. वैहति ॥

१०८७ । फक्फिओरन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ९१ ॥

यूनिङ्गुमिति नित्ये लुकि प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थे सूत्रम् । कात्यायनस्य छात्राः काशीयाः । कात्यायनीयाः । यास्कस्यापत्यं यास्कः । शिवायणः । तस्यापत्यं युवा यास्कायनिः । अणो ङ्यच् इति फिम् । तस्य छात्राः यास्कीयाः । यास्कायनीयाः ॥

1087. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिम् when a Prāgdīvyatīya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the Sūtra IV. 1. 90 S. 1083 all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present Sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes कक् and किम् ॥ Thus the Patronymic of कृत is क्रात्य (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107); the Yuvan of क्रात्य is formed by कक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) क्रात्यावनः ॥ Thus the word denoting the pupils of Kātyāyana will be क्रातीया or क्रात्यावनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix किम् (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) Thus from वाक्, the Patronymic is वात्स्य (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). The Yuvan of the latter is वात्सावनी (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) The pupils of Yāskāyana will be called वात्कीयाः or वात्सावनीयाः ॥

१०८८ । तस्यापत्यम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

पष्ठयन्तात् कृतसन्धेः समर्थपरित्येऽयं वक्ता वक्ष्यमाणस्य प्रत्यया वा स्युः । उपगौरपत्यं औपगवः ।
आतिवृद्धिरन्योपधावृद्धी बाधते ॥

तत्स्येहमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥ १ ॥

योगविभागस्तु । भानोरपत्यं मानवः । कृतसन्धेः किम् । सौस्थितिः । अकृतव्यूहपरिभाषया
साधुस्थितिर्मा भूत् । समर्थपरिभाषया नह । वक्त्रुपगौरपत्यं चैत्रस्य । प्रयमात्किम् । अपत्यवा-
चकात्पष्ठपर्यं ना भूत् । वामहणाद्वाक्यमपि । ऐवयस्तीति सूत्रादन्यतरस्वांमहणादुवृत्तेः समासोऽपि ।
उपगवपत्यम् । आतिव्यान् ङीप् । औपगवी । आश्वपतः । वैत्यः । औत्सः । औयः । औन्नः ॥

1088. (The affixes अण्, ण्य &c, already mentioned in IV. 1. 83 S. 1673 &c, and those which will be taught here-after, such as इञ् &c, denote) 'the descendant of some one', (and they come after a word in the the sixth case, which has completed its junction).

Note :—This Sūtra points out the meaning of the affixes ; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) e g. अण्, ण्य अञ् &c. and to the affixes that follow such as इञ् &c. The affixes herein taught, have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which is in the genitive case.

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगौरपत्यम् ; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) to the word उपयु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगव "the offspring of Upagu" The word औपगवः is thus evolved.

Note :—उपयु + अण् = औपयु + अण् ॥ Now applies either VI. 4. 146 S. 847 causing guṇa of final उ, and VII. 2. 115 S. 254 requiring the vṛddhi of the final. The following discussion shows why guṇa takes place to the exclusion of vṛddhi though subsequent. औयुर्णः VI. 4. 146 S. 847 ("for उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted guṇa before a Taddhita affix ") is debarred

by the *subsequent* sūtra अचोऽङिति VII. 2. 115 S. 254 ('before the affixes having an indicator अ or ञ, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the 2nd vowel of a stem') for guṣa will find scope in विषय &c. So let there be Vṛiddhi at the final इ of उपयु ॥ This is one objection.

Note.—But if vṛiddhi is not allowed, उपयु is guṣated to जो, and we have by sandhi उपयो+अ=उपयु+अ then arises another difficulty: for the अ of न now being penultimate requires vṛiddhi by अत उपधायाः VII. 2. 116 S. 2282.

Ans. To remove both these difficulties the author says अदिबुद्धिरन्वो यथावृत्ती वाधते " the vṛiddhi of the initial vowel taught by VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 debars the two vṛiddhis, namely the vṛiddhi of the final required by VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ required by VII. 2. 116 S. 2282." ;

Note :—Because rule VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 is *subsequent* to these two. The vṛiddhis of the final and the penultimate find their free scope in जोः (the affix हु being भिन् by VII. 1. 90 S. 284 causes vṛiddhi of जो by VII. 2. 115), and पाचकः with ष्वल् added to पच् respectively where VII. 2. 116 applies. While the vṛiddhi of the initial will find its free scope in सौमुतः from सुमुतं ॥ But in स्वाहः from स्वह् and आगतः from अगत् the rules VII. 2. 115 and 116 appear simultaneously with VII. 2. 117, and in their case the vṛiddhi of the *initial* takes effect, because that rule (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) is *subsequent*. This we do on the maxim सकृदिति &c. as well as by the inference of finding the word पुष्करसन् in the list of Anuṣatikādi VII. 3. 20.

Note :—For if the *initial* Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) did not debar the *penultimate* Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 116 S. 2282), then we would have got the form पोष्करसादिः regularly by the *simultaneous* application of these two rules VII. 2. 116 and 117 ; S. 2282 and 1075 without its being read in the Anuṣatikādi class. But the very fact that it is so read indicates that these two Vṛiddhis cannot take place simultaneously.

Verse :—The general sūtra tasyedam (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) would have included the particular case of tasyāpatyam (what is the necessity of the latter). It is made in order to prevent the application of Vṛiddhāch chhaṇ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). For छ of S. 1337 excludes the अच् of S. 1500 in case of Vṛiddha words, but it is intended that it should not exclude that, even in Vṛiddha, hence the present sūtra. The sense of apatya can be included in the word sesha of S. 1392 and so the अच् of tasyedam can come in the sense of apatya. The separate present sūtra has for its object to make अच् applicable to Vṛiddha words (like bhānu).

Note:—The tasyedam would certainly have included tasyāpatyam ; for *idam* may be anything apatya &c. The necessity for making a separate sūtra for apatya is this. The Vṛiddhāch chhah excludes the अण् of tasyedam ; so that in case of Vṛiddha words we have छ instead of अण् ॥ But छ does not come after Vṛiddha words in the sense of apatya. Hence this separate sūtra. If it be said that neither the अण् of tasyedam nor its exception the छ of Vṛiddhāch chha can ever come in the sense of apatya, for they come in the śaishika senses only and apatya is not included in the śaishika sense ; we reply, that there is nothing to prevent us from including the sense of apatya also in the śaishika sense, of sūtra IV. 2. 92. S. 1392. Therefore, we come back to our former point that the necessity of this sūtra is really to make अण् applicable to Vṛiddha words. Thus the son of भानु (a Vṛiddha word) will be भानवः by the अण् of this sūtra, and not भानवीयः by छ of S. 1337, which would have been the case had this sūtra not existed, and had tasyedam IV. 3. 120 S. 1500 been requisitioned to denote apatya also.

By the general rule samartha-pada vidhih (II. 1. 1. S. 647) ; the rule will not apply when the words are not in syntactical construction. Thus the words उपगोरपत्यम् “Upagu's” “offspring” are not in syntactical construction in the following sentence :—वस्त्रमुपगोरपत्यं चैत्रस्य “the dress of Upagu, the offspring of Chaitra.”

Why do we say “after the *first* word” ? That the affix should not come after the word denoting the offspring, with the force of a genitive case. Thus in इन्द्रो देवता अस्य हविषः = ऐन्द्रिः हविः, the affix is added to Indra in the first case in construction, similarly उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य = औपगवो देवदत्तः or देवदत्तोऽपत्यमस्य औपगोः = देवदत्तिरुपगुः should not be formed.

By force of the word वा in IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 we can have a sentence also. As उपगोरपत्यम् ॥

And by drawing in the anuvṛitti of anyatarasyām from the sūtra IV. 1. 81 S. 1201, we have composition also in the other alternative. As उपगवपत्यम् ॥

The Patronymic being a jāti word takes ङीष् in the feminine. As औपगवी ॥

So also आश्वपतः । दैत्यः । औत्तः । औद्यः । औजः ॥

Note:—In explaining IV. 1. 82 S. 1072, we have used the words कृतसन्धिकार्यत्वात् “after the operation of sandhi or junction has been completed.” Why have we used those words ? Otherwise observe the anomaly. Thus हु + इत्यित् = ह्यित्यित्, वि + ईक्षमाणः = वीक्षमाणः ॥ If the affix be not added to the form ह्यित्यित्, but to हु + इत्यित्, so also not to वीक्षमाणः but to विईक्षमाणः that is to say, if the affix be added before sandhi, then the resultant forms would be सो इत्यिति =

साङ्गित्यिति: and बाबीक्ष्माणि: by force of चार्थादाङ्गं बलीयः maxim, but the proper forms are सौष्ट्यिति: and वैक्ष्माणि: ॥

Q. The rule of sandhi, though an operation relating to letters (a varṇa rule), yet being antarāṅga, will take effect *first*, and then the Vṛddhi operation, which though an aṅga rule, is after all bahirāṅga with regard to sandhi; what is the necessity of using the word सन्त्यर्थे at all in the sūtra IV, 1, 82 S. 1072 or explaining it by कृतसन्धिः ?

Ans. The very fact that Pāṇini has used the word सन्त्यर्थे in this aphorism, when it could well have been dispensed with, indicates the existence of the following maxim अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः "The followers of Pāṇini do not insist on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause disappears." (See p-30). Therefore had Pāṇini not used the word सन्त्यर्थे in the sūtra IV. 1. 82, S. 1072 then by the application of the present maxim, the antarāṅga operation of sandhi would have been set aside by the bahirāṅga vṛddhi and the forms would have been साङ्गित्यिति: and बाबीक्ष्माणि: ॥ To prevent this सन्त्यर्थे has been used.

Kārikā. तस्येकमित्यपत्येऽपि बोधिनार्ये कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः शेष एवातो वृक्षान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

Note:—The Karikā should be broken up in order to understand it. तस्येकमित्यपत्येऽपि ॥ The sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) will include this अपत्य also, for the word इदम् may be applied to all things like अपत्य, समूह, विकार &c. Therefore अ् will come, by force of that sūtra, in the sense of "descendant," why then make this separate sūtra tasyāpatyam? If you say that this aphorism is necessary for the sake of sūtras अत इम् &c. (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then why make a *separate* sūtra and not *join* it with the last? Ans: बाधनार्ये कृतं भवेत् ॥ The separate sūtra might have been made in order to debar the operation of the sūtra वृक्षाच्छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). That sūtra supersedes तस्येदम्, and so in the case of apatyam also, छ would have applied instead of अन् where the base was a Vṛddham word. But that is not desired. Hence the separate sūtra.

If it be objected that "the अन् of tasyedam, and its apavāda the affix छ of vṛddhāch chhah, being śaishika affixes cannot come with the force of apatyam, because the word śaishika has been explained in IV, 2. 92 S. 1312 as the sense different from that of descendant and the quadruple significance, and so the above objection does not arise." To this the answer is

Ans. उत्सर्गः शेष एवातो ॥ This sense of apatyā is an utsarga śeṣha. The meaning is this. Had there been no yoga-vibhāga i. e. had tasyā-

patyam not been separately enunciated, but made one sūtra with अत इम् something like तस्यापत्यम् अत इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then it will govern those bases only that end in अ and the bases like बाहु &c. (IV. 1. 95 and 96 S. 1095 and 1096), and not bases like उपगु; and therefore with regard to the base उपगु there would be no rule of adding an apatya affix but the śaishika तस्येदम् ॥ Thus even an apatya denotation can become a śesha under the above circumstances. It will be an utsarga-śesha i. e. the remainder not covered by a general rule : the general rule here by supposition being अत इम् &c. Therefore अत् of तस्येदम् with the force of apatya, will come after Upagu, but it will be debarred in the case of बाहु &c. by the rule वृद्धात् छ ॥ But if we make tasyāpatyam a separate sūtra, then there being no śesha, the छ will never come under any circumstances.

Obj. If it be said that for bases like उपगु &c, which are not Vṛiddham words, there will be no occasion for the addition of छ, and so there is no necessity of making a separate sūtra. To this we reply.

Ans : वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् The necessity of this sūtra is in the case of Vṛiddham bases like बाहुः, द्यामगुः (द्यामा गावो ऽस्व) &c.

Therefore there must be this separate sūtra. Thus भानोरपत्यं = भानवः ॥

The summary of the above discussion is that this sūtra " tasyāpatyam " is made for the sake of Vṛiddham bases. Otherwise " tasyedam " would have been sufficient for bases like Upagu &c.

Note :—Now we take up the farther explanation of the sūtra samarthānām prathamād vā " (IV. 1. 82. S. 1072). Its explanation was postponed till now.

The maxim सप्तमर्थः परविधिः (II. 1. 1. S. 647) applies here also. Thus वस्त्रं उपगोरपत्यं चैव तस्य " the garment of Upagu, the son of Chaitra ". Here the two words उपगोरपत्यम् are not in construction ; for उपगोः governs वस्त्रं and अपत्यं is governed by चैव तस्य, and so there is no affix.

Why do we say " after the first " ? The force of this question will be understood by the following considerations. In the sūtra तस्यापत्यम् there are two words, तस्य and अपत्यं, of these the first only can stand as a base to an affix, and not apatyam. Therefore, when searching for the base to which the affix is to be added, we shall take तस्य ॥ Therefore, there is no necessity of using the word प्रथमात् at all.

Ans : The words " after the first " are used in order to indicate that the affix will not be added to the word which is the name of the descendant, and referred to by the genitive word. Thus the sūtra tasyāpatyam

is really ambiguous ; for it literally means "let the affix **जन्** &c. come in the sense of "His son". The affix may come after Upagu exhibited in the genitive case ; or after the word which is the Proper name of the son of Upagu. Thus if Devadatta be the name of the son of Upagu ; then **देवदत्तः** is **उपगोरपत्यः** ; then by *tasyâpatyam*, the affix might be added either to **उपगुः** or to **देवदत्तः** ॥ To prevent this, **प्रथमात्** is used in the sūtra.

Moreover as in the case of **इन्द्रो देवता इत्य इविषः** " Indra is the devatā of this offering " we add the affix to **इन्द्र** denoted by the genitive case under the rule **सात्वदेवता** (IV. 2. 24. S. 1226) ; and get the form **इन्द्र** as applied to **इविः** ; similarly **उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य** " Upagu is the son of this Devadatta " we will have **औपगवो देवदत्तः** " Devadatta Aupagava " i. e. " Devadatta whose son is Upagu " ; or in **देवदत्तोपत्यमस्योपगोः** " Devadatta is son of this Upagu ", we shall have **देवदत्तिरुपगुः** " Upagu whose son is Devadatta ". Now this is not intended. We cannot have **औपगवः** in the sense of " He whose son is Upagu ", nor **देवदत्तिः** in the sense of " He whose son is Devadatta."

Why do we say "In the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence ; thus we may say **उपगोरपत्यं**, instead of the *taddhita* formed word **औपगवः** ॥

Note :—The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (*samāsa*) ; as **उपगुपत्यम्** 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the *samāsa* rule here is not superseded by the *Taddhita*-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2, S. 175 because the *anuvṛitti* of **अन्यतरस्याम्** is understood here from sūtra IV. 1. 81, S. 1201 so that in the alternative when the *Taddhita* affix is not employed, the *samāsa* rules will find scope. The word **औपगवः** being a *जाति* denoting word (because *jāti* includes *गोत्रं च चरत्येः* see *Kārikā* to IV. 1. 83. S. 518 ; therefore its feminine will be by **उतीह** (VI. 1. 83) As **औपगवी** ॥

१०८६ । अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् । ४ । १ । १६२ ॥

अपत्यत्वेन विवक्षितं पौत्रादि गोत्रसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1089. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

Note :—When an offspring with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be **गार्गिः**, and the son or grandsons &c of **गार्गिः** with reference to Garga will be **गार्ग्यः** ॥ Similarly **वात्स्यः** ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendant or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus **कौटिलः**, **गार्गिः** ॥

Note :—Q. The word अपत्यं has been read uselessly in this sūtra, for grandsons &c are apatyam or descendants? The sūtra could have been well stated as pantra-pravṛiti gotram'.

Ans. Yes. Therefore in explaining the sūtra, the author has said "apatyatvena vivakshitam"—"when it is intended to speak of a person as a descendant" Why do we say "when it is intended to express"? As a matter of fact, even grand-sons and lower descendants of Garga also will be denoted by the general patronymic गर्गिः formed under the षेष् rule गर्गस्वेदम्, when no particular stress is laid on the *degree* of descent. The Gotra denoting affix need not be added here.

Others say that the force of vivakshita is that the grandsons &c should not get the designation *gotra*, but only their relationship. Therefore औपनवः though formed by अण् (not a gotra affix) is also a gotra word.

१०६० । जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा । ४ । १ । १६३ ॥

वंश्ये पित्राद्यो जीवति पौत्रादिव्यपत्यं चतुर्यादि तद्युवसंज्ञमेव न गोत्रसंज्ञम् ॥

1090. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

Note :—The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line.' One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंशवः ॥ When such a vanśya is alive then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् यद् अपत्यं 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sūtra however this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रवृत्ति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head, we have गर्गिः ॥

अपत्यम् — { गर्गिः (son or putra)
गर्ग्यः (Gotra)
गर्ग्यावणः (Yuvan) if Garga or Gargi &c be alive).

The force of the word तु, in the sūtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

१०६१ । भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि । ४ । १ । १६४ ॥

उभे भ्रातरि जीवति कनीयान् चतुर्यादियुवा स्यात् ॥

1091. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Note :—Even when a वंशः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not वंश्या) the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive ; thus : गार्ग्यायणः॥

The word वंशः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a वंश्या, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when Vāṇśya is not meant. Thus Gārgyaṇa is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gārgya ; similarly Vātsyaṇa, Dākshyaṇa, and Plākshāṇa.

१०९२ । वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति । ४ । १ । १६५ ॥

भ्रातृव्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रवृत्तेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । एकं जीवतिप्रवृत्तमपत्यस्य विशेषणम् । द्वितीयं सपिण्डस्य । तद्वर्णनार्थं उभयोस्तुक्तार्थः । स्थानेन वयसा चोत्कृष्टे पितृव्ये मातामहे भ्रातरि वा जीवति । गार्ग्यस्यापत्यम् गार्ग्यायणः । गार्ग्यो वा । स्थविरति किम् । स्थानवयोन्युने गार्ग्य एव । जीवतीति किम् । वृत्ते वृत्तो वा गार्ग्य एव ॥

वृद्धत्वं च पूजायामिति वाच्यम् * ॥ गोत्रस्यैव वृद्धसंज्ञा प्राच्यम् । गोत्रस्य युवसंज्ञा पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । तत्रैवान् गार्ग्यायणः । पूजति किम् । गार्ग्यः ॥

युवश्च कुत्सायां गोत्रसंज्ञेति वाच्यम् * ॥ गार्ग्यो जात्मः । कुत्सेति किम् । गार्ग्यायणः ॥

1092. . The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a (more) superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛtti of जीवति also from IV. 1. 163. S. 1090. This जीवति of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda. The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior' that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*, such as an uncle, or a maternal grand-father or an elder brother &c. when alive.

Thus the descendant of गार्ग्य will be गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः ॥

Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

Why do we say "superior"? When the person alive is lower either in degree or in age, then we have only one form गार्ग्य only. Why do we say

“when alive?” When either the descendant of a grandson &c is dead or the superior sapinda is dead, then also we have one form गार्ग्यः only.

Vārtika :—The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra in the terminology of the ancient grammarians. As तच्च भवान् गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः “you honored Gārgyāyaṇa or Gārgya”.

Why do we say ‘when respectful reference is intended’? Observe, गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हितम् वृद्धम् ॥

Vārt :—The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जात्मः or गार्ग्यायणो जात्मः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायणः ॥

१०६३ । एको गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

गोत्रे एक एवापत्यप्रत्ययः स्यात् । उपगोर्गोत्रापत्यं औपगवः । गार्ग्यः । गार्ग्यायणः ।

गोत्रे स्वैकोनसंख्यानानां प्रत्ययानां परम्परा ।

ब्रह्मा स्वह्युनसंख्येभ्योऽनिष्टोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्यते ॥ १ ॥

अपत्यं वितुदेव स्यात्ततः प्राचामपीति च ।

भक्तभेदेन तज्जान्यै सूत्रमेतत्तयोत्तरम् ॥ २ ॥

वितुदेवापत्यमिति पक्षे हि उपगोस्तृतीये वाच्ये औपगवादिभ्यः स्यात् । चतुर्थे स्वजीवज्ज्येष्ठे वृत्तवश्ये औपगवेः फक् । इत्थं फगिज्योः फगिज्योः परम्परायां मूलाच्छततमे गोत्रे एकोनशतं प्रत्ययाः स्युः । पितामहादीनामपीति मुख्यपक्षे तु तृतीये वाच्ये उपगोराणां द्वे सिद्धेऽपि अपत्यन्तादिभ्योऽपि स्यात् । चतुर्थे फगिति फगिज्याः परम्परायां शततमे गोत्रेऽष्टनवतिरनिष्टप्रत्ययाः स्युः । अतो निवर्त्यमिदं सूत्रम् । एवमुत्तरपक्षेऽप्युक्तम् ॥

1093. One descendant-denoting affix only is employed when a gotra descendant (how low; so-ever) is to be indicated.

Note :—The word Gotra is defined in sūtra IV. 1. 162 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 93). The son of गार्ग्यः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of a गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no

new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever the affix **इम्** will be added to the word **गर्ग**, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of **गार्ग्य** will be formed by adding the affix **इम्** not to the base **गार्ग्य** (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 S. 1088 strictly applied), but to the base **गर्ग** ॥ So that one base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

Thus the Gotra descendant of **उपगु** is **ओपगवः**; of **गर्ग** is **गार्ग्यः**, of **गृह** is **गृह्यवः** ॥

Note :—The word **गोत्रे** in the sūtra is in the singular number as the word denotes the whole class; i. e. all gotra descendants. The word **एकः** is a numeral. If the sūtra be translated thus :—“when a Gotra-descendant is intended to be expressed, then the descendant denoting affix should be one only”—then in the case of gotra-descendant the *first* word only takes the affix, and not any other. On the other hand, if the gotra affix can be added, even after the word has taken an apatya-affix, then there is not *one* affix in denoting a Gotra-descendant. Hence the author has explained by saying “One descendant-denoting affix only is employed &c”. The word apatya is read into the sūtra from the context, as it is the governing word of the whole section.

Others explain the word **एक** as equivalent to **प्रथम** or first; and the *first* means the base which is devoid of any apatya-affix. They explain the sūtra thus. “The first or the original word takes the apatya-affix in denoting Gotra.”

Thus the son of **Upagu** is **Aupagava**, the gotra descendant will be also **Aupagava**. The gotra-affix will be added to **Upagu** and not to **Aupagava**. Thus the gotra-descendant will be formed by the affix **अम्** also, just as the immediate descendant (i. e. son) is formed by **अम्**; and not by **इम्** ॥ For though **ओपगवः** ‘son of Upagu’ is a word which ends in **व**, and therefore in forming a descendant from it the affix **इम्** ought to be added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095; yet **अम्** is added by force of this sūtra. There is no *specific* Gotra affix for this word **उपगु** ॥

Similarly **गार्ग्यः** formed by **अम्** of IV. 1. 105 S. 1107. Here **अम्** is specifically ordained to denote Gotra-descendants, and therefore, there is not **इम्** added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095, which is added only when an immediate descendant (i. e. son) is to be denoted. Thus here we have two forms, the son of **Garga** is **गार्ग्यः**; while the grandson and lower descendants will be **गार्ग्यः** ॥ Thus **गार्ग्यः** denotes not only the grandson of **Garga**, but the son of **Gārgya** as well. The word denoting the son of **Gārgya** (the grandson of **Garga**) will not be formed by **कम्** added to **गार्ग्यः**, because of the restriction of this rule: since *one* affix only can be added. The affix **कम्** would have been added by IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. in denoting the son of

Gārgya, for he is a Yuvan : as Gārgyāyana. But when he is considered as a Gotra-descendant, then he will be called by the general name Gārgya.

Similarly नादावनः formed by कक् under IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. Here also कक् is specifically ordained to come after Naḍādi words, and therefore the general affix इम् (IV 1. 95 S. 1095) is precluded : which now finds its scope in denoting the immediate descendant i. e. the son of Naḍa. Thus Nāḍi is son of Naḍa : while Nāḍāyana is the grandson of Naḍa. The son of Nāḍāyana will be Nāḍāyana : and not Nāḍāyani, with the इम् of IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 ; because of the restriction of this sūtra which says only one affix is to be added.

Verse :—" In denoting a Gotra descendant, there is a succession of affixes, being either one less in number than the degree of the descendant : or two less in number : the undesirable occurrence taking place after all pratipadikas which are two less in number than the base ".

"The word apatya (son or descendant can be used in relation) to the father only ; and in relation to older (than father) also," according to diversity of opinions. Hence the necessity of this sūtra, as well as of the next sūtra, to remove these anomalies. "

In the first alternative, when apatya is only of a father, (and we can not say "a grandfather's apatya") ; when the third in degree from Upagu is to be denoted, there must be added the affix इम् to औपगवः, (thus giving the form Aupagavi "the grand-son of Upagu"). Similarly to denote the fourth in degree, when the elder brother is not alive, and when the elder-members-of-the-family (vanśya) are dead, the affix कक् is added (and we have औपगवावनः) ॥ (The son of Aupagavāyana will be by in, Aupagavāyani, his son will be Aupagavāyana and so on). Thus by the constant recurrence of कक् and इम् affixes alternately, in denoting a Gotra descendant hundredth in degree from the original उपगु, there will be ninety-nine affixes.

In the second alternative, when the word apatya can be applied with regard to grand-father &c (when we can say apatya of a grand father, &c)—and this is the valid alternative—the third in degree will be expressed by अण् added to उपगु ; i. e. औपगवः will express the grandson also of Upagu : and though thus the true and desired form is obtained, yet the affix इम् will also come after अण् ending औपगवः ॥ In denoting the fourth, the affix will be कक् and then will commence the recurrence of कक्, इम् कक्, इम् &c, and thus in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant, there will occur ninety eight undesirable affixes.

Therefore, for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule, has this sūtra been enunciated.

This must be understood in the next sūtra also.

Note :—Objection. How could more than one affix be simultaneously applied in denoting *one* Gotra, and is not, therefore, this sūtra useless ?

Ans :—No. The following considerations show the necessity of this sūtra. Now the person from whom the Gotra is to be calculated, is the first or propositus his son will be second, his grand-son will be third, and so on. The first or the Propositus takes no affix, in denoting the son or the *second* there will be *one* affix added ; in denoting son's son or the *third*, two affixes will be added, and so on ; so that in denoting the hundredth, ninety-nine affixes will be added. Thus the son of उपगु will be उपगु + अण् = औपगवः ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of Aupagava will be औपगव + इम् = औपगविः ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of औपगवि will be औपगवि + फक् = औपगवावनः ॥ The fifth or the son of औपगवावन will be औपगवावन + इम् = औपगवावनिः and then will commence the recurring series Thus. 1. Upagu, 2. Aupagava, 3. Aupagavi, 4. Aupagavâyana, 5. Aupagavâyani, 6. Aupagavâyana, 7. Aupagavâyani, 8. Aupagavâyana, 9. Aupagavâyani &c. Thus the second in degree or son has *one* affix अण्, the third has *two* affixes, अण्; and इम्; the fourth has *three* affixes अण्, इम् and फक् the fifth has *four* affixes अण्, इम्, फक् and इम् and so on. Therefore the verse says, गोत्रे स्वेकौनसंख्यानं प्रत्ययानां परम्परा "In a Gotra descendant there will be an uninterrupted succession (paramparā) of affixes whose number will be *one less* (eka-una) than the *degree* of descent (स्व) of the person to be so denoted." This is one anomaly to remove which the present sūtra has been made.

Though as a matter of fact, the final अ and इ would have been always elided by दत्तेति च (VI. 4. 148 S, 311), and the forms would not have shown the actual presence of the affixes अण् and इम्, yet the *number* of affixes added will be always one less than the *degree* of descent.

Another necessity of this sūtra is as regards the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the base or prâtipadika in the case of son is Upagu ; in the case of grandson or third descendant is Aupagava, or *one* new base ; in the case of the fourth descendant, the base is Aupagavi or *second* prâtipadika. and so that in the hundredth descendant there will be *ninety-eight* new prâtipadikas ; i. e. always *two* less than the degree of descent. Therefore the verse says : यद्वा स्वदृष्यून संख्येभ्योऽनिष्टोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्यते "Or the anomaly (anishṭa) arises in the case of those prâtipadikas which are less by two than the degree of descent." Thus in the case of third degree, there is one undesirable prâtipadika i. e. Aupagava : i. e. the affix is added to Aupagava and not to Upagu : in the case of fourth in degree there is another undesirable prâtipadika i. e. affix is added to Aupagavi and not to Upagu ; and so on. Thus the number of affix-taking undesirable stems increase with the degree of descent, their number being *two* less than the degree, therefore, the necessity of the present sūtra in order to restrict the number of stems to *one*.

The above two difficulties, one of ninety nine affixes, and the other of ninety eight arises from the two meanings of the word *apatya*. In one view the word *अपत्य* is restricted to the son of the father only: and not to grand-sons &c. This is the view pre-eminently of the lexicographer Amara, who defines *apatya* thus :—

आत्मजस्तनयः सुतुः सुतः पुत्रस्त्रियां स्वमी ।
आहुर्दुहितरं सर्वेऽपत्यं लोकं तयोः तने ॥

In this view there will be ninety nine affixes, in denoting the hundredth in degree *Gotra* descendant.

The other and *siddhānta* view is that *apatya* not only [means the immediate descendants (son or daughter) but the grandson and grand-daughter and lower descendants also. Thus *apatya* is not only of father, but of those who are older (*prāchām*) than father also, i. e. of grand-father and great-grand father &c. In other words the word *apatya* should be taken in its etymological sense i. e. “he who prevents the fall (*patan*) of another”—the presence of any descendant, how low so ever, prevents the fall of ancestors from heaven “न पतन्त्यनेनेति”—अपत्यम्” or यन्निमित्तं यस्यापतनं, तत् तस्यापत्यम् ॥ And as grandsons &c prevent the fall of grand-father &c. so they are also called *apatya* (fall-preventer) of grand-father &c. In fact, it is in this wider sense of a “descendant,” that the word *apatya* is used by Pāpini himself in the *sūtra* *apatyam pautra pravṛiti gotram* (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089).

१०९४ । गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ९४ ॥

यून्यपत्ये गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादेव प्रत्ययः स्यात् । स्त्रियां तु न युवसंज्ञा । गर्गस्य युवापत्यं गार्ग्याद्यणः । स्त्रियां गोत्रस्वादेक एव प्रत्ययः ॥

1094. When a descendant of the description denoted by *Yuvan* (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (*gotra*): but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the *Yuvan* of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्याद्यणः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). Similarly वात्स्यायनः, दाक्षायणः, प्लाक्षायणः, औपगविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say “but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*”? Observe दाक्षी which is the Feminine of दाक्षिः (*Gotra*) as well as of दाक्षायणः (*Yuvan*), Similarly प्लाक्षी feminine of प्लाक्षिः and प्लाक्षायणः ॥ In short, *Yuvan* affixes are not added in the Feminine, If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant

of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by the Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the Feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the Sātra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् युनि प्रत्ययौ भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियात् । (2) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact, the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known by Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

१०९५ । अत इञ् । ४ । १ । ९५ ॥

अदन्तं यन्मातिपदिकं तन्मकृतिकान्पद्यन्तादिञ् स्यादपत्येऽर्थे । दाक्षिः ॥

1095. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debarbs अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः ' a descendant of Daksha.'

Note :—Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter ण् added to अ by I. 1. 69 and 70 S. 14 and 15) ? The descendant of शुभंयाः or कीलालपाः (words which end in long अ). will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दाशरथ by this sūtra is दाशरथिः, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As “ प्रदीयताम् दाशरथाय मेघिली ” ‘ Give Sita to the son of Daśaratha’.

१०९६ । बाह्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ९६ ॥

बाह्विः । औडुलोमिः । आकृतिगयोऽयम् ॥

1096. The affix इञ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘ bāhu ’ &c.

Thus बाह्विः “ a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘ Bāhu &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable ; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ् ॥ Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. So also औडुलोमिः ॥

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगय) ॥

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपबाहु, 4 निबाहु, 5 शिवाहु, 6 वराहु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपनिन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 वृडा, 11 वलाका, 12 वृषिका, 13 वृषला, 14

भगला (हगला) 15 धुवका, 17 धुमिनी, 18 धुमिना, 19 धुम्करसद्, 20 अतुहरत्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 23 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 बञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावत्, 32 उदञ्जु, 33 34 नाप, 35 शाराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवृद्धिन्, 38 मृङ्खलतेदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्ग, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाश्च 53 संभ्रयान्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 आङ्घ्रिः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्भिः 60 आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vart:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इम् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाह्वः ॥

Vart:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning 'father-in-law' is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वशुरिः ॥

Note:—The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जाम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्भिः, आजधेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औडुलोमिः ॥

१०९७ । सुधातुरकङ् च । ४ । १ । ९७ ॥

आदिम् । सुधातुरपत्यं सौधातकिः ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

1097. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the च् of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri'.

Vart:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास वरुड, निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः । निषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, वैम्बकिः ॥ In forming these words, the anomalous Vṛiddhi takes place by the following sūtra.

१०९८ । न स्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामेच् । ७ । ३ । ३ ॥

पदान्ताभ्यां यकारवकाराभ्यां परस्य न वृद्धिः किंतु ताभ्यां पूर्वौ क्रमादेच्चावागमौ स्तः । वैयासकिः । वारुडकिरित्यादि ॥

1098. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory इ, ए or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or ङ्,

but **दे** and **औ** are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is **दे** is placed before **व्**, and **औ** before **व्** ॥ As **वैवात्सकिः**, from **व्यास**; **वारुडकिः** &c so also **वैयाकरयः** from **व्याकरणं** (**व्याकरणमधीते**) **सौवन्धः** from **स्वन्धः** (**स्वन्धस्वापत्यं**) ॥

१०९६ । गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्चफञ् । ४ । १ । ९८ ॥

1099. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'kuñja' &c, when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted.

This debars **इञ्** ॥ Of the affix **फञ्** the letter **ञ्** is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix **फम्**; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113 S. 1100 by which the words ending in the affix **चफञ्** take the further affix **ञ** (**ञ्च**), in order to form a complete word. The letter **ञ्** of this affix causes Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). Then remains **फ** which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, S. 475 is replaced by **आचन्** ॥

Note:—The word **गोत्रे** of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

११०० । व्रातचफओरस्त्रियाञ् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

व्रातवाचिभ्यश्चफमन्तेभ्यश्च स्वार्थे **ञ्यः**स्यान्न तु स्त्रियाञ् । **कौञ्जायन्यः** । बहुव्ये तन्नाजत्वाल्लुग्वक्ष्यते । **ब्राध्नायन्यः** । स्त्रियां **कौञ्जायनी** । गोत्रत्वेन जातित्वान्डीप् । अनन्तरापत्ये **कौञ्जिः** ॥

1100. The affix **ñya** comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in **chphañ** (**आयन** IV. 1. 98 S. 1099), without change of sense; but not in the feminine.

Note:—A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence is called **व्रात** or 'wild band'.

Thus **कुञ्ज + फञ् = कौञ्ज + आचन् + अ = कौञ्जायन** ॥ This is not a complete word as yet. We must add **ञ** by the present sūtra thus the full word is **कौञ्जायन्यः** 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is **कौञ्जायन्यौ** plural is **कौञ्जायनाः**; the affix **ञ्य** being elided by II. 4. 62, S. 1193 in the plural, it being an affix of the **तन्नाज** class (IV. 1. 174 S. 1192). Similarly **ब्राध्नायन्यः**, **ब्राध्नायन्यौ**, **ब्राध्नायनाः** ॥

Why do we say "not in the Feminine?" Observe **कपोतपाक्षी**, **ग्रीहिमत**, **कौञ्जायनी**, **ब्राध्नायनी** ॥ The affix **डीप्** is added as Gotra is a jāti word.

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जि: "the son of Kuñja". Here इम् is added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 in denoting an immediate descendant.

११०१ । नडादिभ्यः फक् । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । नडाद्यनः । चारायणः । अनन्तरो नाडिः ॥

1101. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नङ् and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नङ् + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 S. 1076 and VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Similarly चारायणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नङ्गे will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलङ्कु is changed to शलङ्क before this affix. Thus शलङ्ककायनः ॥ The word शलङ्किः occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, S. 1084. The Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शलङ्किः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इम् by IV. 1. 96, S. 1096 as belonging to Bālvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अभ्रिशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. अभ्रिशर्मायणः = वार्यगणयः; otherwise the form will be अभ्रिशर्मः ॥ The word कृष्ण will form काष्ण्यायनः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant; otherwise कार्णिणः, so also राणायनः = वासिष्टः, otherwise राणिः ॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोष्ट as क्रौष्टायनः ॥

1 नङ्, 2 चर (वर) 3 बक्, 4 भुञ्ज. 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 वृषक, 8 एक, 9 लमक. 10 शलङ्कु शलङ्क च । 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजव्य. 13 तिक्र. 14 अभ्रिशर्मन्वृषगणौ. 15 प्राण, 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 किङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 काश्य, 29 काव्य 30 अज, 31 अघुष्य (अघुष्म) 32 कृष्णायणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्टे । 33 अमित्र, 34 लिशु, 35 खित्र, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्ट च, 38 लोहं, 39 दुर्ग 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिशफा, 42 अश्व, 43 तृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमत, 48 कृत्, 49 जलंधर, 50 अध्वर, 51 युगंधर, 52 हंसक, 53 दण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पियड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमरिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बंदर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अन्न, 68 कामक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 दण्डप, 74 जन्तु, 75 अश्वक, 76 वानव्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इक्ष्वा, 81 अंशक, 82 आम, 83 काम, 84 घात ॥

११०२ । हरितादिभ्योऽजः ४ । १ । १०० ॥

एभ्योऽन्तेभ्यो युनि, फक् । हरितायनः । इह गोत्राधिकारेऽपि सामर्थ्याद्यून्ययम् । नहि गोत्रादपरो गोत्रप्रत्ययः । विदाद्यन्तर्गणौ हरितादिः ॥

1102. The affix फक् comes (in denoting a yuvan descendant) after the words हरित &c. when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104)

The words हरित &c. form a subdivision of विद class, which class by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्) ॥ The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः " the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita." In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes ; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix अञ् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

११०३ । यमिञोञ्च । ४ । १ । १०१ ॥

गोत्रे यौ यमिञौ तदन्तात् फक् स्यात् । अनातीत्युक्तेरपत्यस्येति यलोपो न । गार्गायणः । दक्षायणः ॥

1103. The affix फक् is added in denoting a (Yuvan) descendant after a Nominal-stem (denoting a Gotra descendant and) formed by the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) - गार्ग्य ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्गायणः ॥ दक्ष + इञ् = दक्षिः ; दक्षि + फक् = दक्षायणः ॥

It is not every word that ends in यञ् or इञ्, which takes the Yuvan affix फक् ; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 S. 1380 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतेगन् &c, the force of the affix being चातुरार्थिक ॥ Thus सौतेगमिः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

११०४ । शरद्वल्गुनकदम्भद्विगुवत्साप्रायणेषु । ४ । १ । १०२ ॥

गोत्रे फक् । अमिञोरपवादः । आद्यौ निदादी । शारद्वतायनो भार्गवश्चेत् । शारद्वतोऽन्यः । शौनकायनो वात्स्यश्चेत् । शौनकोऽन्यः । दार्भायण आषाढायणश्चेत् । दार्भिरन्यः ॥

1104. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the words 'śaradvat', śunaka' and

‘darbhā’, when they denote the descendants of Bhrigu, Vatsa and Âgrāyana respectively.

The first two words शरद्धन् and शुनक belong to बिदादि class, and therefore would by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 have taken the affix अम् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead. This debars the affixes अम् and इम् ॥ The affix फक् is a Gotra affix here.

Thus शारद्धातायनः = भार्गवः otherwise शारद्धतः (formed by अम्) शौनकायनः = वासक्यः ; otherwise शौनकः, दार्भायणः = आमायणः otherwise दार्भिः, formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95).

११०५ । द्रोणपर्वतजिवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १०३ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रे फक् वा । द्रोणायनः । द्रौणिः । पार्वतायनः । पार्वतिः । जैवन्तायनः । जैवन्तिः अनादिदिह द्रोणः । अश्वत्थान्यनन्तरे तृषच्चारान् ॥

1105. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words ‘Droṇa,’ ‘Parvata,’ and ‘Jīvanta.’

This debars इम् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रौणायनः or द्रौणिः ; पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः ; जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रौणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase “अश्वत्थामा द्रौणायनः”? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahābhārata, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रौणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthāmā was called Drauṇāyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

११०६ । अनुप्यान्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽम् । ४ । १ । १०४ ॥

एभ्योऽम् गोत्रे ये स्वत्रानृषयस्तेभ्य अनन्तरे । सूत्रे स्वार्थे व्यञ्ज । बिदस्य गोत्रापत्यं वैदः । अनन्तरो वैदिः । बाह्वादेराकृतिगणत्वादित्थम् । पुत्रस्यापत्यं पौत्रः । दौहित्रः ॥

1106. The affix अम् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remoter (Gotra) descendant : but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अम् has the force of denoting an immediate descendant.

The word *Anantarya* in the sūtra is formed by the affix *अन्* without changing the sense. In fact *अनन्तर्य* is equal to *अनन्तर* "an immediate descendant." Thus the *Gotra* descendant of *Bida* will be *बैदः*; but the immediate descendant will be *बैदिः* formed by *इम्* of IV. 1. 96 S. 1096, as it belongs to *Bāhvādi* class which is an *Akṛitigaṇa*. Similarly the son of a son (*putra*) will be *पौत्रः* ॥ So also *दौहित्रः* ॥

Note :—This Sūtra consists of four words : *अनुषि* "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage"; *अनन्तर्ये* 'in expressing an immediate descendant.' *विदादिभ्यः* "after *Bidādi* words" *अम्* "the affix *अम्*" Thus of the words falling in *Bidādi* class, the words like *पुत्र* 'son,' *दुहित्र* 'daughter,' *नानान्द* 'sister-in law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix *अम्* is added to these words, it has the force of denoting the immediate descendant. Thus *पुत्र* + *अम्* = *पौत्रः* 'grand-son.' *दुहितृ* + *अम्* = *दौहित्रः* "daughter's son." But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix *अम्* makes the *Gotra* descendants. Thus *विद* + *अम्* = *बैदः* 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that, of *Bida*.'

How in a context relating to *Gotra* affixes we come to this two fold meaning of this sūtra? To this we reply, that the phrase *अनुष्यान्तर्ये* should be thus construed. The word 'anṛishi' is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word *अनन्तर्य* is the same as *अनन्तर* the affix *अम्* being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like *पौत्र* &c. denote the *immediate* (*anantara*) descendants of *पुत्र* &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (*gotra*), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means :—'after a *Bidādi* word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'an' is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.'

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words *विद* &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus *विद* forms *बैदिः* 'a descendant of *Bida*' by IV. 1. 96 S. 1096 *इम्* and not by *कष्यण्* of IV. 1. 114, because *विद* is supposed to belong to the *Akṛitigaṇa* of *Bāhvādi*.

1 विद, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्यु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किंदर्भ) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिषेण (ऋष्टिषेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्षश्च, 13 प्रियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्भृत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अश्वत्थान, 26 श्यामक, 27 श्यामक, 28 श्यामलि, 29 श्यामर्या, 30 हरित, 31 किंदास, 32 बहस्क, 33 अर्कशूष (अर्कलूक) 34 बध्योज, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मठर, 45 चडाकु, 46 मृपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पुत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्द, 52 परस्त्री परशु च। 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक्. श्यामक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अम् ॥ Thus परस्त्रिया अपत्यं=पारशवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Sādra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकादि (VII. 3. 20 S. 1438) and कल्याणयादि (IV. 1. 126 S. 1131) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रैयेशः, with double vṛiddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20 : S. 1438 ; which does not take place in the पारशवः ॥

११०७ । गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् । ४ । १ । १०५ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । गार्ग्यः । वात्स्यः ॥

1107. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्य, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्य &c.

गर्ग, 2 वत्स, 3 वाजासे, 4 संस्कृति, 5 अज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विदधत्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 अगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शद, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवट, 20 मनः, 21 धनंजय, 22 वृत्त, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जरमाण, 25 लोहित, 26 शंसित, 27 बभ्र, 28 वल्यु, 29 मयड, 30 गयड, 31 शंकु, 32 लियु, 33 गृहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंशु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनार्थी, 41 स्रुतु, 42 कथक, 43 कन्यक, 44 कृत्त, 45 वृत्त (वृत्त) 46 तनु, 47 तरुत्त, 48 तलुत्त, 49 तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भूत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनडुहं, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुत्स, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकत्त, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुण्डिनी, 65 यज्ञवल्क, 66 पर्यावल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगण, 70 रङ्गगण, 71 शशिडल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 चुलुक, 74 सुमल, 75 सुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जतूकर्ण, (जातूकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मल्लित, 81 अश्मरथ, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पूतिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अदरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितित्त, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिष्णज, 94 भडित, 95 भण्डित, 96 दल्भ, 97 चैकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवह, 100 इन्द्रह, 101 एकल, 102 पिप्पल, 103 बृहदग्नि, 104 सुलोहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुटीय, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्धु, 111 भुव, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रुच, 114 मञ्जुल, 115 विलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

Note :—The word मनु is found in the लोहितादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष् after यञ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, S. 476 ; how then the form मानवी

in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no alpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a name of Parasūram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyāsa the son of Parāśara is called पाराशर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्ररूपाध्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatyā forms are by कृष्यञ् (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) i. e. जमदग्न्यः and पाराशर्यः ॥ In forming the plural of गार्ग्य the following rule applies :—

११०८। यमञोश्च । २। ४। ६४ ॥

गोत्रे यद्यमन्तममन्तं च तदवयवयोरेतयोर्बुद्ध्यास्तत्कृते बहुत्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । गर्गाः ॥ वत्साः । विदाः । ऊर्वाः । तत्कृते इति किम् ! प्रियगार्ग्याः । स्त्रियां तु गार्ग्यः स्त्रियः । गोत्रे किम् । द्वेभ्याः । औत्साः । प्रवराध्यायप्रसिद्धमिह गोत्रम् । तेनेह न । पौत्राः । दौहित्राः ॥

1108. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and अञ् (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

गर्ग+यञ्=गार्ग्यः ; plural गर्गाः 'the male Gotra descendants of Garga.' So also वत्साः 'the male Gotra descendants of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः ॥ Similarly, विद+अञ्=वेदः (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) ; plural विदाः, similarly और्वः singular ; ऊर्वाः plural.

Why do we say tat-krite bahutve 'when the plural is of that word alone' ? But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved ;' प्रियवेदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.' Here the Plural is not of the word Gārgya, but of those who love Gārgya.

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः is the feminine plural of गर्गी ॥

Why do we say "when these denote Gotra descendants" ? Otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप+यञ्=द्वीप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वेभ्याः ; here the affix यञ् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स+अञ्=औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः ॥ Here the Gotra is taken in the sense of a founder of a class, Pravara ; i. e. what is read in pravara list, and is not a Grammatical Gotra. Hence this अञ् is not elided in पौत्राः, दौहित्राः ॥

११०९ । मधुबभ्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः । ४ । १ । १०६ ॥

गोत्रे यञ् । माधव्यो ब्राह्मणः । माधवोऽय्यः । बाभ्रव्यः । कौशिकश्चापि । बाभ्रवोऽय्यः । बभ्रुशब्दस्य मार्गादिपाठान्तिष्ठे नियमार्थमिदम् । मार्गादिपाठफलं तु लोहितादिकार्यार्थम् । बाभ्रव्यावयवी ॥

1109. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बभ्रु, when the words so formed mean 'a Brâhmaṇa' and 'a Kauśika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brâhmaṇa.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu." बाभ्रव्यः = कौशिकः Rishi. Otherwise बाभ्रवः ॥

The word बभ्रु belongs to the Gargâdi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a niyama or restriction, viz. बभ्रु takes यञ् then only when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargâdi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-class लोहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 S. 476 becomes applicable to it ; so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ ॥ Thus बाभ्रव्यावयवी ॥

Note :—In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapâtha, instead of writing बभ्रु alone, there was बभ्रु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

१११० । कपिवोधादाङ्गिरसे । ४ । १ । १०७ ॥

गोत्रे यञ् स्यात् । काप्यः । बौध्यः । आङ्गिरसे किम् । कापेयः । बौधिः ॥

1110. The affix यञ् comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras'. So also बौध्यः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras ? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 22 S. 1125) 'the gotra-descendant of Kapi' so also बौधिः formed by इञ् cause it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bâhvâdi (IV. 1. 96 1096) class.

Note :—The word कपि occurs in Gargâdi class. The present sūtra declares restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant meant. It is included in the Gargâdi class also for the purpose of applying 1. 18 S. 476. Thus कान्यावयवी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of

११११ । वतएडाञ्च । ४ । १ । १०८ ॥

आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वातएडञ्चः । अनाङ्गिरसे तु गगादौ शिवादौ च पाठाद्यङ्गणौ । वातएड्यः । वातएडः ॥

1111. 'The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant after the word 'वातएड,' when meaning a descendant, of Angirasa.

Thus वातएड्यः = आङ्गिरसः, otherwise वातएडः ॥

The word वतएड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and in the Sivādi class (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). It would have taken both affixes यञ् and अण् ॥ The present sūtra declares that when it means an Aṅgīrasa, than वतएड will not take अण् of the शिवादि class : and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both those affixes c. g. वातएड्यः and वातएडः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

१११२ । लुक् स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । १०९ ॥

वतएडाच्चेति विहितस्य लुक् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । शार्ङ्गिरवादित्वात् ङीन् । वतएडी । आनाङ्गिरसे तु वातएड्यायनी । लोहितादित्वात् ष्फः । अणि तु वातएडी । ऋषित्वाद्भ्यमाणः व्यङ् न ॥

1112. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतएडी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतएडः we get वातएड्य in the masculine. As the word belongs to Śaraṅgaravādi class it takes ङीन् in the feminine by IV. 1. 73.

In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातएड्य + ङीन् (IV. 1. 73 S. 527) = वतएडी " a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Aṅgīrasa." Why do we say " of Aṅgīrasa ? " Observe वातएड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitādi rule (IV. 1. 18 S. 476). When वतएड takes अण् under Sivādi class, its feminine is वातएडी ॥ Though the word is formed with अङ्, yet in the feminine, there is not व्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

१११३ । अश्वदिभ्यः फञ् । ४ । १ । ११० ॥

गोत्रे । अश्वायनः ॥ पुंसि जाति * ॥ पुंसीति तु प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । जातस्य गोत्रापत्यं जातायनः । पुंसीति किम् । जाताया अपत्यं जातेयः ॥

1113. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛtti of Āṅgīrasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus
अश्व + फञ् = अश्व + आयन (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075)
'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'.

Note:—Similarly आशमायनः ॥ There are some words in this class which
already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. अत्रेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these
words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word अत्रेय is
formed by अत्रि + ढक् (IV. 1. 1. 122 S. 1125), वैल्य = विलि (a Rajarshi) + ज्यङ् (IV.
1. 171 S. 1189), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). The word शय
takes phañ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शयायनः, otherwise शायिः, with इञ्
or शायः with अण् ॥

Vārtika:—The word जात takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of
a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातियः with
ढक् ॥

The word अत्रेय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as अत्रेयायनः,
otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, S. 3399 leaving
the form अत्रेयः ॥

The words भारद्वाज अत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person
born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra,
then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of
Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of
IV. 1. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अश्वमन् 3 शंख 4 शूद्रक 5 विद 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर)
9 खण्डजार 10 बस्त 11 पित्रूल 12 भण्डिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भण्डित 15 भण्डित 16
प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 क्षान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलोक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट
25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 श्याम 31 धूम 32 धूम 33
वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानुर 35 कुट 36 शप अत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 ग्रीष्म 41
अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 दासक 49 वैल्य
50 (वैल्य) प्राच्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 सुमनस् 56 दुर्मनस्
57 नम 58 नम (मनस्) प्रान्त 59 ध्वन 60 अत्रेय भारद्वाज 61 भारद्वाज अत्रेये 62 उत्स 63
आतव 64 कितव 65 वद 66 धन्य 67 पाद 68 शिष्ट 69 खदिर 70 भण्डिक 71 ग्रीवा
72 कुल 73 काण 74 नड 75 वीक्ष्य 76 वद 77 खड 78 नत्त 79 ओजस,
80 नम ॥

१११४ । भार्गवैर्गते । ४ । १ । १११ ॥

गोत्रे फञ् । भार्गवण्यैर्गते । भार्गवः ॥

1114. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a
Gotra descendant, after the word भार्ग, when the meaning is
a Traigarta.

Thus भार्गवणः = वैर्गतः ; otherwise भार्गिः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095).

१११५ । शिवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । १ । ११२ ॥

गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । शिवस्यापत्यं शैवः । गाङ्गः । पक्षे तिकादिस्वान् फिञ् । गाङ्गायनिः ।
सुभ्रादित्वाद्धक् । गाङ्गेयः ॥

1115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛtti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98 S. 1099) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debarbs इञ् &c. Thus शिव + अण् = शैवः ' a descendant of Śiva '.

Note :—The word तक्षन् ' a carpenter ' occurs in this class. Being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इण् by IV. 1. 153 ; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. S. 1176. Thus तक्षन् + अण् = ताक्षणः ॥ तक्षन् + ण्य = ताक्ष्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134.

The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in the Śubhrādi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) and the Tikādi (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178). There are thus three forms of this word :—गाङ्गः ; गाङ्गायनिः with फिञ् and गाङ्गेयः with ढक् ॥

The word विषाद्या occurs in this class as well as in the Kuñjādi class (IV. 1. 98 S. 1099). It has thus two forms : वैषाद्याः and वैषाद्यायन्यः with च्छप्ताङ्.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river : the affix ढक् (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113 1116) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113 S. 1116), as त्रैवेणः but this is replaced by त्रिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 दण्ड 8 कुगर 9 ककुम्
(ककुभा) 10 अनभिम्भान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 बुनि 15 ककुस्थ 16 कहीड
17 कोहड 18 कहय 19 कदय 20 रोधे 21 कार्पिजल (कुपिजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड
24 वृणकर्ण 25 क्षीरहृद 26 जलहृद 27 परिल 28 पविक 29 पिष्ट 30 हैहय 31 पार्षिका
32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जदिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मंजीरक 37 38 मजिरक 39
वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्मरि 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विंशवणं 47
खण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 मीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 विटक 52 पिटाक 53 तक्षाक 54 नभाक
55 कर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कार 57 पृथा 58 उत्पेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका

62 आर्यश्वेत (अर्यश्वेत) 63 सुषिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्षुरकर्ण 67 खटूरक
68 तक्षन् 69 ऋषिषणे 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 हुह्य 75 अयः स्थूण
76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भलन्दन 79 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी
83 व्यचो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कबोध 88
गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

१११६ । अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः । ४ । १ । ११३ ॥

अवृद्धेभ्यो नदीमानुषीनामभ्योऽण् स्यात् । ढकोऽपवादः । यामुनः । नार्मदः । चिन्तिताया अपत्यं
चैन्तितः । आवृद्धेभ्यः किम् । वासवदत्तेयः । नदीत्यादि किम् । वैनतेयः । तन्नामिकाभ्यः किम् । शोभनाया
अपत्यं शौभनेयः ॥

1116. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vṛiddham words; and when they are used as names and not as adjectives.

ढक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

Note.—The word Vṛiddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like IV. 1. 166, S. 1092 but means the Vṛiddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word whose first syllable is a Vṛiddhi letter (1. 1. 73 S. 523) The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदीमानुषीभ्यः declares the meaning of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः ‘a son of the Yamunā’. नार्मदः ‘son of the Narmadā’. These are all *names* of rivers. Similary चैन्तितः ‘son of चिन्तिता’ ॥

Why do we say ‘when not a Vṛiddha word’? Observe वासवदत्तेयः formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why do we say being ‘names of rivers or women’. Observe वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we say “when it is a *name*?” Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शौभनेयः “the son of a beautiful woman’.

१११७ । ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ११४ ॥

ऋषयो मन्त्रब्रह्मरः । वासिष्ठः । वैश्वामित्रः । अन्धकेभ्यः, श्वाफल्कः । वृष्णिभ्यः, वासुदेवः । अनिरुद्धः । शौरिरिति तु बाह्वादिस्त्वादिभ्यः । कुरुभ्यः, नाकुलः । साहदेवः । इम एवायमपवादो मध्येषवाद्-
न्यायात् । अत्रिवाद्यास्तु परत्वाद्ढक् । अत्रेयः ॥

1117. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vṛishṇi, and Kuru.

This debars the affix **इम्** ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvāmītra &c. Thus **वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः** ॥ So also **आफल्कः, रान्धसः** being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka; and **वासुदेवः, अनिरुद्धः** being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi. The word **शौरिः** however, is formed by **इम्** because it belongs to Bāhvādi class. And **नाकुलः, साहदेवः** being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

This sūtra debars **इम्** only, on the maxim **मध्येऽपवाद** ॥ The word **अत्रि** is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins **अण्**; but IV. 1. 122 S. 1125. enjoins **ढक्**; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of **अत्रि** will be formed not by **अण्** but by **ढक्** ॥ Thus **आत्रेयः** ॥

Similarly **उमसेन** a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic **औमसेन्यः** IV. 1. 152 by **ण्य**; and not by **अण्**; so also **वैश्वकसेन्य** 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi family; so also **भैमसेन्य** 'son of Bhīmasena' a person of Kuru family.

१११८ । मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः । ४ । १ । ११५ ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्य मातृशब्दस्योदादेशः स्यादणप्रत्ययश्च । द्वैमातुरः । सांमातुरः । बाण्मातुरः । भाद्रमातुरः । आदेशार्थं वचनं, प्रत्ययस्तुतसंगेण सिद्धः । स्त्रीलिङ्गनिर्देशोऽप्यपि च । तेन धान्यमातुर्न । संख्येति किम् । सौमात्रः । शुभ्रादित्वाद्द्वैमात्रेयः ॥

1118. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word **mātri** when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words **सम्** or **भद्र**; and the letter **उ** is substituted for the final **ऋ** of **mātri**,

Thus from **द्विमातृ** we have **द्वैमातुरः** "the son of two mothers i. e. the son of one and adopted by another". (**द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमातृ + उ + अ = द्वैमातृ + उ + इ + अ** I. 1. 51 S. 70). Similarly **बाण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः** and **भाद्रमातुरः** ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short **उ** for the **ऋ** of **मातृ**: for the word **मातृ** would have taken the affix **अण्** by the general rule IV. 1. 83. S. 1073 The sūtra contains the word **पूर्वायाः** in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word **मातृ** denotes a female.

Thus संमिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be सांमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'.

Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumâtri'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 S. 1126 as belonging to Subhrâdi class.

१११९। कन्यायाः कनीन च । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

ढकोऽपवादोऽण् तत्सन्निधौ कनीनादेशश्च । कनीना व्यासः कर्णश्च । अनूढाया एवा-
पत्यश्रित्यर्थः ॥

1119. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'kanyâ'

Thus कन्यायाः अपत्यं = कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz. Karṇa or Vyâsa. This debars the ढक् of IV. 1. 121.

Note:—The word कन्या means 'a virgin' the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् या पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

११२०। विकर्णशुङ्गच्छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

अपत्येऽण् । वैकर्णो वात्स्यः । वैकर्णिर्यः । शौङ्गो भारद्वाजः । शौङ्गिर्यः । छागल आत्रेयः ।
छागलिर्यः । केचित्तु शुङ्गेत्याबन्तं पठन्ति तेषां ढक् प्रत्युदाहरणम् । शौङ्गेयः ॥

1120. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छागल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvâja and Atri respectively.

Thus वैकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौङ्गः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः ॥
छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुङ्गा ending with the feminine affix आष् is used and not शुङ्ग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

११२१। पीलाया वा । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

तन्नामिकाणं बाधित्वा द्व्यच्इति ढकि प्राप्ते पक्षेऽण् विधीयते । पीलाया अपत्यं पेलः । पैलेयः ॥

1121. The affix **अण्** comes optionally after the word **पीला** in denoting a descendant.

The word **पीला** being the name of a female would have taken **अण्** by IV. 1. 113 S. 1116; but this **अण्** would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 S. 1124 as it is a disyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sutra. Thus **पैलः** or **पैलेयः** 'son of Pīlā.'

११२२ । ढक् च मण्डूकात् । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

चादण् । पत्ने इञ् । माण्डूकेयः । माण्डूकः । माण्डूकिः ॥

1122. The affix **ढक्** comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word **माण्डूक** as well as the affix **अण्** ॥

Thus we get three forms, **माण्डूक + ढक् = माण्डूकेयः**; **माण्डूक + अण् = माण्डूकः**; **माण्डूक + इञ् = माण्डूकिः** (IV. 1. 95).

११२३ । स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् । ४ । १ । १२० ॥

स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो ढक् स्यात् । वैनतेयः । बाह्वादिस्त्रीसौमित्रिः । शिवादिस्त्रीसापन्नः ॥

1123. The words ending in a feminine affix take the affix **ढक्** in forming their Patronymic.

The word **स्त्री** in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes टाप् &c,' That is, words ending in long **आ** and **ई** of the feminine. Thus **विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः** (IV. 1. 2 S. 183). So also **सौपर्णेयः** "the son of Vinatā or Suparṇī." But the son of **सुमित्रा** will be **सौमित्रिः** as it belongs to Bāhvādi class. (IV. 1. 96. S. 1096). Similarly the son of **सपत्नि** will be **सापन्नः** as it belongs to Śivādi class. (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115).

But **ऐडविडः** and **दारदः** formed by **अण्** meaning sons of **इडविड** and **दरद**, for though these words are feminine, they do not *end in feminine affixes*.

The affix **ढक्** comes after **वडवा** when meaning **वृष** ॥ Thus **बाडवेयः = वृषः** "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be **बाडवः** 'the son of a mare.'

The feminine words **कुञ्चा** and **कौकिला** take the affix **अण्** in forming the patronymic. Thus **क्रौञ्चः** "the son of a curlew." **कौकिलाः** "the son of a cuckoo."

११२४ । द्व्यचः । ४ । १ । १२१ ॥

द्व्यचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादप्ये ढक् । तन्नामिकाणोऽपवादः । दात्तेयः । पार्थ इत्यत्र तु तस्येदमित्यण् ॥

1124. The affix 'dhak' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels. .

This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113. S. 1116.

Thus दत्तायौ अपत्यं = दत्तैयः 'the son of Datta' But the son of वृथा is however, वार्थः by अण् of IV. 3. 120 S. 1500.

Note:—Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe यामुनः "son of यमुना", which is a trisyllabic word and not disyllabic.

११२५ । इतश्चानिजः । ४ । १ । १२२ ॥

इकारान्ताद् द्व्यचोऽपत्ये ढक् स्यात् न त्विजन्तात् । दैलेयः । नैधेयः ॥

1125. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इञ् ॥

The anuvṛtti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word द्व्यचः of the last sūtra. Thus दैलेयः 'the son of Duli'. नैधेयः 'the son of निधि' ॥

Note:—Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षिः "the son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इञ्'? Observe दाक्षायणः 'the son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95. S. 1095); so also प्लाक्षायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचि" ॥

११२६ । शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १२३ ॥

ढक् स्यात् । शुभ्रस्यापत्यं शौभ्रेयः ॥

1126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शौभ्रेयः ॥

Note:—This debars इञ् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows at some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an

आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पाण्डव are not in the list, we find still forms like गांगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतंहार, 5 शलायल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाधू, 7 लेखाधू, (लेखाध्र), 8 विकसा, (विकाण), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिशु, 13 शालूक, 14 अजवस्ति, 15 शकांधि, 16 विमातृ, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विशा, 20 देवतर, 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र, 24 ज्ञातल, (शतल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूकण्डु, 27 विसि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्डु, 32 शाताहर, 33 पवष्टुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वसिष्ठे । 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण; 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 शृकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदत्त, 49 सुवत्तस्, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कङ्क, 52 रुद, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुठारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिन् 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदत्त, 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खड्ग, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धविह्वला, 67 खड्गोन्मत्ता, 68 अनुदटिन्, (अनुदटि) 69 जरतिन्, 70 बलिवर्दिन्, 71 विप्र, 72 वीज, 73 जीव, 74 ध्वन्, 75 अश्मन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर 78 शतावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यष्टु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकयु, 86 यमष्टु, 87 कष्टु, 88 शृकण्ड, 89 रुद, 90 रुद, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥ The word Pravahana (39) which belongs to this class, is governed by the sūtra 1129 in forming its derivative.

११२७ । विकर्णकुशीतकात्काश्यपे । ४ । १ । १२४ ।

अर्षले ढक् । वैकर्णेयः । कौशीतकेयः । अन्यो वैकर्णिः । कौशीतिकः ॥

1127. 'The affix 'ढक्' comes after the words 'vikarna' and 'kushîta', when they mean the descendants of Kâśyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौशीतकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौषितिकः formed by IV. 1. 95.

११२८ । सुवौ वुक् च । ४ । १ । १२५ ॥

आड्ढक् । औवेयः ॥

1128. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word सु and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus सु + ढक् = सु + वुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46 S. 36) = सुवु + ढक् = औवेयः (VII. 1. 2.)

११२६ । प्रवाहणस्य ढे । ७ । ३ । २८ ॥

प्रवाहणशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्यान्मादेरचो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ढे परे ॥ प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं
प्रवाहणेयः । प्रवाहणेयः ॥

1129. Before the affix ढ (एय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रवाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥

Note :—The affix ढक् IV. 1. 123, S. 1126 is added, here. Similarly प्रवाहणेयी
भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculation prohibited). Or we may translate the
sūtra as “Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi”, and
omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, S. 842 (जाते) ॥

११३० । तत्प्रत्ययस्य च । ७ । ३ । २६ ॥

ढान्तस्य प्रवाहणस्योत्तरपदस्यादेरचो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ॥ प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं प्रवाहणेयः ।
प्रवाहणेयः ॥ बाह्यतद्धितानिमित्ता वृद्धिर्नाश्रयेण विकल्पेन बाधितुं न शक्यते इति सूत्रारम्भः ॥

1130. Even in a new derivative from प्रवाहणेय itself when formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member.

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रवाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः, ॥ In other words, the external vṛiddhi might have been caused by इञ् is not able to supersede the internal optional vṛiddhi de-pendent upon ढ ॥ Hence a separate sūtra.

११३१ । कल्याणयादीनामिनङ् । ४ । १ । १२६ ॥

एषामिनङादेशः स्यात् ढक् च । काल्याणिनेयः । बान्धकिनेयः ॥

1131. The affix ‘ढक्’ comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इनङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

Note :—In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इनङ् for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 120, S. 1123. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इनङ् and the addition of ढक् ॥

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'the son of Kalyāṇi'.
So also बान्धकिनेयः ॥

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अतुष्टि, 6 अतुष्टि (अतुष्टि)
7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्दी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

११३२। कुलदाया वा । ४ । १ । १२७ ॥

इनङ्मात्रं विकल्प्यते ढक् तु नित्यः पूर्वैर्णैव । कौलदिनेयः । कौलदेयः । सती भिक्षुक्यश्च
कुलदा । या तु व्यभिचारार्थं कुलान्यदति तस्याः क्षुद्राभ्यो वेति पक्षे ढक् । कौलदेरः ॥

1132. 'The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा has another meaning also of a nun. Literally it means one who wanders (अवति) from one family (कुल) to another. i. e. "a chaste woman but a beggar or (2) secondly an unchaste woman." This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have always taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120 S. 1123. Thus कुलदा + ढक् = कुलदिन् + ढक् = कौलदिनेयः, or कौलदेयः 'son of a chaste woman who is a beggar'. This word कुलदा when meaning an unchaste woman, being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 131 S. 1137. Thus कौलदेरः ॥ In this case there are two forms only कौलदेरः and कौलदेयः and never कौलदिनेयः ॥

Note:—See Amarakośha II 6. 26.

११३३। हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

हृदायन्ते पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्मिति णिति किति च । सहदोऽपत्यं सौहार्दः
सुभगाया अपत्यं सौभागिनेयः । सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः सक्तुसिन्धवः । तेषु भवः साक्तुसैन्धवः ॥

1133. 'The Vṛddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicative ण्, ज्ञ् or क् ॥

As सहदोऽपत्यं = सौहार्दम्, सौभागिनेयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), ॥

Note:—The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyāṇādi class (IV. 1. 126 S. 113) and the affix ढक् and इनङ् augment are added, सुभग also occurs in Udgātṛ class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vṛddhi in the second member, as मङ्गते सौभाग्य ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly.

Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have साक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु भवः) ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhâdi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed thereunder.

The words सुहृद् and दुहृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4, 150.

The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

११३४ । चटकाया षेरक् । ४ । १ । १२८ ॥

चटकस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्त्रिया अपि । चटकस्य चटकाया वा अपत्यं चाटकैः ॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये लुग्वक्तव्यः * ॥ तयोरेव स्त्र्यपत्यं चटका । अजादित्वाद्वाप् ॥

1134. The word चटका takes the affix षेरक् in forming the Patronymic.

Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

Vart :—It should be rather stated that the word चटकः (masc) takes the affix षेरक् ॥ For if the rule be enunciated with regard to the word chaṭaka, it would be extended to the feminine chaṭakā also, by the maxim liṅgavishishṭa &c. Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

Vart :—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका, will be चटका, the दाप् being added, as it belongs to the Ajâdi class IV. 1. 4,

११३५ । गोधया दूक् । ४ । १ । १२९ ॥

गोधैः । शुभ्रादित्वात्पक्षे ढक् । गोधेयः ॥

1135. The affix 'दूक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + दूक् = गोधैः ॥

Of the affix 'ḍhrak,' the letter ह् is replaced by एच् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475), क् causes Vriddhi (VII. 2. 118 S. 1076) and makes the ndatta accent fall on the final (VI. 1. 165 S. 3712) Thus the real affix is एश्च, but the च् is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śúbhrâdi class IV. 1. 123, S. 1126 also, thus it takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गोधेयः ॥

११३६ । आरगुदीचाम् । ४ । १ । १३० ॥

गोधैः । रकासिद्धे आकारोच्चारणमन्यतो विधानार्थम् । जडस्यापत्यं जाडारः । पण्डस्यापत्यं

1136. The affix 'आरक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गौधारः ॥ It might be objected that the affix आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and णड also take this affix, as जाडारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

११३७ । क्षुद्राभ्यो वा । ४ । १ । १३१ ॥

अङ्गहीनाः शीलहीनाश्च क्षुद्रास्ताभ्यो वा ढक् । पक्षे ढक् । काणेरः । काण्येयः । दासेरः । दासेयः ॥

1137. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting contemptible objects.

The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. The anuvṛitti of ढक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. This sūtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काण्येयः, दासेरः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

११३८ । पितृष्वसुङ्खण् । ४ । १ । १३२ ॥

अयोपवादः । पितृष्वसीयः ॥

1138. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसु' ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसु + छण् = पितृष्वसीय, 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ affix is replaced by ईय ॥

११३९ । ढकि लोपः । ४ । १ । १३३ ॥

पितृष्वसुरन्यलोपः स्याद्ढकि । अत एव ज्ञापकात् ढक् । पितृष्वसेयः ॥

1139. The final vowel of 'पितृ-व्यस्' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृव्यस् + ढक् = पैतृव्यसेयः ॥ This sūtra teaches merely elision, but indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृव्यस् takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

११४० । मातृव्यसुश्च । ४ । १ । १३४ ॥

पितृव्यसुर्यदुक्तं तदस्यापि स्यात् । मातृव्यस्त्रीयः । मातृव्यसेयः ॥

1140. So also, after the word 'मातृ-व्यस्' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

Whatever has been taught in the sūtras IV. I, 132, 133 S. 1138, 1139 above, as regards pitṛisvasṛi, apply to मातृव्यस् also. As मातृव्यस्त्रीयः or मातृव्यसेयः the son of a mother's sister.'

११४१ । चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ् । ४ । १ । १३५ ॥

1141. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कमण्डलु + ढञ् ॥ Now applies the following ūtra.

११४२ । ढे लोपोऽकट्टाः । ६ । ४ । १४७ ॥

कट्टभिरन्त्योऽर्णान्तस्य भस्य लोपः स्यात् ढे परे । कामण्डलेयः । कमण्डलुशब्दश्चतुष्पाज्जाति-
वेद्ये ॥

1142. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढ), but not of the stem 'Kadrū'.

Thus कामण्डलेयः, but काद्रवेयो मन्त्रमपश्य ॥ Here the word कमण्डलु means a certain quadruped.

११४३ । गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

एभ्योऽङ् स्यात् । अण्डकोरपवादः । गार्ह्येयः । निर्वयोरपत्यम् । ऋष्यणि प्राप्ति ढञ् ॥

1143. The affix 'ढञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words, 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars अण् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ह्यः; हार्ह्यः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last sūtra. The present sūtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विभि, 6 कुट्टि, 7 अजवस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ॥

The word मित्रयु also belongs to this class and takes ढञ् instead of अण् of Rishi (IV. 1. 113 S. 1116) Thus मित्रयोरपत्यम् = मित्रयु + ढञ् ॥ Now the following sūtra would apply causing the substitution of इय् for the यु of मित्रयु ॥

११४४ । केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः । ७ । ३ । २ ॥

एषां यकारादेरिय् आदेशः स्यात् त्रिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परे । इति इयदेशे प्राप्ते ॥

1144. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ए or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As कैकेयः (= केकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1168) : similarly मैत्रेयिका formed with वुञ् (V. 1. 134 S. 1799) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया श्लाघते ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 S. 1799 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रलेयम् (= प्रलयादागतं) ॥ As प्रलेयमुदकं ॥

Thus मित्रयु + ढञ् = मैत्र + इय् + एय ॥ This would give the form मैत्रेयेयः ; which is wrong. Hence the following sūtra

११४५ । दारिडनायन हास्तिनायनाथर्वणिक जैह्माशिनेय वाशिनायनि औणहत्य धैवत्य सारवैश्वक मैत्रेय हिरण्मयानि । ६ । ४ । १७४ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । इति युलोपः । मैत्रेयः । मैत्रेयौ ॥

1145. The following are irregularly formed ; 1. Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Ātharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmāsineya, 5. Vāsināyana, 6. Bhraunahatya, 7. Dhaivatyā, 8. Sārava, 9. Aikshvāka, 10. Maitreya and 11 Hiraṇmaya.

Note:—These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दारिडनायन and हास्तिनायन from दण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is फक् (IV. 2. 91 S. 1310). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly : दण्डिनोऽपत्यं =

वाण्डनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अयर्वन् belongs to Vasantâdi class (IV. 2. 63 S. 1273). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvanika: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशिन and वासिन् are Jaihmâsineya and Vâsinâyani, the former with the affix ढक् of the Śubh-râdi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126). and the latter with the affix फिम् of IV. 1. 157 S. 1181. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix व्यम्, and न् being replaced by त = भूणहन्तो भावः, धीवन्तो भावः ॥ हन् takes त before affixes having an indicatory ण् or झ् by VII. 3. 32 S. 2571: it might be said त would be added to भूणहन् before व्यम् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like श्रौण्णी, वार्चनः ॥ The त in Bhranphatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरय्वां भव. = सारवपुदकं ॥ (9) The son of ईश्वराकु, with अम् affix (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186), the final उ is elided, or ईश्वराकुषु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐलाकः with अण् (IV. 2. 132 S. 1356). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐश्वराकः and the other ऐश्वराकः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐश्वराक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grishtyâdi class IV. 1. 136, S. 1143 and takes ढम् as मित्रयु + एय. Here VI. 4. 146, S. 84 requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of उ, but VII. 3. 2, S. 1144 required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, S. 311 before एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asidha VI. 4. 22 S. 2183; however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The dual is मैत्रेयोः ॥ The plural of त्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskâdi class and loses the affix in the plural by the following, sūtra.

Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2 S. 1144. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidâdi class (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106), it would have taken the affix अम्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु + अम् = मित्र + इय (VII. 3. 2 S. 1144) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskâdi class (II. 4. 63 S. 1146) for then by II. 4. 63, S. 1146 अम् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अम् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV. 3. 127, S. 1507 and not with डम् under IV. 3. 126 S. 1506; but

we require बुम्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्मयः ॥

११४६ । यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे । २ । ४ । ६३ ॥

एभ्योऽपत्यस्य लुक् स्यात्तत्कृते बहुल्ये न तु खियाम् । मित्रयवः ॥

1146. After the words यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural ; but not in the feminine.

Therefore the plural of मैत्रेय is मित्रयवः ॥

Note :—यस्क + अण् = यास्कः, a descendant of Yaska not nearer than grandson. In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः, 'the descendants of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क ॥ 2. लह्य ॥ 3. ब्रह्म ॥ 4. अयस्थूण ॥ 5. अयः स्थूण ॥ 6. सृणकर्ण ॥ 7. सदामन्त ॥ 8. कम्बलहार ॥ 9. बहिर्योग ॥ 10. कर्णाढक ॥ 12. पिण्डि जड्घ ॥ 13. प्रकसस्य ॥ 14. वकसक्य ॥ 15. विश्रि ॥ 16. कुट्टि ॥ 17. अजबस्ति ॥ 18. मित्रयु ॥ 19. रत्नोमुख ॥ 20. जङ्गारय ॥ 21. उत्कास ॥ 22. कटुक ॥ 23. मयक ॥ 24. मन्यक ॥ 25. पुष्करद् ॥ 26. पुष्करसद् ॥ 27. विषपुठ ॥ 28. उपरिमेखल ॥ 29. क्रोष्टुकमान ॥ 30. क्रोष्टुमान ॥ 31. क्रोष्टुपाद् ॥ 32. क्रोष्टुमाय ॥ 33. शीर्षमाय ॥ 34. श्वरप ॥ 35. पदक ॥ 36. वषुक ॥ 37. भलन्दन ॥ 38. भण्डिल ॥ 39. भण्डिल ॥ 40. भडित ॥ 41. भण्डिल ॥

११४७ । अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोऽयश्च । २ । ४ । ६५ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् तत्कृते बहुल्ये न तु खियाम् । अत्रयः । भृगवः । कुत्साः । वसिष्ठाः । गोतमाः । अङ्गिरसः ॥

1147. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + ङक IV. 1. 122 S. 1125). the descendant of अत्रि, is अत्रयः, the regular plural of अत्रि ॥ So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः ; singular कौत्सः, plural कुत्साः ; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमा, अङ्गिरसः ॥

In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृशु + भव = भार्गवः 'the descendant of Bhṛigu'. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इक् and अण् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आश्विनः, भार्गवः; dual आश्विनौ, भार्गवौ; plural आश्विनः, भृगवः &c.

Note :—But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियाश्विनः or प्रियभार्गवः ॥

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus :—आश्विन्यः स्त्रियः ॥

११४८ । बह्वच इजः प्राच्यभरतेषु । २ । ४ । ६६ ॥

बह्वचः परो य इज् प्राच्यगोत्रे च वर्तमानस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पन्नागाराः । युधिष्ठिराः ॥

1148. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इज् (IV. I. 95 S. 1095) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पन्नागारिः is पन्नागारः, there being elision of इज्; so also मयरेषणाः plural of मान्यरैषणिः; so the plural of यौधिष्ठिरिः is युधिष्ठिराः 'the descendants of Yudhishtira.'

Note :—But वैकिः and पौष्पि not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्यः and पौष्यः ॥

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाक्यः plural of बालाकिः, हस्तिवास्यः plural of हस्तिवासिः ॥

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prāchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4. 60 S. 2131. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus आश्विनिः father, आश्विनायनः son.

११४९ । न गोपवर्नोदिभ्यः । २ । ४ । ६७ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात् । विदाद्यन्तर्गणोऽयम् । गोपवर्नाः । दौमवाः ॥

1149. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus गोपवन + अम् = गोपवनः, plural गोपवनाः; singular दैवः, plural दैवः ॥ The गोपवन &c., belong to Bidādi class, *vide* IV. 1. 104. S. 1106 and are the following :—गोपवनः शिशुः, बिन्दुः, भजन्, अरव, अवतान. श्यामक and आपर्ण ॥ The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

११५० । तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुत्वे लुक् स्यात् द्वन्द्वे । तैकायनयश्च कैतवायनयश्च । तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् तस्य लुक् । तिककितवाः ॥

1150. After the words तिक-कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिञ् = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178). Its plural is तैकायनयः । तैकायनयः + कैतवायनयः = तिककितवाः ॥ There is elision of फिञ् ॥

So also बांखरिः plural बांखरयः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) + भण्डीरयः = बांखरभण्डीरयः ; there is elision of इञ् (IV. 1. 95. S. 1095). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बङ्खरभण्डीरयाः 3. उपकल्मकाः (औपकायनाः + लामकायनाः, IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. elision of फक्). 4. पफकनरकाः (पाफकयः + नारकयः IV. 1. 95, elision of इञ्). 5. वकनखगुदपरिणदाः, 6. उज्जककुभा. (औज्जयः IV. 1. 95 S. 1095. + काकुभाः IV. 1. 112, S. 1115 then the elision of इञ् and अण्). 7. लङ्कशान्तमुखाः (the elision of इञ् IV. 1. 95 as in 4). 8. उत्तर-सलङ्कटाः or उरसलङ्कटाः (औरसायनः IV. 1. 154, + लाङ्कटयः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of फिञ् and इञ् ॥ 9. भट्टक कपिष्ठलाः (elision of इञ् as in 4) 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इञ्) 11. अग्निविश-शस्त्रेकाः (अग्निवेशयः IV. 1. 105 S. 1107 + शस्त्रेकयः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of both यञ् and इञ्) ॥

११५१ । उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६९ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुत्वे लुक् स्यात् द्वन्द्वे चाद्वन्द्वे च । औपकायनाश्च लामकायनाश्च नडादिभ्यः फक् तस्य लुक् । उपकलमकाः । औपकायनलामकायनाः । भ्राष्ट्रकपिष्ठलाः । भ्राष्ट्रकपिष्ठलयः । उपकाः । लमकाः । लामकायनाः ॥

1151. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the words take the plural, whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavādi of the last sūtra. According to the Kāshikā the elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, or औपकायन-लामकायनाः ॥ भ्राष्टककपिष्ठलाः, or भ्राष्टकि-कापिष्ठलयः ॥ कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः ॥ But the plurals of औपकायनः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99 S. 1101) is उपकाः or औपकाः (or औपकायनाः) of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of भ्राष्टकि is भ्राष्टकाः or भ्राष्टकयः, or भ्राष्टकायनाः ॥ The plural of कापिष्ठलिः is कपिष्ठलाः or कापिष्ठलयः ॥ The plural of काष्णोजिनः is कृष्णार्जिनाः, or काष्णार्जिनयः ॥ The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or काष्णसुन्दरयः ॥

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow :—

- 1 पण्डारक ॥ 2 अण्डारक ॥ 3. गडुक ॥ 4. सुपर्यक ॥ 5. सुपिष्ट ॥ 6. मयूरकर्ण ॥ 7. खारीजङ्घ ॥ 8. शलाघल ॥ 9. पतञ्जल ॥ 10. कटेरणि ॥ 11. कुशीतक ॥ 12. काशकृत्स्न ॥ 13. निराघ ॥ 14. कलशीकण्ठ ॥ 15. शमकण्ठ ॥ 16. कृष्णपिंगल ॥ 17. कर्णाक ॥ 18. पर्णक ॥ 19. जटिलक ॥ 20. वधिरक ॥ 21. जन्तुक ॥ 22. अनुलोम ॥ 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक ॥ 24. प्रतिलोम ॥ 25. प्रतान ॥ 26. अनभिहित ॥ 27. चूडारक ॥ 28. उडङ्क ॥ 29. सुधायुक ॥ 30. अबन्धक ॥ 31. पदञ्जल ॥ 32. अनुपद ॥ 33. अपजग्ध ॥ 34. कमक ॥ 35. लेखाभ्र ॥ 36. कमन्दक ॥ 37. पिञ्चल ॥ 38. मसूरकर्ण ॥ 39. मराघ ॥ 40. कदामत्त ॥ 41. शमकण्ठ ॥

११५२ । आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच् । २ । ४ । ७० ॥

एतयोरवयवस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्याऽणो यञश्च बहुषु लुक् स्याद्वशिष्टस्य प्रकृतिभागस्य यथासंख्यन-
गस्ति कुण्डिनच् एतावद्विशोः स्तः । अगस्तयः । कुण्डिनाः ॥

1152. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and यञ् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कुण्डिनाः ॥ The affix अण् (IV. I. 114 S. 1117) after आगस्त्य and the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105 S. 1105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

११५३ । राजश्वशुराद्यत् । ४ । १ । १३७ ॥

राज्ञो जातावेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥

1153. The affix यन् comes in the sense of the descendant after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर' ॥

This debars अण् and इम् respectively.

Vart:—In the case of राजन्, the affix यन् would be added, if the word so formed denotes a caste (Jāti). Thus राजन् + यन् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra which prevents the elision of अन् before यन् ॥

११५४ । ये चाभावकर्मणोः । ६ । ४ । १६८ ॥

यावो तद्धिते परे अन् प्रकृत्या स्यान्न तु भावकर्मणोः । राजन्यः । श्वशुर्यः । जातिग्रहणाच्छूद्राशुत्पन्नो राजनः ॥

1154. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus राजन्यः (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word ; it does not mean 'the son of a Rāja' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

As the word Jāti is used in the vārtika under IV. 1. 137 S. 1153. a son born of a Śūdrā wife by a Kshatriya will be राजनः ॥

११५५ । अन् । ६ । ४ । १६७ ॥

अणि अन्प्रकृत्या स्यादिति दिलोपो न । अभावकर्मणोः किम् । राज्ञः कर्म भावो वा राज्यम् ॥

1155. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामानः, वैमनः, सौत्वनः, जैत्वनः, from सामन्, वैमन्, सुत्वन् and जित्वन् ॥

Thus सामन्तु साधुः = सामान्यः, ब्राह्मण्यः ॥

Why have we used the words "when it does not denote an abstract noun or an avocation" in the sūtra VI. 4. 168 S. 1154. ? Observe राज्यम् meaning the "royalty," the state of being a king or the avocation. But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा = राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to the Purohitādi class and takes यक् (V. 1. 128).

११५६ । संयोगादिश्च । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

इन्प्रकृत्या स्यादणि परे । चक्रियोऽपत्यं चाक्रियः ॥

1156. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus चक्रियोऽपत्यं = चाक्रियः ॥

११५७ । न मपूर्वोऽपत्यंऽवर्मणः । ६ । ४ । १७० ॥

मपूर्वोऽन्प्रकृत्या न स्यादपत्येऽणि । भाद्रसामः । मपूर्वः क्रियः । सौत्वनः । अपत्ये क्रियः । चर्मणा परिवृतश्चर्मणो रथः । अवर्मणः क्रियः । चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

वा हितनाम्न इति वाच्यम् * ॥ हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं हैतनामः । हैतनामनः ॥

1157. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म्, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus भाद्रसामः from भाद्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म्'? Observe सौत्वनः, preceded by व् ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चर्मणा परिवृतो रथः = चामर्यः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167 S. 1155. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vari :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हैतनामः or हैतनामनः ॥

११५८ । ब्राह्मोऽजातौ । ६ । ४ । १७१ ॥

योगविभागोऽत्र कर्तव्यः । ब्राह्म इति निपात्यने अनपत्येऽणि । ब्राह्मं हविः । ततोऽजातौ । अनपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणष्टिलोपा न स्यात् । ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं ब्राह्मणः । अनपत्ये क्रियः । ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

1158. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a caste or jāti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Potronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मं हविः, ॥ (2) अजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix: as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jāti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥ ब्राह्मोऽहर्त्तः, ब्राह्मः स्यात्तीपाकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it denotes a caste'? Observe ब्राह्मोनारदः 'Nārada the son of Brahmā'.

११५६ । औक्षमनपत्ये । ६ । ४ । १७३ ॥

अणि ढिलोपो निपात्यते । औक्षं पत्यम् । अनपत्ये किम् । उक्ष्योऽपत्यम् ॥

1159. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पत्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning a descendant? Observe औक्षः=उक्षोऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided by VI 4. 135 S. 1160 as given below.

११६० । अपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि । ६ । ४ । १३५ ॥

अपूर्वो योऽन् तस्य हनादेश्च भस्यातो लोपोऽणि । औक्षणः । ताक्षणः । औणन्नः । धृतराज्ञोऽपत्यं धार्तराज्ञः । अपूर्वेति किम् । सामनः । अणि किम् । ताक्षण्यः ॥

1160 Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन् the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्षणः, ताक्षणः, औणन्नः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

Why do we say, before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्यः formed by the affix ण्य under IV. 1. 152 S. 1176 added to the artisan denoting word takshan.

११६१ । क्षत्राद्धः । ४ । १ । १३८ ॥

क्षत्रियः । जातानित्येव । क्षत्रिरन्यः ॥

1161. The affix 'gha' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'Kshattrā.'

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya'. * This is also a *class* name. The *son* of क्षत्र will be क्षत्रिः ॥

Note:—The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes त्रघ and तमष् (I. 1. 22).

११६२ । कुलात्खः । ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

कुलीनः । तदन्तादपि । उत्तरसूत्रेऽपूर्वपदादिति लिङ्गात् । आख्यकुलीनः ॥

1162. 'The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula'.

Thus कुलीनः ॥ The affix applies to compounds ending in कुल ॥ Because in the next sūtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakañ'. That indicates by implication that the present sūtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus आर्यकुलीनः ॥

११६३ । अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यङ्ढकञौ । ४ । १ । १४० ॥

कुलारित्येव । पक्षे खः । कुल्यः । कौलेयकः । कुलीनः । परमहणं किम् । बहुकुल्यः । बाहुकुलेयकः । बहुकुलीनः ॥

1163. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula', when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally', we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udātta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

Why do we say 'पद'? The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14 S. 29. The word बहु is not a pada but an affix (see V. 3. 68. S. 2023). Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

११६४ । महाकुलादञ्सञौ । ४ । १ । १४१ ॥

अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवर्तते । पक्षे खः । महाकुलः । महाकुलीनः । महाकुलीनः ॥

1164. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'सञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahākula'.

The word anyatarsyām 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra is understood here also. So we have ख also in the other alternative.

Thus महाकुलः, महाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139 S. 1162.

११६५ । दुष्कुलादङ् । ४ । १ । १४२ ॥

पूर्ववत्पक्षे खः । दौष्कुलेयः । दुष्कुलीनः ॥

1165. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkula.'

Thus ढौकुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

११६६ । स्वसुखः । ४ । १ । १४३ ॥

स्वस्त्रीयः ॥

1166. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वस्त्रीयः 'the sister's son'.

११६७ । भ्रातृव्यञ्च । ४ । १ । १४४ ॥

वाच्यः । अणोऽपवादः । भ्रातृव्यः । भ्रात्रीयः ॥

1167. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रात्रीयः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यत् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

११६८ । व्यन्संपर्ल । ४ । १ । १४५ ॥

भ्रातृव्यन् स्यात्पत्ये प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायेन शत्रौ वाच्ये । भ्रातृव्यः शत्रुः । पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येणेति तुपचारान् ॥

1168. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ', when the sense is that of 'a brother's son who is an enemy'.

The word सपन्न means 'enemy'. The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् is in accent (VI. I. 185 and VI. I. 197). Thus भ्रातृव्य शत्रुः nephew who is an enemy पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". Here, of course, there is no sense of patronymic, and bhrātrivya means 'an enemy' simply, but this is an extended figurative use of the word, rather than its original meaning. According to Kāśīkā, this bhātrivya with acute on the first, never means nephew, but 'an enemy' pure and simple: the force of the affix is not that of a patronymic.

११६६ । रेवत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १४६ ॥

1169. The affix 'उक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars उक् &c. Thus रेवती + उक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वपारिकः (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170). The उ is replaced by इक by the next sūtra.

1 रेवती, 2 आश्वपारी, 3 मणिपाली, 4 द्वारपाली, 5 वृक्षवर्जिचन, 6 वृक्षवन्धुः, 7 वृक्षमाह, 8 कर्णमाह, 9 वण्डमाह, 10 कुक्कुटाक्ष, 11 (ककुवाक्ष) 12 चानरमाह,

११७० । उत्येकः । ७ । ३ । ५० ॥

आश्वपारस्य उत्येकादेशः स्यात् । रेवतिक ॥

1170. For उ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

Thus रेवती + उक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati.'

११७१ । गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने णं च । ४ । १ । १४७ ॥

गोत्रं वा स्त्री तदाचकाच्छशब्दान् यदको स्तः कुत्सायाम् । सामर्थ्याद्युति । गार्ग्या अपत्यं गार्गो गार्गिको वा जाल्मः ॥ भस्याडे तज्जिते इति पुंस्त्र्यावाङ्मार्ग्यशब्दाण्यण्डको । भस्येति लोपः । आपत्यस्येति यलोपः ॥

1171. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix इक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः जाल्मः ॥ By the vārtika भस्याडे &c. (VI. 3. 35 S. 836), there is masculinisation, and so the affixes ण and उक् are added to गार्ग्य and not गार्गी ॥ Then by the sūtra VI. 4. 148. S. 311 the अ of गार्ग्य is elided. Then by VI. 4. 151. S. 1082, the इ is elided. Thus we get the form गार्गः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लौचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायनः and ग्लौचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvar affix.

Note:—Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant.' Observe कारिकेबो ज्ञात्म् (formed by डक् IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why 'do we say female descendant? Observe भौवगविज्ञात्म् ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe मार्गेबो मातृवकः which is to be explained as मार्गार्थं नपत्यं पुमान् शुभा भवति ॥ मातामहादेवपुत्र-
ज्ञापार्थेन प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

११७२ । वृद्धादृक् सौवीरेषु बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १४८ ॥

शुवीरेषोक्तवाः सौवीराः । वृद्धासौवीरगोत्राद्युनि बहुलं डक् स्यात् कुत्सायात् । भागवित्तेर्भा-
गवित्तिकः । पक्षे फक् । भागवित्तायनः ॥

1172. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'डक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant, after a Vṛiddha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras.

Thus भागवित्तिकः 'the son of Bhâgavitti.' In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) as भागवित्तायनः, ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed we have भागवित्तायनः only.

११७३ । फेड्ड च । ४ । १ । १४९ ॥

किम्पन्तासौवीरगोत्रापत्ये छः डक् च कुत्सने गम्ये । यमुन्वत्यापत्यं यामुन्वायनिः । तिकादित्वात्
किम् । तत्त्वापत्यं यामुन्वायनीयः । यामुन्वायनिकः । कुत्सने किम् । यामुन्वायनिः । भौत्सर्गिकस्याप्ये-
वमन्त्रिणेति डक् । सौवीरेति किम् । तैकायनिः ॥

1173. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix डक्) comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix किम् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्व will be यामुन्वायनिः formed by the affix किम् (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178) as this word belongs to the Tikâdi class. The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यामुन्वायनीयः or यामुन्वायनिकः ॥

Why do we say 'contempt.'? For when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्वायनिः will be यामुन्वायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्वायनि + नप् = यामुन्वायनि + ० (II. 4. 58 S. 1276) = यामुन्वायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Sauvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

Note:—The फेः of the sūtra refers to किम् and not to किन्, for a stem formed by किन् will not have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called Vṛiddham; the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to a Kārikā, three क्तिन् stems, all belonging to Tikādi class, are only governed by this sūtra, viz. वसुन्व, सुवामा and वार्षाद्यनिः ॥ The son of वसु is Vāśhyāyāni.

११७४ । फण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञी । ४ । १ । १५० ॥

सौविरेषु । नेह यथासंख्यम् । अन्त्यान्तरस्य परनिपाताभिज्ञादिति वृत्तिकारः । भाष्ये तु यथासंख्यमेवेति स्थितम् । फण्टाहतः । फण्टाहृताद्यनिः । नैमतः । नैमताद्यनिः ॥

1174. The affixes ण and फिञ् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvīra country, after the words Phāṇṭāhrita and Mimata.

This debars फक् ॥ The Sauvīra is understood here also. The rule of I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply. For according to Kāśikā the reason is this. "By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, S. 905 the word क्तिन् consisting of less syllables than फण्टाहत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and फिञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively." But according to the Mahābhāṣya. The rule I. 3. 10 S. 128 applies, and ण and फिञ् are added respectively. Thus फण्टाहतः or फण्टाहृताद्यनिः ; नैमतः or नैमताद्यनिः ॥

Note :—When not denoting Sauvīra Gotras, we have फण्टाहृताद्यनिः and नैमताद्यनिः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 S. 1103 and IV. 1. 99 S. 1101). The word क्तिन् belongs to the Naḍādi-class (IV. I. 99).

११७५ । कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । ४ । १ । १५१ ॥

अपले । कौरव्या ब्राह्मणाः । वावदुक्याः ॥ साम्राजः क्षत्रिये * ॥ साम्राज्यः । साम्राज्योऽन्यः ॥

1175. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also नाव्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 so that the form कौरव्यः is evolved both under the present sūtra and sūtra IV. 1. 172 S. 1190; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4. 62 S. 1193); but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्याः ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178), and it takes as such the affix फिञ् ॥ As कौरव्याद्यनिः ॥ So also वावदुक्याः ॥

Note :—The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yajnyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix पञ्च not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

Note :—The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिन्यः ॥ There will not be पुन्रवद्भवा as required by VI. 3. 34 S. 83 &c. For had there been पुन्रवद्भवा, then by भस्यडे तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become पुन्रवद् before a taddhita affix except ड ॥ Therefore केशिनी + पञ्च = केशिन्य + पञ्च ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 S. 1059 will appear and cause the elision of दि and we shall have केश् + पञ्च = केश्य ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

Note :—The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore the form वेन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

Note :—The word वामरथ्य occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kanvādi class, a subdivision of Gargādi (IV. I. 105 S. 1107). Thus the pupils of वामरथ्यः will be formed by the affix अच् (IV. 2. 111 S. 1332). As वामरथ्य + अच् = वामरथ्यः (VI. 4. 151 S. 1082). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 65 S. 1147). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16 S. 471) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV. 1. 17 S. 473). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). So also it will take अच् when the sense of collection &c. is expressed (IV. 3. 127 S. 1507): as वामरथ्यानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kanvādi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यच् will have udātta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197 S. 8686) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by रथ्य, that is, it will have udātta on the last syllable.

Vart :—The word साम्राज्य takes the affix पञ्च when denoting a Kshatriya. Thus साम्राज्यः ; otherwise साम्राजः, ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग K.), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक K.), 5 रथकार.
6 वाचपूक, 7 साम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति K.), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक्
(or वाच्) 12 वामरथ्य, 13 विह्वन्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि K.), 15 एजि*, 16
वातकि*, 17 शमोष्णीवि, 18 गणकारि, 19 कैशोरि, 20 कुड. 21 शलाका (शालाका),
22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक K.), 25 शुभ्र*, 26 अन्न, 27 र्भ, 28 केशिनी,
29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 शूर्पाय, 31 द्यावनाय, 32 द्यावरथ्य, 33 श्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यंकार,
35 वडभीकार, 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्क. 40 वाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42
शालीन*, 43 कर्तृ, 44 हृद्, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (हन्पिण्डी K.), 47 वामरथ्यश्च
कण्ठादिवस्वरवर्जम् ॥ (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्काण्डक, 51
वातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार ॥

११७६। सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १५२ ॥

एभ्यो ण्यः । एति संज्ञायामिति सस्य षः । हारिषेण्यः । लाक्षण्यः । कारिः शिल्पी तस्मान्
तान्तुवाण्यः । कौम्भकार्यः । नापित्यः ॥

1176. The affix ' ण्य ' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in ' senâ,' after the word ' lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus हारिषेण्यः, (स is changed to ष by VIII. 3, 99 S. 1023) लाक्षण्यः, तान्तुवाण्यः, कौम्भकार्यः, नापित्यः ॥

११७७। उद्गीचामिञ् । ४ । १ । १५३ ॥

हारिषेणिः । लाक्षणिः । तान्तुवाणिः । कौम्भकारिः । नापितासु परत्वात् फिञेव । नापिताय-
निः ॥ तद्वयोऽय उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ताक्षण्यः । पक्षे ताक्षण्यः ॥

1177. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix ' इञ् ' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in ' senâ,' the word ' lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus हारिषेणिः, लाक्षणिः, तान्तुवाणिः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ The word नापित्* being a Vridhdha, non gotra word, will take फिञ् under IV. 1. 157 S. 118 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितार्यानः ॥

Vārtika :—The affix अण् comes after नत्तन् carpenter.' (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 and VI. 4. 65 S. 1160. Thus it will have ताक्षण्यः or लाक्षण्यः but will not take इञ् ॥

११७८। तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् । ४ । १ । १५४ ॥

तैकायनिः ॥

1178. The affix ' फिञ् ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, ॥

The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वाव्यायिणिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Khsatriya : because it is immediately preceded by the word औरय=उरसा सेते=उरयः सविद्यः, his son will be aurasa with añ, which end in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186), But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV. 1. 150 S. 1174

will take the affix इम् and not फिम् of this Sûtra. See II. 4, 58 and 68 S. 1276, 1150.

1 तिक 2 किन्व, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला, (बाल K.) 5 शिखा, 6 उरस् (उरश्), 7 शाय्य (शाय्य K.) 8 सैन्धव, 9 वसुन्ध, 10 रुच्य, 11 घाम्य, 12 नील, 13 अग्निव, 14 गौकश्य, 15 कुरु (कर K.) 16 देवय, 17 सैतल (सैतिल K.) 18 भौरस (भौरश्), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौलिकि, 22 चोपयत, 23 चैदयत, 24 शीकयत (शीकयत K.) 25 सैनयत, 26 वाजयत (ध्वाजयत K.) 27 चन्द्रमस्, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 बरेण्य, 31 सुषामस्, 32 भारज (भारद्व), 33 वज्रका, 34 खल्यका (खल्य; खल्य K.) 35 हव, 36 क्षीमक, 37 उदह (उदय K.) 38 वज्र, 39 सुमानस्, 40 वृश्च (वृश्च K.) 41 भीत, 42 जाजल, 43 रस, 44 लावक, 45 ध्वजवद, 46 वसु, 47 वन्दु, 48 आबन्धका (as well as आबन्धका) ॥

११७६ । कौशल्यकार्मायाभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १५५ ॥

अपत्ये फिम् । इमाऽपवादः ॥ परमप्रकृतेरेवावर्तिष्यते * ॥ प्रत्ययसंनियोगेन प्रकृतिरूपं निपात्यते । कुशलस्यापत्यं कौशल्यायनिः । कर्मरस्यापत्यं कार्मायायनिः ॥ छागवृषयोऽपि * ॥ छाग्यायनिः । वार्यायनिः ॥

1179. The affix फिम् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kauśalya, and Kârmārya.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कौशल्यायनिः and कार्मायायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौशल्य or कार्माय", but they mean "the son of कौशल, and कर्मर," because of the following Ishti.

Ishti:—The affix however denotes the descendant of the first original words कुशल and कर्मर ॥

Vart:—The words छाग and वृष take the augment बुद् before the affix फिम् ॥ Thus छाग्यायनिः and वार्यायनिः ॥

११८० । अणो ह्यचः । ४ । १ । १५६ ॥

अपत्ये फिम् । इमाऽपवादः । कार्यायनिः । अण इति फिम् । दाक्षायनिः । द्यौचः फिम् । औपगावः ॥ तदादीनां फिम् वा वाच्यः * ॥ त्यादायनिः । त्यादः ॥

1180. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कार्यायनिः 'son of Kârtra', दाक्षायनिः 'son of Hârtra'.

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायनिः 'son of Dākṣhī' (IV. 4. 101). Why do we say 'dissyllabic word'? Observe औपगावः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vart:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix **फिम्** ॥
Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, आदायनिः or आदः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

११८१ । उदीर्चा वृद्धादगोत्रात् । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

आम्रायुतायनिः । प्राचां तु । आम्रायुतिः । वृद्धात्किम् । दात्तिः । अगोत्रात्किम् । औपगविः ॥

1181. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, after a word with a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आम्रायुतायनिः "son of आम्रायुत", ॥

But according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians the form will be आम्रायुतिः ॥ Why do we say 'after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable'? Observe दात्तिः 'son of दत्तः' ॥ Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

११८२ । वाकिनादीनां कुक् च । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

अपत्ये फिम् वा । वाकिनस्यापत्यं वाकिनकायनिः । वाकिनिः ॥

1182. The augment **क्** (Kuk) is added to the words Vākina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

Thus वाकिनकायनिः ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः ॥

1 वाकिन. 2 गौधेर (गारेध K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कष्य K.), 4 आक, 5 लङ्का, 6 अभिर्विमलोपश्च ॥

११८३ । पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ११९ ॥

अस्माद्वा फिम् सिद्धस्तस्मिन्परे पुत्रान्तस्य वा कुक् विधीयते । गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः । गार्गी-पुत्रायनिः । गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

1183. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pūtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

Notes:—The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read

into this sūtra. Of course a word ending in पुञ्च cannot be a Gotra word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुञ्च having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिन् by IV. I. 157 S. 1181; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कृक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

११८४ । प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १६० ॥

ग्लुचुकायनिः ॥

1184. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix ' phin ' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः ' son of Gluchuka '.

Note :—Why do we say, " not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable " ? Observe राजदन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sūtra viz प्राचां and बहुलं ? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of sūtra construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as शशिः, फाशिः ॥

११८५ । मनाज्जातावश्यतौषुक् च । ४ । १ । १६१ ॥

समुदाहार्यो जातिः । मानुषः । मनुष्यः ॥

1185. The affixes अम् and यत् come after the word ' Mannu ', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that the whole word so formed denotes a class (jāti).

Thus मनु + पुक् + अम् = मानुषः " a man or man-kind ", So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥

Note :—These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः " men ". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु + अण् = मानवः ' son of Mannu ', as in मानवीप्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, where न् is changed into ण् denotes the descendant of Mannu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

११८६ । जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् । ४ । १ । १६८ ॥

जनपदक्षत्रिययोर्वाचकादञ् स्यादपत्ये । दायिडनायनेति सूत्रं नीपातनाद्विज्ञापः । ऐश्वराकः । ऐश्वराकौ ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् । तद्वाजनाच्चत्वात्तद्वाज इत्यन्वयसंज्ञासामर्थ्यात् । पञ्चालानां राजा पाञ्चालः ॥ पुरोरण् वक्तव्यः * ॥ पौरवः ॥ पाण्डोर्दण् * ॥ पाण्डवः ॥

1186. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which, while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus ऐश्वराकः, dual ऐश्वराकौ, plural इश्वराकवः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. The final उ of इश्वराक is elided before this affix अञ् and we get the form ऐश्वराकः because this anomalous form is so shown in VI. 4. 174 S 1145.

Note :—Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriyas, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण् ; the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Drūhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Puru'. Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriya? Observe पाञ्चालस्य पञ्चालस्थापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king there of. Thus पञ्चालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

Vart :—Let the affix अण् come after पुरु ॥ Thus पौरवः ॥ "The king of the Pūrus." The word pūru is not the name of a country. The form would have been evolved by Pragdivyatiya अण्, the present vārtika is made in order to give it a tadrāja designation.

Vart :—The affix 'dyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पांडवः, otherwise it will be पांडवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

Note :—The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of the Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them' is elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81 S, 1293. These words when denoting a country are always in the Plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya it is in the singular.

११८७ । सार्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६६ ॥

आभ्यामपत्येऽम् । वृद्धेदिति व्यङ्गोऽपवादः । सार्वेयः । गान्धारः । तस्य राजन्यपत्येवम् ।

1187. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhâri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus सार्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya', or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhârî or the king of Gândhârî?' The vârtika under sūtra IV 1. 168 S. 1186 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'.

११८८ । अङ्मगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादया । ४ । १ । १७० ॥

अङ्गोऽपवादः । अङ् । आङ्गः । वाङ्गः । सौङ्गः । मगधः । कालिङ्गः । सौरमसः । तस्य राजन्यपत्येवम् ॥

1188. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadhâ', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus आङ्गः, वाङ्गः, सौङ्गः, मगधः, कालिङ्गः, and सौरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Vanga, Suhma, Magadha, Kalinga and Sûramasa.' The Vârtika 'तस्य राजानि' given above applies to this also, as आङ्गो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c.

११८९ । वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाम्ब्यङ् । ४ । १ । १७१ ॥

वृज्जात् । आम्ब्यङ् । सौवीर्यः । इत् । आवन्त्यः । कौसल्यः । अजादस्यापत्यं आजापः ॥

1189. The affix 'व्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus, to give an example of Vṛiddha words, आम्ब्यङ्गः, सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambashṭha and Sauvîra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः 'the sons or kings of Avanti.' which is a word ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and अजापः, which are neither Vṛiddha nor end in short इ ॥

११६० । कुरुनादिभ्य एयः । ४ । १ । १७२ ॥

कौरव्यः । नैषधः । स नैषधस्यार्थपतेरित्यादौ तु सौषिकोऽञ् ॥

1190. The affix एय comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'an' and 'añ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of', also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥

Note :—How do you explain the form नैषधोऽस्ति चेद्वयम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license, or the ञ् affix added here to form the word नैषध is the śaishika an of IV. 2. 92 S. 1312.

११६१ । साल्वाद्ययवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाऽश्मकादिञ् । ४ । १ । १७३ ॥

साल्वो जनपदस्तदवयवा उदुम्बरादयस्तेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथादिभ्यश्चिभ्यश्च इञ् । अज्योऽपवादः । औदुम्बरीः । प्रात्यग्रथिः । कालकूटिः । आश्मकिः ॥ राजन्यप्येवम् ॥

1191. The affix इञ् comes in the sense of a descendant,* after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakūṭa', and 'Aśmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriyā woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) formed by इक्; also साल्वः formed by ञ् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz, Udumbarāḥ, Tilakhalāḥ, Madrakārāḥ, Yugandharāḥ, Bhulingāḥ, and Śaradaṇḍāḥ. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरीः, तैलखलिः, माद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरीः, भौलिङ्गिः and शारदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'in' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to the Mahābhāṣya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍa, and Ājakanda also take this affix, as बौसिः, अजमीदिः and आजकन्दिः ॥

११६२ । ते तद्राजाः । ४ । १ । १७४ ॥

अमादव एतस्तेजाः स्युः ॥

1192. These (viz. the affixes ञ् IV. 1. 168 S. 1186. &c) are called Tadrāja ('the king there of') affixes.

Note :—The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of

before IV. I. 168 S. 1186; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan. See II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

११६३। तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् । २। ४। ६२ ॥

बहुष्वर्थेषु तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यान्निर्दयकृते बहुष्वे नतु स्त्रियाम् । इक्ष्वाकवः । पञ्चाला इत्यादि । कथं तर्हि कौरव्याः पञ्चवः । तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्या इति च । कौरव्ये पाण्ड्ये च साधव इति समाधेयम् । रघूनामन्वयं वक्ष्ये, निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथञ्चिदिति तु रघुयदुपाध्वयोस्तदपत्ये लक्षण्या ॥

1193. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174 S. 1192) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that, the plural number is taken by the tadrāja-modified base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that, the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अङ्ग + अङ् (IV. 1. 170 S. 1188) 'a prince of Aṅga', plural आङ्गाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अङ् is elided by the present rule, and the Vṛdhih vanishes with it too (I. 1. 63 S. 263); but आङ्गव्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवांसः 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural प्रियवाङ्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vāṅga,' there being no elision.

Thus इक्ष्वाकवः the princes of Ikshwāku tribe; plural of ऐक्ष्वाकः; the tadrāja affix अङ् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) is elided in the plural and so also पञ्चालाः (plural of पाञ्चालः) the princes of the Pañchālās.

Why are the tadrāja affixes not elided in the plural of कौरव्यः and पाण्ड्यः, in the following phrases :—" कौरव्याः पञ्चवः " ॥ " तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः " ॥

The affix च after कुरु and पाण्डु in the above is not the tadrāja affix च, but the लक्षसाधुः (IV. 4. 98 S. 1650) affix यत् ॥ We should explain the above forms by कौरव्य or पाण्ड्ये च साधवः = कौरव्याः or पाण्ड्याः ॥

Why are the affixes elided in the plural in the case of रघु and यदु in the following, for these words not being names of countries, the apatya affixes added to them can never get the designation of tadrāja, and so the rule of elision can not apply to them, but we see them elided in " रघूनामन्वये वक्ष्ये " ॥ " निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथञ्चिन् " ॥ In other words, why have not the forms been रघवाणां and यद्वैः ? Ans. Here the words रघु and यदु have been used by a figure of speech or indirect application for the descendants of रघु and यदु ॥ So the words have taken no apatya affix, and so there is no occasion for eliding any affix in the plural.

११९४ । कम्बोजाल्लुक् । ४ । १ । १७५ ॥

अस्मात्तद्राजस्य लुक् । कम्बोजः । कम्बोजौ ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ चोलः । शकः । द्याक्षलक्षणस्याणो लुक् । केरलः । यवनः । अग्रो लुक् । कम्बोजाः समरे इति पाठः सुगमः । दीर्घादपाठे तु कम्बोजोऽभिजनो वेधमित्यर्थः । सिन्धुतटशिलादिभ्योऽणमावित्यण् ॥

1194. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrāja affix.

Namely, the affix लुक् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided even in the singular and dual. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja'. कम्बोजौ "the two princes of the Kambojas".

Veri :—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Chola' &c Thus चोलः 'the king of the Cholās'. Here as well as in शकः the अण् (IV. 1. 121. S. 1124.) that comes after a dissyllabic word is elided. So also शकः, केरलः, यवनः ॥ The elision in the last two is of अग्रम् ॥ "कम्बोजाः समरे" is a better reading than कम्बोजाः समरे ॥ If, however, the second reading be taken, we explain the form by saying that कम्बोजाः is formed by अण् of the sūtra IV 3. 93 S. 1473 : in the sense of "whose native land is Kamboja"; and as it is not a Tadrāja, it is not elided in the plural.

११९५ । स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १७६ ॥

तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात् । अवन्ती । कुन्ती । कुरुः ॥

1195. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrāja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'ñyañ'. (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'ण्य' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरुः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. S. 521.

Note :—Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः ॥

११९६ । अतश्च । ४ । १ । १७७ ॥

तद्राजस्याकारस्य स्त्रियां लुक् स्यात् । शरसेनी । मन्त्री । कथं मात्रीमुताधिकृत । ब्रह्म एव पाठ इति हरवत्तः । भर्गादिभ्यं वा कल्प्यम् ॥

1196. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrāja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

* Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शूरसेनी; *m.* नागः, *f.* नग्री ॥

The word *अनः* of the *sūtra* should not be construed by the rule of *tadanata vidhi* (I. I. 72 S. 26). If so construed it will mean "a *Tadrāja* affix ending in *अ* is elided". There have been taught five *Tadrāja* affixes, namely ' *afi* (*अ*)', ' *an* (*अ*)', ' *ñyañ* (*अ*)', ' *ñya* (*अ*)' and ' *iñ* (*इ*)' ॥ Of these the first four all end in *अ*; therefore, all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity for the previous *sūtra*, for then the present *sūtra* would have covered the case of ' *Avanti* ', ' *Kuntī* ', and ' *Kuru* '. But the very fact of this *sūtra* IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 indicates by *ज्ञापक*, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore the feminine of *आम्बुद्वयः* is *आम्बुद्वया*, of *सौवीर्यः* is *सौवीर्या* ॥

How do you explain the form *नग्री* in *नग्रीसुतो*? According to *Haradatta* it is wrong, the proper form is *नग्रीसुतो* ॥ Or the form *नग्रीसुतो* is valid under the *Bhargādi* class (IV. 1. 178. S. 1197) and so the *Tadrāja* affix is not elided.

११९७ । न प्राच्यभर्गादि यौधेयादिभ्यः । ४ । १ । १७८ ॥

एभ्यस्तद्वाजस्य न लुक् । पाञ्चाली । वैदर्भी । आङ्गी । वाङ्गी । मागधी । एते प्राच्याः । भार्गी । कारुणी । कैकेयी । कैकेयीत्यत्र तु जन्मजनकभावलक्षणे पुंयोगे ङीष् । युधा । युक्ता । आभ्यां अच् इति ङक् । ततः स्वार्थे षर्धादियौधेयादिभ्योऽणमावित्यम् । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यम् इति ङीष् । अतश्चेति लुकि तु ङगन्तत्वात् ङीप्पुनस्तन्निवृत्तिस्वरः स्यात् । यौधेयी शौकेयी ॥

1197. The *Tadarāja* affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the *Kshatriyas* of the East, or it comes after the word ' *Bharga* ' &c. and ' *Yaudheya* ' &c.

This *sūtra* debar the elision of the *Tadrāja* affix *अ* (required by the last *sūtra*). Thus *पाञ्चाली*, *वैदर्भी*, *आङ्गी*, *वाङ्गी*, *मागधी* these being all Eastern people dwelling in the countries east of the *Sarasvati* river. Similarly of *भर्ग* &c. Thus *भार्गी*, *कारुणी*, *कैकेयी* ॥ The form *कैकेयी* without *vridhhi* is formed by the feminine affix *ङीष्* added to *कैकय* with the force of showing the relation of father and daughter. So also of *यौधेय* &c. Thus *यौधेयी*, *शौकेयी* and *शौकेयी* ॥ The forms are thus derived. To *युधा* and *युक्ता* is added the affix *ङक्* because they are dissyllabic words (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124). Then is added to them *अच्* without change of signification, by V. 3. 117 S. 2070. This *अच्* is a *Tadrāja* affix by virtue of V. 3. 119 S. 2072. Thus we get *यौधेयः* and *शौकेयः* ॥ Their feminine is formed by *ङीष्* as they end in the affix *अच्* ॥ (IV. 1. 73. S. 527). Now had we elided the affix *अच्* (V. 3. 117 S. 2070) which is a *Tadrāja*, by the last *sūtra* IV. 1. 178 S. 1196; the words would have been *ङक्*-ending nouns, and would have formed their feminines in *ङीष्* which being *anudatta* would have been destroyed by its coalition with the

final udātta by VI. 1. 161 S. 3651. and so डीप् would become udātta, and the feminines would be final acute. But it is desired that the final should not be udātta. Hence अम् is not elided. Thus we have योषेयी and योकेयी with udātta on the initial as formed by डीप् (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686), and not योषेयी and योकेयी ॥

The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the Fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word योषेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अम्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 S. 1196 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119 S. 2066 &c. Thus the Tadrāja affix अण् in (V. 3. 117) added to पृष्टं &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्श्वः f. पृष्ट, m. आसुरः f. असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करुण (करुण K.) 3 केकय, 4 कर्मीर, 5 साण्व, 6 सुस्थाल, 7 वरस् (वरस् and वरस् K.) 8 कौरव्य ॥

1 योषेय, 2 योकेय, 3 योत्रेय, 4 व्यावाणेय (व्यावाणेय K.), 5 धौतैय (धौतैय K.) 6 विगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 दशीनर ॥ K. 9 धौतैय ॥

११६८ । अणिओरनार्षयोर्गुक्पोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ७८ ॥

इयादीनामन्यदुत्तमं तस्य समीपदुत्तमम् । गोत्रे यावयिषौ विहितानार्षौ तवन्तयोर्गुक्पोत्तमयोः प्रातिपदिकयोः स्त्रियां प्यङ्गोः स्यात् । निर्विशयमाणास्यावेसा भवन्तीत्यभिप्रेतम् । यङावितौ । यङाव । कुमुदगन्धेपत्यं स्त्री कौमुदगन्ध्या । वाराह्या । अनार्षयोः क्त्वि । नासिष्टी । वैश्वामिनी । गुक्पोत्तमयोः क्त्वि । औपगवी । जातिलक्ष्णो डीप् । गोत्रे क्त्वि । अहिच्छन्ने जाता आहिच्छन्नी ॥

1198. Of the affixes अण् and इण् used in denoting a Gotra descendant there is the substitute य (प्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes in the feminine, and there is added the long आँ under IV. 1. 74 S. 528; provided that, they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable.

Note.—The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिओः 'of an and in,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi,' (3) गुक्पोत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *apottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) प्यङ् 'the substitute is shyañ.' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इण् are replaced by प्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denote non-rishi gotras, and have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like वारिष्ठं &c.

● *Paribhāṣā* :—Substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule. (See p. 117). Therefore the substitute व्यङ् replaces अण् and इम् only.

Of the substitute व्यङ् the letter ञ् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ञ् differentiating this affix from व्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both.

In forming the feminine we shall have to add चारु by IV. 1. 74 S. 528. Thus कुमुदगन्धि 'having the smell of the white lotus', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus कुमुदगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088). Now we replace this affix by व्यङ् and have कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इम् (as taught in Sūtra अतइम् IV. 1. 75 S. 529): as वाराहिः gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'of अण् and इम्' ॥ Witness आर्तभागा from ऋतभाग ॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to विशाद gṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अम् in forming the gotra patronymic: this affix अम् is not replaced by व्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15 S. 470); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इम् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe आँवगती which is formed by ङीष् denoting jāti. (IV. 1. 63. S. 518). Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness आहिच्छत्री 'a woman born in Ahichhatra'.

११६६ । गोत्रावयवात् । ४ । १ । ७९ ॥

गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्यास्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिमोः स्त्रियां व्यङ्देशः स्यात् । अयुरुपोत्तमार्थं आरम्भः । पौण्ड्र्या । भौण्ड्र्या ॥

1199. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, व्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इम्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase अणिमोः of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अयुरुपोत्तमः ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras, . i. e. names of kulas i. o. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुण्ड्रि, भुण्ड्रि, भुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list (Pravara-adhyāya). 'भौण्ड्र्या and भौखर्या ॥

Note :—The word अवयव in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like वैवद्व्या याज्ञद्व्या ॥ These

forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the कौट्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant which means a grandson and down, can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अपधानगोत्र and is a karmadhāraya samāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवशाब्दावयव. These are however, technically called कुल ॥

१२०० । कौट्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८० ॥

क्रियां व्यङ् प्रत्ययः स्याङ् । अश्रुपेत्तमार्थोऽनभिज्ञमर्थधारम्भः । कौट्या । व्याङ्या । स्रत युवत्याम् * ॥ स्रत्या ॥ भोजं चक्षिणे * ॥ भोज्या ॥

1200. The affix व्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words कौटि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इम् ॥ In fact व्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus कौट्या 'a female krauḍi', So also व्याङ्या 'a female vyādi'.

1 कौटि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिबालि, 5 आपक्षिति, These are formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). 6 चोपयत्, 7 चेटयत् (वेटयत्), 8 सैकवत् (शैकवत्) 9 वैस्वयत् (कल्पयत्), These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि ॥ This is formed by इम् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. 1. 97 S. 1097) added to सुधातु ॥

11 स्रतयुवत्याम् Vārtika:—The word स्रत takes व्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden, as स्रत्या; otherwise स्रता 'a daughter', formed by टाप्, or स्रती by ङीष् denoting a jāti.

12. भोजक्षिणे । Vārtika:—This debars ङीष् of jāti as भोज्याः, (otherwise टाप् as भोजाः भाजयतीति), 13 यौतकि, 14 कौटि, 15 भोरिकी, 16 मौलिकी, 17 शास्मलि, 18 शालास्थालि, 19 कापिर्छालि 20 गौकश्य (गौलश्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by य of Gargādi class.

१२०१ । देवयज्ञि, यौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्नि, काण्डेविद्धिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ ।

१ । ८१ ॥

एभ्यश्चतुर्थः व्यङ्स्या । अगोत्रार्थनिर्देशो गोत्रेऽपि परस्वात्म्यवर्तते । पक्षे इती मनुष्येति ङीष् । देवयज्ञ्या । देवयज्ञी । इत्यादि ॥

1201. The affix व्यङ् optionally comes after the words देवयज्ञि, यौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्नि and काण्डेविद्धि ॥

Thus देवयज्ञ्या or देवयज्ञी ॥ These words end in the affix इम्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyañ would have come by that sūtra, it would have come

by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to immediate descendants, as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87 S. 1079. In the alternative when अह् is not added, ह्रीह् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 S. 520.

:0:

अथ तद्वित् चातुरर्थिक प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE QUADRUPLE SIGNIFICANT AFFIXES.

१२०२ । तेन रक्तं रागात् । ४ । २ । १ ॥

रज्यतेऽनेनेति सप्तः । क्त्वावेण रक्तं वक्ष्यं क्त्वावेण । भाट्टिकम् । रागात् किम् । देवदत्तेन रक्तं वक्ष्यम् ॥

1202. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour, in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रज्य means to change the white color into another color. That by which a thing is colored is called रङ्गः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus क्त्वावेण रक्तं वक्ष्यं = क्त्वावेण 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also भाट्टिकम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वक्ष्यम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

Note :—In the sentence "क्त्वावेण रक्तं वक्ष्यं, भाट्टिकम्" the words क्त्वावेण and भाट्टिकम् are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 S 1213 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word, which is in the instrumental case in construction, in a sentence IV. 1. 82 S. 1072): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

१२०३ । लाक्षारोचनाद्वक् । ४ । २ । २ ॥

लाक्षिकः । रौच्यकः ॥ शकलकर्मभाष्यसंख्यानम् ॥ शाकलिकः । कार्त्तिकः । आश्विन-
धीति वृत्तिकारः । शकलः । शकलः ॥ नील्या अण् ॥ नील्या रक्तं नीलम् ॥ पीताद्वक् ॥ पीतकम् ॥
हरिद्राजहारजनभाष्यम् ॥ हरिद्राजः । शकलकर्मभाष्यम् ॥

1203. The affix द्वक् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lākshā, and rochanā, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus साक्षात् रक्तं वक्षः = लाक्षिकम्, so also रोचनीकम्,

Vartika :—So also after शकल and कर्मन् ॥ Thus शाकलिकः and कार्शमिकः ॥

According to the opinion of the author of Kāśikā the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्मन् : ॥ Thus शाकलः and कार्शमः ॥

Vart :—The affix अण् comes after नीलीः as नील्या रक्तं = नीलं वक्षः ॥ This debars अण् ॥

Vart :—The affix कन् (1. 3. 8 S. 195) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्तं = पीतकम् ॥

Vart :—The affix सञ् comes after हरिद्रा and महारजन, as हार्द्रारण्य and महारजमण्य ॥

१२०४ । नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः । ४ । २ । ३ ॥

पुष्येण युक्तं पौषमहः । पौषी राशिः ॥

1204. The affix अण् already ordained by IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

Note :—A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms ; when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism, in order to denote the time of such conjunction.

Thus पुष्य + अण् = पौषः (VI. 4. 149 S. 499) e. g. पौषमहः and पौषीराशिः “ the night in which the moon is in the Pushya ”.

Note :—Why do we say नक्षत्रेण ‘connected with the asterism’ ? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्ता राशिः ॥ Why do we say काल ‘time’ ? Observe पुष्येण युक्तचन्द्रमाः ॥

१२०५ । लुब्धविशेषे । ४ । २ । ४ ॥

पूर्वेण विहितस्य लुप्स्यात् षट्पिण्डात्मकस्य कालस्यावान्तरविशेषश्चेन्न गम्यते । अथ पुष्यः । कथं तर्हि पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषीति । विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्य इति निर्देशेन पौर्णमास्यामयं लुब्धेति ज्ञापितत्वाद् । श्रवणशब्दात् अत एव लुप् युक्तवशावाभावश्च । सभाषकान्यापि निपातनानि । आरथी ॥

1205. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification of any particular portion of a day consisting of twenty-four hours.

That is, the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided, if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of the day and night which consists of 60 daṇḍas (24 hours) such as night &c. A full day and

night of 24 hours is the period (Kala) which the moon takes (or is conventionally supposed to take) in crossing an asterism. To denote this full time of 24 hours by an affix is to denote a time *generally* (avidesha). To denote a portion of this 24 hours, is to express it specifically. This can be done by affixes. Thus अद्य पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya; but by 'to day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular, nor any hour in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

If the full day of 24 hours, being avidesha, is denoted by the mere name of the asterism in which the moon happens to be that day, why is an exception made when that day happens to be a *full-moon* day? In other words, though it is correct to say अद्यपुष्याः पञ्चमी &c for all days (*tithis*) generally, yet it is not correct if the day happens to be *full* moon day; for then we must say अद्यपौषी पौर्णमासी and not अद्यपुष्याः पौर्णमासी ॥

Why is the affix not elided in पौषी in the sentence पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषी (Amara Kosha I. 26). by the present sūtra? The affix denoting day (24 hours) in general is not elided after an asterism giving its name to that day, if it is a *full-moon* in that asterism. This rule we deduce by inference from the sūtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225, where Pāṇini has exhibited the words Phālgunī, Kārtikī, and Chaitrī without the elision of the case-affix.

The words Phālgunī &c there mean "the day in which the full-moon is in the asterism Phālgunā, Kṛittikā, or Chitrā" That sūtra relates to the naming of months after full-moon-asterism, see IV. 2. 21. S. 1221.

That sūtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225 teaches also that in the case of the asterism अवण there is lup-elision of the day-denoting affix, even where such day is the full-moon day. For the full-moon day would have been आवणी like फाल्गुणी, but that sūtra shows it as अवण ॥ The word अवण means that Purnamāsī day when the full moon is in Śravanā. Not only this, but there is further anomaly, that though the affix is elided by lup after अवण yet the rule I. 2. 51 S. 1294 does not apply. That rule declares that where there is a lup-elision of a Taddhita affix there is concordance between the gender and number of the derivative word with those of the original. The form ought to have been अवणः and not अवण had I. 2. 51 S. 1294 applied; as we find मूलः and अवयवः in मूलेनावयवेद् देवी अवणेन विसर्जयेत् see II. 3.45 S. 642.

The form आवणी without lup-elision is also valid, on the maxim अवाधकान्यपि निपातनानि "The anomalous forms (nipātanās) are also non-deterrents i. e. they do not debar the regular forms". Therefore the irregular अवण

and the regular श्रावणी both meaning "the day when the full-moon is in Śravaṇa" are valid.

* Any conjunction of the moon with an asterism measures a period of time of 24 hours. Such a time is expressed by a derivative formed from the name of the asterism. (1) As पौषीरात्रिः 'the night in which the moon is in the asterism Pushya.' पौषमहर् "the day in which &c." (2) But when the *full* period of such conjunction is denoted, without specifying whether it is day or night, then the name of the asterism without any modification denotes such time also. As अद्यपुष्यः "Today is the day when the moon is in the asterism Pushya or shortly, today is Pushya." In other words, days are named directly, after the asterisms. (3) But to this there is an exception in the case of that day when the moon is full. There the affix must be added. As अद्यपौषी "today is the day when the *full*-moon is in Pushya."

Not only days are named after asterisms, but months also. In the case of months, that asterism gives the name to it, in which the moon is *full*. As पौषो-मासः "that month in which the full moon occurs in the asterism of Pushya."

१२०६ । संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्याभ्याम् । ४ । २ । ५ ॥

विशेषार्थोऽयमारम्भः । श्रवणा रात्रिः । अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः । संज्ञायां किम् । श्रावणी । आश्वत्यी ॥

1206. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Śravaṇa and Aśvattha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

This sūtra applies where there is specification of the portion of the day, of 24 hours, such as night or day or prahara &c.

Thus श्रवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇa ; the Muhūrta called Aśvattha". Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñā?' Observe श्रावणी or आश्वत्यी ॥

१२०७ । द्वन्द्वाच्छः । ४ । २ । ६ ॥

नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वायुक्ते काले छः स्यात् विशेषे सत्यसति च । तिव्यपुनर्वसदीनमहः । राधातुषाणीक रात्रिः ॥

1207. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, to signify the time of the moon's connection with those asterisms; whether there be a specification or not of any particular portion of that time.

Thus राधाशुभाधीया राभिः, तिष्ठपुनर्वसवीचनः ॥

Note :—So also when there is no specification of any portion of the day, as अथ राधाशुभाधीयम्, अथ तिष्ठपुनर्वसवीचनम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4. S. 1205 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2 S. 175). Kāśikā; Or the छ is not elided on the maxim नख्येऽपवाद “an apavāda rule in the middle, debars the rules that precede and not those that succeed it.” Therefore अथ् which precedes IV. 2. 4 S. 1205 will be debarred and not छ which succeeds it.

१२०८ । दृष्टं साम । ४ । २ । ७ ॥

तेनेत्येव । वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं वासिष्ठं साम ॥ अस्मिन्नर्थेऽथ् द्विधावक्तव्यः * ॥ दधानसा दृष्टमौशनम् । औशनसम् ॥

1208. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of “seen”—the thing seen being the Sāma Veda.

Thus वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं = वासिष्ठं साम “the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Vasishṭha”.

Vārt :—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of “the Sāma-Veda seen.” Thus दधानसा दृष्टं साम = औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of द्वि being to elide the दि portion; VI. 4. 143; S. 316).

१२०९ । कलिर्दृष्टं । ४ । २ । ८ ॥

कलिना दृष्टं कलियं साम ॥

1209. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen, after the word ‘Kali’, being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना दृष्टं साम = कलियं ॥ “The Sāma Veda revealed to Kali”. This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vārt :—The affix ‘ḍhak’ comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना दृष्टं साम = अग्नेयम् ‘the Sāma-Veda revealed to Agni’. अग्नेर्भव = अग्नेयम् ‘who stays in Agni’ (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428). अग्नेरागतं, “what has come from Agni” = अग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कलियम् means ‘the Sāma-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vārt :—The affix अण् in the sense of ‘born’, is optionally treated as द्वि provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 S. 1550 by

force of IV. 1. 88. ; but it is debarred by इङ् of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus घातमिषजि जातः = घातमिषः or घातमिषजः ॥

Vart :—The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in लीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्, सार्थकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vart :—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vart :—The affix वुङ् IV. 3. 126 has the force of “ the Sama-Veda seen ” when it comes after a Gotra-word. Thus औपगवकम् or कापठवकम् ‘ the Sâma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kâpatava ’. The affix वुङ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charana. The following Kârîkâ sums up the above vârtikas,

दृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विषिङ्का विधीयते ।

लीयासीकक् न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्कादप्यन्ते ॥

१२१० । वामदेवाङ् इयङ् इत्यौ । ४ । २ । ९ ॥

वामदेवेन दृष्टं सामं वामदेव्यम् ॥

सिद्धे अस्थितिलोपेन किमर्थं यद्यतौ ङितौ ॥

महणं मास्तदर्थे भूद्गामदेव्यस्य नञ्त्वरे ॥

1210. The affixes इयत् and इय come after the word Vâmadeva, in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन दृष्टं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory त् in ‘dyat’ shows that अ has svarita accent (VI. 1. 185 S. 3729).

Kârîka :—Why the affixes अ and अत् have an indicatory ङ, when the elision of the final ङि would have taken place by अस्थिति च (VI. 4. 148. S. 311) even? Ans. They are ङित् in order to prevent the final of वामदेव्य becoming udâtta when a negative particle is added to it. It serves the purpose of regulating नञ् accent.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided by the rule VI. 4. 148 S. 311, without making this affix ङित्, then what is the use of making this affix ङित् ?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhâshâs निरनुबन्धकमहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य “ when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it ”. सन्नुबन्धकमहणे नातन्नुबन्धकस्य “ when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it ”.

For had अ and अत् been only taught instead of ‘dya’ and ‘dyat’, then by rule VI. 2. 156 S. 3890 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not final; acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2. S. 3736). As अवामदेव्यं ॥

१२११ । परिवृतो रथः । ४ । २ । १० ॥

वक्ष्येः परिवृतो वाजो रथः । रथः किम् । वक्ष्येण परिवृतः कायः । समस्ताद्दिष्टः परिवृत उच्यते । तेनेह न । छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

1211. The affix **अण्** comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded'; the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वक्ष्येः परिवृतो रथः = वाजुः 'a chariot surrounded with cloth'. 'Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वक्ष्येण परिवृतः कायः 'the body, surrounded with cloth.' The word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used, if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः "the chariot surrounded by pupils."

१२१२ । पाण्डुकम्बलादिनिः । ४ । २ । ११ ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलेन परिवृतः पाण्डुकम्बली । पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दो राजास्तरणवर्णकम्बलस्य वाचकः । तत्पर्यायेनैव सिद्धे वचनमणो निवृत्त्यर्थम् ॥

1212. The affix **इनि** comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means a white royal blanket used as the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix **इनि** of V. 2. 115, which has the sense of matup, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix **अण्** ॥

१२१३ । द्वैपयैयाम्रावज् । ४ । २ । १२ ॥

द्वीपिनो विकारो द्वैपम् । तेन परिवृतो द्वैपो रथः । एवं द्वैयाम्रः ॥

1213. The **अञ्** comes after the words 'dvaipa' and vaiyāghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also **अञ्** ॥

Note :—This affix **अञ्** debars **अण्**, the difference between these two being in accent only.

१२१४ । कौमारपूर्ववचने । ४ । २ । १३ ॥

कौमारोत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः । अपूर्वस्य निपातननिवृत्त्यर्थम् । अपूर्वपतिं कुमारं पतिरुपपन्नः कौमारः । अतः सहा । अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिरुपपन्ना कौमारी भार्या ॥

1214. The word 'kaumāra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix **अण्**, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारः पतिः = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारीपुत्रः 'the husband of a virgin'. i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिपुत्रा "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

Note :—The word कौमार is formed by adding **अण्** to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमारीय भावा = कौमारः ; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

१२१५ । तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः । ४ । २ । १४ ॥

शराव उद्धृतः शराव भोदनः । उद्धरतिरिहोद्धरणपूर्वके निधाने वर्तते । तेन सप्तमी । उद्धृत्य निहित इत्यर्थः ॥

1215. The affix **अण्** already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon', after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्र means, 'vessels': उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse of dinner'. Thus शरावेऽुद्धृतः = शराव भोदनः "boiled rice placed on an earthen dish." That is, the uchchīṣṭa or leavings of food already eaten; or the remainder of food that remains after dinner. So also माह्निकः, कार्पूरः ॥ The word uddhṛitam here means being taken out first from one vessel and then placed on another. Hence the Locative. In other words uddhṛita means here "placed".

Note :—Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाण्डुरोद्धृत्य भोदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 S. 1223 inclusive.

१२१६ । स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते । ४ । २ । १५ ॥

तत्रेवेव । सप्तशयेन चेद्व्रतं गम्यते । स्थण्डिले शेते स्थण्डिलो भिक्षुः ॥

1216. The affix **अण्** already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus **स्थण्डिले शयितुं ब्रह्मचर्यं** = **स्थण्डिलः** 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a *Brahmachârî*.

Note :—Why do we say 'vow' ? Observe **स्थण्डिले शोते ब्रह्मदत्तः** 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word **व्रत** means a 'vow or an observance ordained by the religious codes'.

१२१७। संस्कृतं भक्षाः । ४ । २ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तादण स्यात्संस्कृतेऽर्थे यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाभ्येते स्युः । भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भ्राष्ट्रा यवाः । अष्टदश कपालेषु संस्कृतोऽष्टाकपालः पुरोडाशः ॥

1217. The affix **अण्** comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus **भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा** = **भ्राष्ट्राः** 'barley fried in the pan'. Similarly **अष्टाकपालः पुरोडाशः** here **अण्** is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080

Note :—Why do we say "if it means food" ? Observe **पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालायुजः ॥**

१२१८। शूलोखाद्यत् । ४ । २ । १७ ॥

अणोपवाहः । शूले संस्कृतं शूल्यं मांसम् । उखा पात्रविशेषः । तस्यां संस्कृतम् उख्यम् ॥

1218. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words **शूल** and **उखा** ending in the locative case.

This debars **अण्** (IV. 1. 83). As **शूले संस्कृतं** = **शूल्यं** 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also **उख्यम्** 'flesh boiled in a pot'. For accent see VI. 1. 213 S. 3701.

१२१९। दध्मष्टक् । ४ । २ । १८ ॥

दधि संस्कृतं दधिकम् ।

1219. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus **दधि संस्कृतं** = **दधिकम्** 'made of coagulated milk'.

Note :—This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3 S. 1551, but the **दधिकम्** formed by that rule means **दध्ना संस्कृतं** i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd ; while the **दधिकं** of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

१२२०। उदध्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १९ ॥

ठक् स्यात्पक्षेण ॥

1220. The affix **उक्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word **उदश्वित्** ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus **औदश्वित्क** (VII. 3. 51), or **औदश्वित** by **अण्** ॥ The word **औदश्वित्क** is thus formed. **उदश्वित् + उक्** ॥ Here applies the following rule.

* १२२१ । **इसुसु**कान्तात्कः । ७ । ३ । ५१ ॥

इस् उस् उक् त एतदन्तात्परस्य **उस्व** कः स्यात् । उदकेन श्वयति वर्धते **इत्युदश्वित्** । तच्च संस्कृतः **औदश्वित्कः** । **औदश्वितः** । **इसुसोः** प्रतिपदोक्तयोर्महणाग्नेह । आशिषा चरति आशिषिकः । उषा चरति औषिकः ॥

शेष उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ शोभ्यो चरति शौष्कः ॥

1221. **क** is substituted for **उ** after a stem ending in **इस्**, **उस्**, **उक्**, (**उ**, **ऊ**, **ऋ**) and **त्** ॥

This word *udaśvit* literally means that which grows by water. It is the name of whey in which *half* is water and *half* curd. Thus **औदश्वित्कः**, or **औदश्वितः** by **अण्** ॥ The **इस्** and **उस्** are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, **आशिषिकः** (= **आशिषा चरति**), **औषिकः** (= **उषा चरति**) ॥

Vārt :—So also after **शोस्**, as **शौष्कः** (**शोभ्यो चरति**) ॥

१२२२ । **क्षीराङ्ढञ्** । ४ । २ । २० ॥

अत्र संस्कृतमित्येव संबध्यते ननु भक्षा इति । तेन दवाग्वापि भवति । क्षैरेयी ॥

1222. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'prepared', after the word 'kshîra', ending in the locative case in construction.

The word 'prepared' only is applicable here, and not 'food'; and therefore the derivative applies to **दवागू** (which is not an article of food. ?).

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **क्षीरे** संस्कृताः = **क्षैरेयी दवागू** 'milky gruel'.

१२२३ । **सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति** । ४ । २ । २१ ॥

इति शब्दात्संज्ञायामिति लभ्यते । पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् पौषो मासः ॥

1223. The affix **अण्** comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word **इति** in the *sûtra* indicates that we should read **संज्ञायाम्** here.

Note :—The word **ए** means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 3. 1072 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction".

अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of reading the word संज्ञायाम् in the sūtra. It does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini; but is added by the author of the Kāśikā from a Vārtika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year".

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन्-पौषो मासः 'the month Pausa i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'.

Note:—Similarly पौषाऽर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

Note:—The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुर्णो माः = पूर्णमासः, पूर्णमास इयम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means "moon".

१२२४। आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाढक् । ४ । २ । २२ ॥

अग्रे हायनमस्या इत्यामहायणी । प्रज्ञाहेराकृतिगणनादण् । पूर्वपदास्संज्ञायामिति णत्वम् । आमहायणी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् आमहायणीको मास । अश्वत्येन युक्ता पौर्णमासी अश्वत्यः । निपातना-
त्पौर्णमास्यामपि लुप् । आश्वत्यिकः ॥

1224. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of the locative case, after the words 'āgrahāyaṇī' and 'aśvattha' ending in the first-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words अस्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ The word āgrahāyaṇī is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning agre hāyanam asyāḥ: "that which has the year (hāyana) before it"—or with which the year commences. It takes the affix ण्, because it belongs to Prajñādi class which is an ākritigaṇa (V. 4. 38 S. 2106). Thus अग्र + हायन + अण् = आमहायण ॥ The ण is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 3. S. 857. Thus आमहायणिको मासः 'the month called Āgrahāyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Āgrahāyaṇa. Similarly the day in which the full moon occurs in the asterism aśvattha is called aśvattha. The affix denoting time is elided as nipātana. From it we have आश्वत्यिकः ॥

1220. The affix **उक्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word **उद्विधित्** ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus **औद्विधित्क** (VII. 3. 51), or **औद्विधित्** by **अण्** ॥ The word **औद्विधित्क** is thus formed. **उद्विधित् + उक्** ॥ Here applies the following rule.

१२२१ । इमुसुक्तान्तात्कः । ७ । ३ । ५१ ॥

इस् उस् उक् त एतदन्तात्परस्य **उस्** कः स्यात् । उदकेन श्रवति वर्धते इत्युद्विधित् । तच्च संस्कृतः औद्विधित्कः । औद्विधितः । इमुसोः प्रतिपदोक्तयोर्महान्निह । आशिषा चरति आशिषिकः । उषा चरति औषिकः ॥

शेष उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ शोभ्यो चरति शौष्कः ॥

1221. **क** is substituted for **उ** after a stem ending in **इस्**, **उस्**, **उक्**, (**उ**, **ऊ**, **ऋ**) and **त्** ॥

This word *udaśvit* literally means that which grows by "water. It is the name of whey in which *half* is water and *half* curd. Thus **औद्विधित्कः**, or **औद्विधितः** by **अण्** ॥ The **इस्** and **उस्** are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, **आशिषिकः** (= **आशिषा चरति**), **औषिकः** (= **उषा चरति**) ॥

Vart :—So also after **शोस्**, as **शौष्कः** (**शोभ्यो चरति**) ॥

१२२२ । क्षीराङ्गु । ४ । २ । २० ॥

अथ संस्कृतमित्येव संबध्यते ननु भक्षा इति । तेन यवाग्बाणवि भवति । क्षैरेयी ॥

1222. The affix **ङ्** comes in the sense of 'prepared', after the word 'kshîra', ending in the locative case in construction.

The word 'prepared' only is applicable here, and not 'food'; and therefore the derivative applies to **यवागू** (which is not an article of food. ?).

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **क्षीरे संस्कृताः** = **क्षैरेयी यवागू** : 'milky gruel'.

१२२३ । सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति । ४ । २ । २१ ॥

इतिशब्दास्तंज्ञायामिति लभ्यते । पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् पौषो मासः ॥

1223. The affix **अण्** comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word **इति** in the *sûtra* indicates that we should read **संज्ञायाम्** here.

Note :—The word **स** means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 3. 1072 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction".

अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of reading the word संज्ञायाम् in the sūtra. It does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini; but is added by the author of the Kāśikā from a Vārtika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year".

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन्-पौषो मासः 'the month Pausa i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'.

Note:—Similarly पौषाऽर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

Note:—The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुर्णो माः=पूर्णमाः, पूर्णमास इत्यम्=पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means "moon".

१२२४। आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाह् ॥ ४। २। २२ ॥

अग्रे हायनमस्या इत्यामहायणी । प्रज्ञाहेराकृतिगणन्यादम् । पूर्वपक्षसंज्ञायामिति जन्वम् । आमहायणी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् आमहायणीको मास । अश्वत्येन युक्ता पौर्णमासी अश्वत्यः । निपातना-
स्पौर्णमास्यामि लुप् । आश्वत्यिकः ॥

1224. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of the locative case, after the words 'āgrahāyanī' and 'aśvattha' ending in the first-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ The word āgrahāyanī is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning agre hāyanam asyāḥ: "that which has the year (hāyana) before it"—or with which the year commences. It takes the affix जन्, because it belongs to Prajñādi class which is an ākritigaṇa (V. 4. 38 S. 2106). Thus अग्र + हायन + अण् = आमहायण ॥ The न् is changed to ज् by VIII. 4. 3. S. 857. Thus आमहायणिको मासः 'the month called Āgrahāyanika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahāyana, Similarly the day in which the full moon occurs in the asterism aśvattha is called aśvattha. The affix denoting time is elided as nipātana. From it we have आश्वत्यिकः ॥

१२२५ । विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः । ४ । २ । २३ ॥

एभ्यश्च पक्षेऽण् । फाल्गुनिकः । फाल्गुनो मासः । श्रावणिकः । श्रावणः । कार्तिकिकः । कार्तिकः । चैत्रिकः । चैत्रः ॥

1225. The affix **उक्** optionally comes after the words 'Phālgunī', 'Śravanā', 'Kārtikī' and 'Chaitrī' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full in those asterisms.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains **उक्** instead of **अण्** which also comes in the alternative

१२२६ । साऽस्य देवता । ४ । २ । २४ ॥

इन्द्रो देवताऽस्वेति ऐन्द्रं हविः । पाशुपतम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । त्यज्यमानद्वये उद्देयविशेषो देवता मन्त्रस्तुत्या च । ऐन्द्रो मन्त्रः । अग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतावेति तु शैबिकेऽर्थे सर्वत्राप्तीति **उक्** ॥

1226. The affix **अण्** (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of "as his".

सा = 'after a word in the first case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रादेवताऽस्य = ऐन्द्रम् हविः 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly पाशुपतम् 'oblation belonging to Paśupati.' So also बार्हस्पत्यम् ॥

Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥

In the sentence ऐन्द्रोमन्त्रः the word aindra means the *hymn* by which Indra is praised while oblation is offered. The affix is added, therefore, to, denote the mantra by which a devatā is praised, and who is referred to, while the offering is thrown into fire. (Mantra-stutyā = mantreṇa stutyā. Stutyā is a feminine word in apposition with devatā, and formed by kyap and ṭap. See III. 1. 109. S. 2857). And in अग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतावेति the affix **उक्** is added by IV. 2. 33 S. 1236 in the śāisika sense to agni. It is added by analogy.

Note :—The whole phrase साऽस्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35 S. 1238. Though the word **स** was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtra IV. 2. 21 S. 1223, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of **संज्ञा** does not

extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍaṣa &c offered in a sacrifice'.

१२२७ । कस्येत् । ४ । २ । २५ ॥

कस्येत् इति शब्दः स्थापत्यसन्नियोगेन । अथेति लोपात्परत्वादादिवृद्धिः । को ब्रह्मा देवतास्य कार्यं हविः । श्रीदेवतास्य आयम् ॥

1226. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कस्येत् इति ॥ Similarly आयं from श्री "the oblation sacred to Śrī". The rule VI. 4. 148. S. 311 required the elision of इ before अण्; but it is prevented by the rule of vṛddhi VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 which is subsequent to it.

१२२८ । शुक्रादन् । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

शुक्रियम् ॥

1228. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'śukra.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् हविः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽध्यायः ॥

१२२९ । अपोनप्त्रपात्रपुत्र्यां घः । ४ । २ । २७ ॥

अपोनप्त्रियम् । अपात्रपुत्रियम् । अपोनपात् अपात्रपात्र देवता । प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन तृत्वं कर्षं निपात्यते । अत एवापोनपाते अपात्रपातेऽनुब्रूहीति शेषः ॥

1229. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apânnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपात्रपुत्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपात्रपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in न्त् when the affix is to be added, otherwise they retain their form. As in the directory sentence : अपोनपाते अपात्रपातेऽनुब्रूहि ॥

१२३० । छ च । ४ । २ । २८ ॥

योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिवृत्त्यर्थः । अपोनप्त्रीयम् ॥ अपात्रपुत्रीयम् ॥

शतरुद्रादश्च * ॥ चाच्छः । शतं रुद्रा देवता अस्य शतरुद्रीयम् । शतरुद्रीयम् । चच्छयो विधानसाधनार्थं दृष्टिगोचरानपत्ये इति न लुक् ॥

1230. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apânnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity',

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptṛi and Apānnaptṛi. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपानप्त्रीयं or अपानप्त्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapāt or Apānnapāt'.

Note :—This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule I. 3. 10 S. 128. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus : "The affixes च and छ come after Aponaptṛi and Apānnaptṛi", the meaning of which according to I. 3. 10 S. 128 would have been "the affix च comes after Aponaptṛi, and छ after Apānnaptṛi". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

Vart :—The word शतरुद्र takes च and छ both in the sense of 'that its deity.' e. g. शतरुद्रीयम् and शतरुद्रीयं ॥ The luk-elision of taddhita after Dvigu words taught by IV. 1. 88 S. 1080 does not take place here; for then the Vārtika would have become useless. The very fact that affixes are ordained after the Dvigu word śatarudra sets aside the rule of elision by implication.

११३१ । महेन्द्राद्वाणौ च । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

चाच्छः । महेन्द्रियं हविः । महेन्द्रम् । महेन्द्रीयम् ॥

1231. 'The affix च, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".'

As महेन्द्रीयम् हविः = महेन्द्रम् and महेन्द्रियम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

१२३२ । सोमाद् व्यण् । ४ । २ । ३० ॥

सौम्यम् । दिश्वान्डीप् ॥ सौमी ऋक् ॥

1232. 'The affix व्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".'

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of व्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ण् causes the affixing of डीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) = सौम + ई (VI. 4. 150 S. 472) = सौमी ॥

१२३३ । वाय्वृतपितृषसो यत् । ४ । २ । ३१ ॥

वायव्यम् । वृतव्यम् ॥

1233. 'The affix यत् comes after the names of 'vāyu', 'pitu', Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".'

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, वृतव्यम् ॥ The next form विहृ + यत् requires the following sūtra for its evolution.

१२३४ । रीकृतः । ७ । ४ । २७ ॥

अकृतकारेऽसार्वधातुके वकारे ष्वौ च परे ऋवन्ताङ्गस्य रीडादेशः स्यात् । अत्येति च । विध्यम् उच्यते ॥

1234. ई is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with ई, when it is not a Kṛit nor a Sārvadhātuka affix, and before the adverbial affix चिन् ॥

The anuvṛitti of कित्ति is, however, not understood in this sūtra; that of चो and अकृतसार्वधातुकयोः is present. The कित् and कित् not being understood here, we have पितादेवताभस्य = पिब्यम् which is thus formed पितृ + यत् = पित्री + ब् = पिब् + य (ई being elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311). So also उपस्यम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चेकीर्यते, from कृ विक्षेपे, with यङ् कनद् धातोः and हलिच् lengthening. निजेगित्यते from कृ and गु ॥

१२३५। आवापृथिविशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमेवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च । २। ३२ ॥

आयत् । आवापृथिवीयम् । आवापृथिव्यम् । शुनासीरीयम् । शुनासीर्यम् ॥

1235. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvā-Prithivī', 'Śunâsīra', 'Marutvat', Agnīshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अण् and ण्य ॥ Thus आवापृथिवीयम् or आवापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Śuna (Wind) and Śīra (Sun)' (VI. 3. 26 S. 922 for the lengthening of the अ of शुन) मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

Note :—According to Haradatta, Śunâsīra is an epithet of Indra, Marutvân is also a name of Indra, meaning 'Lord of Marute'. Agnīshoma is formed by VI. 3. 27. S. 923. Vâstoshpati is an irregularly formed word = Vâstunah pati.

१२३६। अग्नेर्देक् । ४। २। ३३ ॥

अग्नेयम् ॥

1236. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निदेवताऽस्य = अग्नेयः ॥

१२३७। कालेभ्यो भववत् । ४। २। ३४ ॥

मासिकम् । मावृषेय्यम् ॥

1237. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 to IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 (read with IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), the affix **ठञ्** comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of **साँस्वदेवता** ॥ Thus **मासे भवं = मासिकञ्** (मास + ठञ् = मास = इक VII. 3. 50 S. 1170); **प्रावृषेण्यञ्** (IV. 3. 17 S. 1388) meaning 'monthly' and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation: sacred to a month i. e.' as **मासाँ देवतास्य मासिकञ्** ॥ &c.

१२३८ । महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाठञ् । ४ । २ । ३९ ॥

महाराजिकञ् । प्रोष्ठपदिकञ् ॥

1238. The affix **ठञ्** comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus **महाराजो देवतास्य = महाराजिकञ्, प्रोष्ठपदिकञ्** ॥

१२३९ । द्वेताद्वन्द्वे च । ७ । ३ । २१ ॥

अथ पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरप्यथो वृद्धिः स्यात् भिति णिति किति च परे । आग्निमारुतञ् ॥

1239. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्, ण् or क्**, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of the both members of a Dvanda compound of the names of Devatas.

As **आग्निमारुती** in **आग्निमारुतमिन्द्राहीनालभेत्** ॥ **आग्निमारुतं कर्त्तुं** ॥

Note :—The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (**सूक्त**) and sacrificial offerings (**हवि**) ॥ Therefore, not here. **स्कान्दविशाखौ हवितेऽस्य = स्कान्दविशाखः** (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226). So also **ब्राह्ममर्जापत्यञ्** by **प्य** from **ब्राह्मजापती** ॥ See VI. 3. 26 S. 922.

The short **इ** in the **आग्नि** in **आग्निमारुत**, **आग्निवास्याञ्** is by VI. 3. 28 S. 925. A compound relates to a **sūkta**, which worships a **deva** through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to the sacrificial offering.

१२४० । नेन्द्रस्य परस्य । ७ । ३ । २२ ॥

परस्येन्द्रस्य वृद्धिर्न स्यात् । सौमेन्द्रः । परस्य किय । ऐन्द्रामः ॥

1240. But the Vṛiddhi of the first vowel of **Indra**, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्, ण् or क्** ॥

As **सौमेन्द्रः, अग्निन्द्रः** ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe **ऐन्द्राम मेकाग्रकपालं चरुं निर्धयेत्** ॥

Note :—There are two vowels in the word **इन्द्र**, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the **अ** or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148 S.

311, and the other (i. e. the *other*) coalesces, with the last vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन् + अण् = सोम + इन् + अ = सोम + न् + अ ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन् when it gets the form न्, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim: बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वे कार्ये भवति, यथादेकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरनिमित्तकार्यान् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गोऽप्येकादेशो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel of the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does not, even when it is antaranga, take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वेषुकामशाम (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vṛddhied.

१२४१ । दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य । ७ । ३ । २३ ॥

दीर्घस्वरस्य वरुणस्य न वृद्धिः । ऐन्द्रावरुणम् । दीर्घात्किम् । अग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाहीमालभेत ॥ तदस्मिन्वर्तते इति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ नावयज्ञिकः कालः । पाकयज्ञिकः ॥ पूर्णमासादण् वक्तव्यः * ॥ पूर्णो मासोऽस्यां वर्तते इति पौर्णमासी तिथिः ॥

1241. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vṛddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणौ &c (VI. 3. 26 S. 922). Why do we say 'a long vowel'? Observe अग्निवारुणीम् in अग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाहीमालभेत where a short vowel precedes it.

Note:—This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणौ the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27 S. 923. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28 S. 925, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

Vart:—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix उण् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः ॥

Vart:—After the words पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

१२४२ । पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

एतेनिपात्यन्ते ॥

पितृभ्रातरि व्यत् * ॥ पितृभ्राता-पितृव्यः ॥ मातृईलङ् * ॥ मातृभ्राता मातुलः ॥

मातृपितृभ्यां पितरि डामहङ् ॥ मातुः पिता मातामहः । पितुः पिता पितामहः ॥ मातुः पितृव्यः * ॥ मातामही । पितामही ॥

अवेदुंघे सोढूंसमरीसचो वक्तव्याः * ॥ सकारपाठसौमर्द्यान् एः । अविसोढम् अविवृत्तम् ।
अविमरीसम् ॥

तिलाभिष्फलात्पिञ्जोपजौ * ॥ तिलपिञ्जः । तिलपेजः । वन्धस्तिल इत्यर्थः ॥

पिञ्जश्छन्सि ङिष् * ॥ तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

1242. The words *pitrivya*, 'a father's brother', *mātula*, 'a mother's brother', *mātāmaha*, 'a mother's father' and *pitāmaha*, 'a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following.

Vārtika :—*पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातृरिव्यङ् इल्लचौ* "the affixes *व्यङ्* and *इल्लचौ* come respectively after the words *pitṛi* and *māṭṛi* in the sense of his or her brother'. Thus *पितृव्यः* and *मातृलः* respectively.

Vārtika :—*वाभ्यां पितरि ङामहश्च, मातरि ङिष्* ॥ The affix *ṙāmahach* comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory *च्* ॥ Thus *पितामहः* (f. *पितामही*), *मातामहः* (f. *मातामही*) ॥

Vārt :—The affixes *सोढ*, *दूस्*, and *मरीसच्* come after the word *अधि*, in the sense of 'milk'. As *अवेदुंघम्* = *अधि* *सोढम्* or *अविदूस्* or *अविमरीसम्* ॥ The *स* is not changed to *ए* in these; for if it was so changed, the author would have read *षोढम्* &c in the rule, in order to shorten the process. The fact of his using *सोढम्* &c shows that the *स* is not to be changed to *ए* in these examples.

Vārt :—The affixes *पिञ्ज* and *पेज* come after the word *तिल*, in the sense of fruitless. As *निष्फलस्तिलः* = *तिलपिञ्जः* and *तिलपेजः* ॥

Vārt :—The affix *पिञ्ज* is treated like *ङित्* in the *Chhandas*. As *तिल्पिञ्जः* ॥

१२४३ । तस्य समूहः । ४ । २ । ३७ ॥

काकानां समूहः काकम् । वाकम् ।

1243. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

Thus *काकानां समूहः* = *काकम्* ॥ So also *वाकम्* ॥

Note :—The affix *अण्* (IV. I. 83 §. 1073) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction in the sense of collection. What is the example

of this ? In order to apply the affix **अण्**, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix **अण्** is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udatta accent on the first syllable, which does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix **इक्** by IV. 2. 47 S. 1256, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix **अम्** IV. 3. 44 S. 1419, a Gotra word will take **बुम्** IV. 2. 39 S. 1246 and especial words like **केदार** &c take **अम्** &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is :—**काकानां समूहः = काकम्** 'a collection of crows' **बाकम्** ॥ The phrase **तस्य समूहः** of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up of sūtra IV. 2. 51 S. 1260 inclusive.

Vārt:—The affix **ग्रामच्** comes after the words **गुण** &c. As **गुणग्रामः** 'a collection of qualities', **करणग्रामः** &c. The following are some of such words:—**गुण**, **करण**, **तत्त्व**, **शब्द**, **इन्द्रिय**, &c. It is an ākṛitigaṇa.

१२४४। भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ३८ ॥

भिक्षाणां समूहो भैक्षम् । गर्भिणीनां समूहो गार्भिणम् । इह भत्याह इति पुंवन्नावे कृते ॥

1244. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshâ' &c.

The repetition of the word **अण्** in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus **भिक्षाणां समूहः = भैक्षम्** "what is collected in the shape of alms". So also **गार्भिणम्** ॥ It is thus formed **गर्भिणी + अण् = गार्भिण** (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory **ह**, भत्याह तद्धिते See VI. 3. 35. S. 836 Vārtika) Now the sūtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679 requires the elision of the syllable **इन्** of **गर्भिन्**, but the following sūtra prevents that.

१२४५। इनण्यनपत्ये । ६ । २ । १६४ ॥

अनपत्यार्थेऽणि परे इन् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । तेन नस्तद्धित इति द्विलोपो न । युवतीनां समूहो यौवनम् । शब्दान्तादनुदात्तादेशेऽपि यौवनम् ॥

1245. The final **इन्** of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic **अण्** affix.

Therefore there is not the elision of the final syllable, though required by VI. 4. 144 S. 679. Thus we get **गार्भिणम्** ॥ Similarly **यौवनम्** from **युवति** ॥ This word is anudatta-accented on the first syllable, and would have taken

अञ् (IV. 2. 44. S. 1253) but takes अण्, and hence it is included in the Bhikshādi class. When युवति becomes masculine, the ति ceases, and we have युवन् + अण् = यौवनम् "a collection of young women."

* The word यौवनम् however is another form. Here the affix added is अञ् (IV. 2. 44 S. 1253) and not अण्, and it is added to युवत् ending in श्त् affix; which has anudatta on the first syllable.

१२४६ । गोत्रोक्तोष्ट्रेरस्य राजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद्वुञ् । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

अर्थः समूहे बुञ् स्यात् । लौकिकमिह गोत्रं तथाप्यस्मान्नञ् ॥

1246. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputtra', 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. The बु of the affix बुञ् is replaced by अक by the following sūtra.

१२४७ । युवोरन्यको । ७ । १ । १ ॥

यु बु एतयोरनुनासिकयोः क्रमादन अक एतावादेशो सः । ग्लुचुकायनीनां समूहो ग्लौचुकायनकम् । औक्षकमित्यादि । आपत्यस्य चेति यलोपे प्राप्ते ॥

प्रकृत्याऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः * ॥ राजन्यकम् । मानुष्यकम् ॥

बुद्धाद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ वार्धकम् ॥

1247. For यु and बु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

Note :—यु and बु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces बु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) = अन, as नन्द + ल्यु = नन्दनः रमणः ॥ So also द्यु and द्युल्ल (IV. 3. 23 S. 1891), as सार्धवनः, चिरवनः ॥ बु we find in ण्डुल्ल (III. 1. 133 S. 2895), as कू + ण्डुल्ल = कारकः, हारकः ॥ So also बुञ् (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478) as वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Thus ग्लुचुकायनीनां समूहः = ग्लौचुकायनकम् । So also औक्षकम् from उक्ष, औष्ट्रकम् from उष्ट्र; औरभकम् from उरभ and राजकम् from राज ॥ But राजन्य + बुञ् requires the elision of न् by VI. 4. 151 S. 1082. This, however, is prevented by the following vārtika.

Vārtika :—The final न् of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक is added (VI. 4. 150 S. 472). Thus राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥

The other words of sūtra IV. 2. 39. S. 1246 exhibit no irregularity. As राजकु-
मरम्, वाल्मीकम् and राजकम् ॥

Vartika :—The affix वुञ् comes also after the word वृद्ध e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a
collection of old men.

Why do we say nasalised वु and वु? Observe ऊर्णाया वुञ् (V. 2. 123.
S. 1929). Here the वु is not replaced by वन, and we have ऊर्णावुः ॥ So also
in मुजिष्वत्तां वुक्त्युक्तौ ॥ Here the वु of वुक् and वुक् (Uṇ III. 21) a re
not replaced by वन; as मुञ्चुः and वृष्टुः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned,
the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible
marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

१२४८ । केदाराद्यञ्च ४ । २ । ४० ॥

बाहुञ् । केदार्यम् । केदारकम् ॥

गणिकाया यमिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गणिक्यम् ॥

1248. The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes
after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof.'

This debars ढक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः = केदार्यम् or
केदारकम् ॥

Vart :—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गणिक्यम् ॥

१२४९ । ठञ्कवचिनश्च ४ । २ । ४१ ॥

वाल्केयारावपि । कवचिनां समूहः कावचिकम् ॥ केदारिकम् ॥

1249. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection
thereof', after the word 'kedâra', and also after the word
'kavachin'.

We read the anuvṛtti of केदार in this Sūtra, by virtue of the word च ॥
Thus कवचिनां समूहः = कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 164 S. 1245); and केदारिकम्

१२५० । ब्राह्मणमाणघवाड्वाद्यत् ४ । २ । ४२ ॥

ब्राह्मण्यम् । माणव्यम् । वाडव्यम् ॥

पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पृष्ठयम् ॥

1250. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'col-
lection thereof,' after the words 'brâhmaṇa', 'mâṇava', and
'vâḍava'.

The indicatory व् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the
first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vart :—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठयम् ॥

१२५१ । ग्रामजनबन्धुभ्यस्तल् । ४ । २ । ४३ ॥

ग्रामता । जनता । बन्धुता ॥

गजसहायाः चोनि वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गजता । सहायता ॥

अहुः खः क्रतौ * ॥ अहीनः । अहर्गणसाध्यसुत्याकः क्रतुरित्यर्थः । क्रतौ किम् । आहुः । इह
खण्डिकादित्यादम् । अहुस्तोरेवेति निधामाहिलोपो न ॥

पार्श्वो णस् वक्तव्यः * ॥

1251. The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'grâma', 'jana', and 'bandhu'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages.' The words ending in तल् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives'.

Vart:—The affix 'tal' comes after गज and सहाय also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants', सहायता 'a collection of allies.'

Vart:—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice', e. g. अहीनः 'a Soma sacrifice lasting for several days., Kratu means a Soma-sacrifice extending over several days. Otherwise the form is आहुः by अञ् (see IV. 2. 45. S. 1254.) The final अन् here is not elided because of the restriction enunciated in VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

Vart:—The affix णस् comes after पशु, e. g. पार्श्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final ङ of पशु, is not changed by guṇa into ञो before the affix, because the word पशु is treated as a pada-word and not a Bha-word by the next sūtra :—

१२५२ । सिति च । १ । ४ । १६ ॥

सिति परे पूर्व पदसंज्ञं स्यात् । अभत्वासांशुणो न । पशूनां समूहः पार्श्वम् ॥

1252. When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

Therefore the ङ of पशु does not take guṇa substitution. So we have पशूनांसमूहः = पार्श्वम् and not पार्श्वम्.

१२५३ । अनुदात्तादेरञ् । ४ । २ । ४४ ॥

कापोतम् । मायूरम् ॥

1253. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कापोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, मायूरम् ॥

१२५४। खाण्डिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४५ ॥

अञ् स्त्रात् । खाण्डिकानां समूहः खाण्डिकम् ॥

1254. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'khaṇḍika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खाण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

१२५५। चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

काठकम् । छान्दोग्यम् ॥

1255. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof',.

Note :—The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtras IV. 2. 126. S. 1506 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, S. 1506 or any where else, but it occurs in the following *iṣṭi* under that Sūtra :—चरणद्वर्मायायोः ॥

Thus कठानां धर्म=काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः=काठकम् ॥ Similarly छान्दोग्यम् ॥

१२५६। अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् । ४ । २ । ४७ ॥

सानुकम् । हास्तिकम् । धेनुकम् ॥

1256. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of non-living things and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars अण् and अम् ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः=अपूपिकम् । सानुकम् ॥ The affix ठक् is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170) or क (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170). Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शाष्कुलिकम् ॥

१२५७। केशाश्वभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । ४८ ॥

पक्षे ढगणो । कैश्यम् । कैशिकम् । अश्वीयम् । आश्वम् ॥

1257. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः=कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256), अश्वानां समूहः=आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63 S. 518) or अश्वीयम् ॥

१२५८। पाशादिभ्यो यः । ४ । २ । ४९ ॥

पारवा । तुण्डा । धूम्या । वन्या । वात्या ॥

1258. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, सुर्व्या, धूम्या, वन्या and वास्या. These words are feminine.

1 पाश्या, 2 वृष्या, 3 धूम, 4 वास, 5 वन्या, 6 वास्य (वास्यका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मद (मड K.), 14 वन 15 बालक ॥

१२५६ । खलगोरथात् । ४ । २ । ५० ॥

खल्या । गव्या । रथ्या ॥

1259. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाश्यादि class, in order that the next rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

१२६० । इनित्रकट्यच्चञ्च । ४ । २ । ५१ ॥

खलादिभ्यः क्रमास्त्युः । खलिनी । गोत्रा । रथकट्या ॥

खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः * ॥ डाकिनी । कुडुम्बिनी । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1260. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा रथकट्या ।

Vārt.—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डालिनी, कुडुम्बिनी, ॥ This is an ākṛitigaṇa.

Vārt.—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमलखण्डम्, शम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, शम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुतुद, सरोज्, नलिनी, कैविली belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vārt.—The affix, स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vārt.—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

१२६१ । विषयो देशे । ४ । २ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताव्नादयः स्युरत्यन्तपरिशीलितेऽर्थे स च्चदेशः । सिबीनां विषयो देशः शैवः । देशे किम् । देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

1261. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

Thus सिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैवः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibis'. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

Note.—The anuvṛitti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) does not extend further : but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country.' The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometimes it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः

'a village has been acquired.' Some times it means an object of perception, as विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sûtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

१२६२ । राजन्यादिभ्यो बुञ् । ४ । २ । ५३ ॥

राजन्यकः ॥

1262. The affix इञ् comes after the words rājanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो दशः=राजन्यकः, ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाध्व*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 देवयात (देवयातव; देवयान), 6 भव्रिड, 7 वरवा*, 8 जालधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 भात्मकामय, 12 भम्बरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसार्ति, 14 बेल्ववन, 15 शैलूष, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 नीप्*, 18 बेल्वज (बेल्वस्व) 19 आर्जुनायन, 20 सप्रिय, 21 दाक्षि, 22 ऊर्णनार्भ, 23 आप्रीन, 24 वेतिल, 25 वाचक, ॥

१२६३ । भौरिक्याद्येषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधलभक्तलौ । ४ । २ । ५४ ॥

भौरिकीणां विषयो देशः भौरिकिविधम् । भौलिकिविधम् । ऐषुकारिभक्तम् । सारसायनभक्तम् ॥

1263. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukári &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधम् भौलिकिविधम् &c. ऐषुकारिभक्तम्, सारसायनभक्तम् &c.

1 भौरिक, 2 भौलिक, 3 चोपयत*, 4 चैटयन (चौटयन), 5 कानेय, 6 वाणि-जक, 7 वालिकाड्य (वाणिकाड्य; वालिज, वॉलिड्यक), 8 सैकयत (सौकयत), 9 वैकयत, 10 वैपेय ॥

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारसायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्दायण, 4 द्यान्तायण, 5 द्यान्तायण (द्व्यायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासभिजि, 10 रासमित्रायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्राय), 12 दात्तायण, 13 शायण्डायन*, 14 ताक्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 शायण्ड, 19 शौण्डे, 20 शायण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्व-धेनव, 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डव, 25 विश्वदेव (विश्वदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 साविण्ड ॥ 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 बलायत, 30 औन्तायत ॥

१२६४ । सोऽस्यादिरिति छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु । ४ । २ । ५५ ॥

अण् । पङ्क्तिरादिरस्येति पाङ्क्तः प्रगाथः ॥

स्वार्थ उपसंख्यानम्* । विण्डुदेव वण्डुभैम् ॥

1264. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning there- with.

Note :—The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning

of the affix. अदि: 'beginning', this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्तः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragâtha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragâtha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragâtha beginning with that metre.

Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तिः which means "a Pragâtha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागन्तः &c.

Why do we say "beginning" ? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragâtha', the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the name of a metre' ? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragâtha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragâtha' ? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvâka &c and not of a Pragâtha. Pragâtha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यत्र हे छन्दो प्रगाथनेन तिष्ठः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगाथनात् पक्षर्गानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vārt :—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it ; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैशुभम् 'the metre Trishṭubha', जागन्तम् &c.

१२६५ । संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

सोऽस्येत्यनुवर्तते । सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्येति सौभद्रः । भरता भीष्मरोऽस्य संग्रामस्य भारतः ॥

1265. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

Note :—The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here ; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case : and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = सौभद्रः "A battle fought for Subhadrâ". Similarly भारतः ॥

Note :—Why do we say "in the sense of a battle ?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य दानस्य 'Subhadrâ is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior' ? Observe, सुभद्रा मेधिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ॥

१२६६ । तदस्यांभरण्यामिति क्रीडायां छः । ४ । २ । ५७ ॥

दण्डः ग्रहणमस्यां क्रीडायां दण्डा । नौटा ॥

1266. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means : 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play ; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction, denoting the name of a weapon ; ण is added to denote a play. Thus दण्डः ग्रहणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दण्डा "a game played with sticks". So also नौटा "a game played with fists".

Note:—Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाद् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe :—खड्गः ग्रहण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 S. and 15), the feminine being formed by णा ॥

१२६७ । घञः सास्यां क्रियेति अः । ४ । २ । ५८ ॥

घञन्ताक्रियावाचिनः प्रथमान्तादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे अमत्ययः स्यात् । घञ इति कृद्ग्रहणादतितात्पर्यस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

1267. The affix ञ, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ् denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that' 'अस्यां' 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ञ is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

The घञ् formed word may be preceded by a *gati*, or a *kāraka*, or an *upapada*, and the rule will still apply, as घञ् is a Kṛit affix. As an example under this sūtra, let us take the घञ् formed word पातः preceded by the upapada इयेन ॥ Thus इयेन + पात + ञ ॥ Now applies the following.

१२६८ । इयेनतिलस्य पाते अः । ५ । ३ । ७१ ॥

इयेन तिल एतयोर्द्विमागमः स्यात् अमत्यये परे पातशब्दे उत्तरपदे । इयेनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते इयेनपाता वृगवा । तिलपातोऽस्यां वर्तते तैलपाता स्वधा । इयेनतिलस्य किम् । दण्डपातोऽस्यां तियो वर्तते दण्डपाता तिथिः ॥

1268. मुञ् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix अ is added.

Thus इयेनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते—इयेनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ Thus इयेनपाता वृगवा 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an

oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown ". Why do we say श्येन and तिल only ? Observe षण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथीवर्तते - षण्डपाता तिथिः ; मौशलपाता तिथिः ॥

Note :—Why do we say before अ ? Observe श्येनपातः ॥

१२६९ । तदधीते तद्वेद । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

व्याकरणमधीते वेद वा वैयाकरणः ॥

1269. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In other words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As व्याकरणमधीते = वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098) 'who knows grammar'. The word तद् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

१२७० । क्रतूकथादिसूत्रान्तादृक् । ४ । २ । ६० ॥

क्रतुविशेषवत्स्विनामेवेह महणम् । तेभ्यो मुख्यार्थेभ्यो वेदितरि तत्प्रतिपादकग्रन्थपरेभ्यस्त्वध्येतरि । आग्निष्टोमिकः । वाजपेयिकः । उक्तं सामविशेषस्तत्त्वक्षणपरो ग्रन्थविशेषो लक्ष्ययोक्यम् । तदधीते वेद वा औक्तिकः ॥

मुख्यार्थात्तुल्यशब्दाद्वगणौ नेष्येते * ॥ न्यायम् नैयायिकः । वृत्तिम् वार्तिकः । लोकायतम् लोकायतिक इत्यादि ॥

सूत्रान्तात्त्वकल्पादेवेष्येते * ॥ सांमहस्यत्रिकः । भकल्पादेः किम् । काल्पसूत्रः ॥

विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्ताद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ वायसविधिकः । गौलक्षणिकः । आश्वलक्षणिकः । पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

अङ्गसत्रधर्मत्रिपूर्वादिद्यान्तान्नेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आङ्गविद्यः । क्षात्रविद्यः । धर्मविद्यः । त्रिविधा विद्या त्रिविद्या तामधिते वेद वा वैविद्यः ॥

आख्यानान्ख्यायिकोतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च * ॥ यवकीतमधिकृत्य कृतमाख्यानपुष्पचाराद्यवकीतं तदधीते वेत्ति वा यावकीतिकः । वासवदत्तामधिकृत्य कृता आख्यायिका, वासवदत्ता । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थ इत्यर्थे वृद्धाच्छेः । तस्य लुवाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलमिति लुप् । ततोऽनेन दृक् । वासवश्चित्तिकः । ऐतिहासिकः । पौराणिकः ॥

सर्वार्थेः सादेभ्य लुग्वक्तव्यः * ॥ सर्ववेदानधीते सर्ववेदः । सर्वतन्त्रः । सगार्तिकः । द्विगोर्लुगिति लुक् । द्वितन्त्रः ॥

इकन्पद्योत्तरपदात्तृघातष्टेः विकल्पः * ॥ पूर्वपदिकः । उत्तरपदिकः । घातपयिकः । घातपयिकी । घटिपयिकः । घटिपयिकी ॥

1270. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word sūtra.

This debars अण् ॥ When the base has the primary sense of 'sacrifice', then the force of the affix is 'he who knows that sacrifice'; when it means the book treating of that sacrifice, then the force of the affix is, 'he who *studies* that book.' Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands Agnishtoma Sacrifice or studies the book teaching it.' वाजपेयिकः, औक्थिकः ॥ Uktha is a kind of sâma. The book treating of it is also called Uktha by a figure of speech. लोकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः, सांभ्रहसूत्रिकः, ॥

Iṣṭhi:—The affixes ढक् and अण् do not come after the word उक्थ्य when used in its primary sense. Therefore औक्थिकः always means 'one who studies the prâtisâkhya of the Śâma Veda' and never means 'he who understands उक्थ्य ॥

Similarly न्याय्य or नैयायिकः, वृत्तिय or वार्त्तिकः; लोकायतन् or लोकायतिकः &c. All these are words of the उक्थ्यादि class, for a list of which see below.

As regards सूत्रान्त words to which also this sūtra is applicable, we must remember the following.

Iṣṭhi:—The affix ढक् comes after a stem ending with the word सूत्र when the preceding word in composition is not कल्प ॥ Thus सांभ्रहसूत्रिकः from संभ्रहसूत्र meaning 'one who studies Sangraha sūtra.' Why do you say 'when the preceding word is not सूत्र'? Observe कल्पसूत्रः 'one who studies Kalpa sūtra'; formed by the affix अण् and not ढक् ॥

Vār:—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविधिकः, गौलक्षणिकः, भाष्यलक्षणिकः पाशाशकल्पिकः ॥

Vārt:—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words भङ्ग, लघु, धर्म संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As भङ्गविद्यामधीते = भङ्गविद्यः, क्षात्रविद्यः, धर्मविद्यः, संसर्गविद्यः, त्रैविद्यः ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ढक् ॥

The word त्रैविद्यः; has this peculiarity that it is formed from the word त्रिविद्या meaning "three sorts of knowledge" (त्रिविधाविद्या) ॥ If we analyse the word as तिस्रोविद्याऽधीते then, the form would be त्रिविद्यः and not त्रैविद्यः for it would be then तद्वितार्थद्वय in which the affix would be elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080.

Vārt:—The affix ढक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिकः, वासवदत्तिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

The story describing the adventures of Yavakṛita, is called by a figure of speech Yavakṛita. He who studies or knows the work यावक्रीतन् is यावक्रीतिकः. Similarly the story relating to Vāsavadattā is वासवदत्ता ॥ Here the affix ङ् is ordained by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 with the force of the sūtra IV. 3. 87 S. 1467.

But this affix is elided by the *Vartika* सुवाक्याधिकारो बहुलम् 'there is diversely the elision of the affix after words denoting 'narratives'. So क् being elided, the form remains as वासवदत्ता to which is added इक् ॥ So we get वासवदत्तिकः ॥

Vart:—This affix is elided after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, 'one who studies all the Vedas'; So also सर्वतन्त्रः। सवार्तिकः, ॥

He who studies two Tantras will be called द्वितन्त्रः Here the samāsanta affix is elided by IV. 1. 88 S. 1080.

Vart:—The affix इक् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद् ; as, पूर्वपदिकः and उत्तरपदिकः ॥

Vart:—The affix चिक्रन् comes in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and शष्टिपथ ॥ As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498), शष्टिपथिकः (f. शष्टिपथिकी) ॥

1 उक्थ; 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त 8 द्विपदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी. ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 बह्व, 13 धर्म, 14 चर्चा, 17 क्रमेतर, 16 श्लक्ष्ण, 17 संहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद। क्रम) 19 संघट्ट (संघात also संघट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद् *, 22 संघट्ट, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणगुण st. गण, गुण), 25 आयुर्वेद, 26 अनुगुण ॥

१२७१। क्रमादिभ्यो वुन्। ४। २। ६१ ॥

क्रमकः। क्रम, पद, शिञ्चा, मीमांसा, इति क्रमादिः ॥

1271. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 2. 1 S. 2297) पदकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिञ्चा, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

१२७२। अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः। ४। २। ६२ ॥

तदधीते तद्वेदस्यै । ब्राह्मणसदृशो ग्रन्थोऽनुब्राह्मणं तदधीते अनुब्राह्मणी । मत्पर्यायेनैव सिद्धे अण्वाधनार्थनिर्देशः ॥

1272. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrāhmaṇa'.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brāhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनो, &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मनुष्य, and by Sūtra V. 2. 115 S. 1932 अन्त इनि इनी, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and इन् in the sense of मनुष्य; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense. Though it would have taken इनि by the V. 2, 115 S. 1922; its separate

mention here is for the sake of preventing the application of अण् । In the Bhāṣya however this Sūtra is declared superfluous, which implies that अण् also is added.

१२७३ । वसन्तादिभ्यष्टक् । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

वासन्तिकः । अथर्वाण्यधीते आथर्वणिकः । दायिडनायनेति सूत्रे निशतनाह्नोपो न ॥

1273. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or who knows,' after the words 'vasanta' &c.

This dabars अण् । As, वासन्तिकः 'one who studies the book relating to the Spring.' आथर्वणिकः &c । The final अन् of अथर्वन् is not elided because the form is so exhibited in the sūtra VI. 4. 174 S., 1145.

1 वसन्त, 2 ग्रीष्म, 3 वर्षा, 4 शरद्, 5 हेमन्त, 6 शिशिर, 7 प्रथम, 8 शुक्ल, 9 चरम, 10 अनुगुण, 11 अथर्वन्, 12 आथर्वन् ॥

१२७४ । प्रोक्ताल्लुक् । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

प्रोक्तार्थकप्रत्ययास्परस्याद्यन्तेति नृत्यस्य लुक् स्यात् । पणनं पणः । वमर्षे कविधानमिति कः । सोऽस्यास्तीति पणी, तस्य गोत्रापत्यं पणिनः ॥

1274. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting 'one who studies or who knows that' are elided by 'luk.'

Note :—This sūtra may be rendered in the following way also :—"There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer." The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम्=पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by 1 ṅṇini.' पाणिनीयमधीते=पाणिनीयः, so also कौपिण्यः । The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning 'the system of Grammar,' and पाणिनीय formed with अण्, meaning 'who studies that Grammar' would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी । For, had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, डीप् would be required by VI. 1. 15 S. 2409, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3 S. 3708). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by टप्, and the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ् affix. (Phiṭ Su 11. 19).

The word पाणिनी is thus derived : पण has the same meaning as पणनं; this last word is formed by the addition of the affix क having the force of the affix वम् (See the Vārtika under III. 3. 58 S, 3234). One who has पण 'wealth' is called पणिन् which is formed by adding the affix णिन् to पण by V. 2. 115. S. 1922 The gotra 'descendant' of पणिन् will be पाणिनः formed by the affix अण् । Thus पणिन्+अण्=पाणिन ॥ The final इन् of पणिन् is not elided by the following sūtra :—

१२७५ । गायिबिद्यिकेशिगक्षिपणिनञ् । ६ । ४ । १६५ ॥

एतेऽणि प्रकृत्या स्युः । इति दिनोपो न । ततो युनि इञ् । पाणिनिः ॥

*1275. गायिन्, विद्यिन्, केशिन्, गक्षिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गायिनोऽपत्यं = गायिन् । So also, विद्यिन्, केशिन्, गक्षिन्, and पाणिन् । 'This sūtra applies to Patronymics. To the word पाणिन् thus formed, we add the युवञ् Patronymic affix इञ् । Thus we get पाणिनिः । Then applies the following sūtra :—

१२७६ । ण्यक्षत्रियार्थञितो युनि लुगशिञोः । २ । ४ । ५८ ॥

ण्यप्रत्ययान्तास्त्वयिणोऽप्रत्ययान्ताहृद्यभिधीयनो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताद् अितश्च पर्योर्युवाभिधावि-
नोरणिमौर्लुक् स्यात् । कौरव्यः पिता । कौरव्यः पुत्रः । भ्रातृकः पिता । भ्रातृकः पुत्रः । वासिष्ठः
पिता । वासिष्ठः पुत्रः । तैकायनिः पिता । तैकायनिः पुत्रः । एवः किर । शिवायण । कीहडः पिता । तस
इम् । कीहडिः पुत्रः । युनि किम् । वामरप्यस्य छात्राः वामरयाः । इति ण्यो लुक् तु न भवति ।
आर्षग्रहणेन प्रतिपद्योक्तस्य कृत्येण एव ग्रहणात् । पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् । वृक्षाच्छ । इञ्प्रत्ययण्
तु न । गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्ताविति वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् । ततोऽप्येदृशेषणोल्लुक् । स्वरे क्त्वां च विधेयः ।
पाणिनीयः । पाणिनीया ॥

1276. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्य (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi 'seer,' and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicative ञ्, the affix अण् and इञ् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendants,' are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1. Thus by IV. 1. 151 S. 1175 (the affix ण्य comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendant) we get कुरु + इञ् = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इञ् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). Now this इञ् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendant of Kuru.' So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Note :—Now it may be objected : 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the तिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154 S. 1178, it will take the affix किर । Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायनिः (VII. 1. 2 S. 457). To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of तिक् &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding ण्य under rule IV. 1. 151 S. 1175 ; that 'Tikādi word is formed by ण्य under rule IV. 1. 172 S. 1190, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114 S. 1117 which tells us that 'the affix अण् may

be added to the words which are the names of Rishis or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishni or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and **आफल्कः** is a person of that family. Then **आफल्कः + अण् = आफल्कः** 'a descendant of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendant. In forming Yuvan descendant we have **आफल्कः + इम्**। Now this **इम्** must be elided by the present sūtra. So that **आफल्कः** means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishi family. The sūtra last mentioned (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) will also hold here. We take the word **वसिष्ठः**; and **वसिष्ठः + अण् = वासिष्ठः**; the Yuvan affix **इम्** will similarly be elided after this; and thus the word **वासिष्ठः** means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory **अ**। Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104 S. 1106. declares 'the affix **अम्** comes after the words **विह** &c., in denoting Gotra descendants.' Thus **विह + अम् = वैहः**। Then add **इम्** to denote Yuvan descent, and we have **वैहः + इम्**। By the present rule this **इम्** is elided and thus we have **वैहः** both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix **इम्**। Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix **अण्**। The rule IV. 1. 154 S. 1178 says 'the affix **किम्** comes after the words **तिक्** &c. in denoting descendant.' Thus **तिक् + किम् = तैकायनिः** (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Then to form the Yuvan descendant we add **अण्** by IV. 1. 83. Thus **तैकायनिः + अण्**। By the present sūtra, this **अण्** is elided and we have **तैकायनिः** both applicable to the father and the son.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 says:—'The affix **अण्** comes after **कौह** &c., in forming Gotra.' **कौह + अण् = कौहणः**। Now this is neither a word formed by **ण्व** nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having **म्** goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix **इम्** will not be elided after this. Thus **कौह + इम्** (IV. 1. 95 S. 1195) = **कौहणः** 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendant is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendant will not be elided. Thus the pupils of **वामरथ्य** are called **वामरथ्याः** which word is thus formed: **वामरथ्य + ण्व = वामरथ्यः** 'a descendant of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1, 115 S. 1118). Then to denote pupils we add **अण्** by IV. 2. 111 S. 1332. Thus **वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्यः** 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Note:—Why do we say 'Yuvan affix **अण्** and **इम्** are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan descendant of **वाचि** 'grandson of **वच**' will be **वाचावणः**। Here the affix **फक्** (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) is not elided.

In forming the word पाणिनि, the अण् which went to form the word पाणिनः is not elided because the elision taught by the present sūtra refers to the अण् denoting the 'Rishi' as specifically mentioned in the sūtra and not the gotra अण्, for the अण् in पाणिनः is the general अण् and not the particular ऋषि denoting अण् । The work enunciated by Pāṇini is Pāṇinīyam, which is formed by the addition of the affix छ् by IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. and not by the affix अण् of IV. 2, 112. S. 1333. For, though the word पाणिनि ends with the affix इम् and so *prima facie* the sūtra IV. 2. 112. S. 1333 ought to apply to it, yet it is not so, because the इम् referred to in that sūtra is the gotra affix इम्, as will be explained hereafter; while the इम् in पाणिनि is the शुबन् affix इम् ॥

He who studies पाणिनीयम् is called पाणिनीयः formed by adding अण् to पाणिनीय । This अण् is elided and so the resultant word is the same in form. The difference is only in accent and in the formation of the feminine. Thus पाणिनीयः and पाणिनीया ॥

१२७७ । सूत्राच्च कोपचात् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

सूत्रपाणिनः ककारोपधाभ्येतुवेतिन्त्यभ्य लुक् स्यात् । अष्टोक्तार्य आरम्भः । अष्टावध्यायाः परिमाणस्य अष्टकं पाणिनेः सूत्रम् । तदधीयते विशन्ति वा अष्टकाः ॥

1277. The affix denoting 'one who studies that or who knows that' is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Aṣṭaka.' So also दशका वैशाखपत्रीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृष्णाः ॥

Note:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः । So also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः ॥

१२८८ । छन्दोग्राह्यानि च तद्विषयाणि । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च प्रोक्तान्ययातानि तद्विषयाणि स्युः । अभ्येतुवेदितुमत्यर्थं विना न प्रयो-
ज्यामीत्यर्थः । कठेन प्रोक्तमधीयते कटाः । वैशम्पायनान्तेवातिस्वायिणः । तस्य कठपरकादिति लुक् ।
ततोऽण् तस्य प्रोक्ताल्लुक् ॥

1278. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Uhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word प्रोक्त is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing 'one who studies' or 'one who knows.' तद्विव्याणि means 'this relation,' i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of वदयेत् or वेदितु । In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer,' have the force of 'one who studies or one who knows' when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a प्रोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an वदयेत् or वेदितु affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means 'he who studies or knows the Veda announced by.' In fact, there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठः meaning 'those who study or know Kāṭha Veda.' The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix शिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 S. 1484: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107 S. 1487, leaving the bare word कठ; then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. S. 1443. 'कठ + शिनि = कठ + ० (IV. 3. 107 S. 1487); = कठ + अण् = कठ (IV. 2. 64 S. 1443) Plural कठः 'those who study the Veda announced by Kāṭha.'

Note :—Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājñavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि । Similarly सौलभानि । These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them. See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning 'and' is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः 'those who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kuśika.' So also with regard to Sūtra texts: as, पाराशरियो भिक्षवः 'the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Pārāśara.' शैलालिनो नराः, कर्मन्दिनः, कुशभिनः &c.

Why do we say 'Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas'? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple; as, पणिनीये व्याकरणम् । पैणिनीये ॥

CHAPTER XXVII—(Continued).

The Quadruply-significant Affixes.

१२७६ । तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि । ४ । २ । ६७ ॥

उदुम्बराः सन्त्यस्मिन्देशे भौदुम्बरः ॥

1279. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of ' that thing is in this,' the place taking a name therefrom.

Note.—The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that,' i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् 'in this'—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति 'is' this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशेतन्नाम्नि 'a country having that name'; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists."

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चतुरर्थिक 'quadruple significants.'

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = भौदुम्बरः । Audumbara 'the country in which there are glomerous fig trees,' formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

१२८० । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता कौशाम्बी नगरी ॥

1280. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of ' completed by him,' when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नाम्नि of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी 'the city of Kauśāmbi, completed by Kuśāmba.' A place is named after the means by which or the person through whom, it is established.

१२८१ । तस्य निवासः । ४ । २ । ६९ ॥

शिवानां निवासो देशः शैवः ॥

1281. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of ' his dwelling-place ; ' the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means 'his dwelling place.' A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैबः 'the country of the Sibis.'

१२८२ । अदूरभवश्च । ४ । २ । ७० ॥

विदिशाया अदूरभवं नगरं वैदिशम् । चकारेण प्रागुक्तौक्तयोऽर्थाः संनिधावन्ते । तेन वक्ष्यमाण-
ग्रन्थानां चातुर्यिकत्वं सिध्यति ॥

1282. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word 'तस्य' must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, 'an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off,' the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूरभवं = वैदिशम्. Vaidīśam is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśa flows.

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this ; so that the four sūtras 1279 to 1282 form but one complete sūtra and hence the affixes to be taught hereafter are called chāturarthika or quadruply significant.

१२८३ । ओरञ् । ४ । २ । ७१ ॥

अण्यपवादः । कच्चतु,—काच्चतवम् । नयां तु परस्वान्तपु । इक्षुमती ॥

1283. The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अञ् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073).

Thus काच्चतवम् from कच्चतु । But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugarcane near it.' Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85 S. 1304, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2. S. 175). The affix अञ् governs the six sūtras up to IV. 2. 77. S. 1289. The difference between अञ् and अञ् consists in the accent. The अञ् is first-acute (IV. 1. 197 S. 3686).

१२८४ । मताञ्च बहुजङ्गात् । ४ । २ । ७२ ॥

बहुञ् अङ्गं यस्य मतुपस्तवन्ताश्च नाञ् । सैधकावतम् । बहुजिति किय । आहिमत्तम् ।
अङ्गमहणं बहुजिति तद्विशेषणं यथा स्वान्मत्वन्तविशेषणं ना भूत् ॥

1284. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic. .

The word बहुजङ्गः is a compound of बहुञ् meaning literally, 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning 'stem.' A word which,

exclusive of the affix मनुष्य consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अम् । This debars अण् । Thus सैधकावतम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a polysyllabic stem'? Observe अहिमर्त्यम्, अश्वमर्त्यम् । Here though the word अहिमर्त्य ends in the affix मनुष्य, yet the अङ्ग of the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming the names of countries. In fact, the word बह्वन् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मनुष्य, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore नीलावतां निवासः = मालवर्त्यम् by अण् ॥

१२८५ । बह्वन्ः कृपेषु । ४ । २ । ७३ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । दीर्घवरणेन निर्वृत्तो दीर्घवरणः कृपः ॥

1285. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण् । Thus दीर्घवरणेन निर्वृत्तः कृपः = दीर्घवरणः 'a well completed by Dīrghavaratra.'

१२८६ । उदक्च विपाशः । ४ । २ । ७४ ॥

● विपाश उत्तरे कुले च कृपास्तेष्वम् । अवहृज्यर्थ आरम्भः । इत्तेन निर्वृत्तो शक्तः कृपः । उदक् किम् । इत्तिगतः कृपेऽप्यनेव ॥

1286. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem, in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipāśā.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus शक्तः 'a well completed by Datta.'

Why do we say on the 'northern bank'? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipāśā, then the affix अण् will apply; as शक्तः, the difference being in the accent.

१२८७ । सङ्कलादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ७५ ॥

कृपेऽप्यिति निर्वृत्तम् । उक्तेन निर्वृत्तं साङ्कलम् । षोष्कलम् ॥

1287. The affix अण् comes after the word 'saṅkala' &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् । The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः । Thus सौंकलः, षोष्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उक्तम्, * 4 उडुप, 5 उद्वेष (उद्वेष), 6 उत्पुट, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुदक्ष, 10 सुदत्त, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत, * 13 सुनेष, 14 सुमङ्गल, * 15 सुविङ्गल, 16 सत, * 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका, पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कुलास, 21 पलाश, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेश, 24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्, * 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (वरुण), 31 बहुल, 32 सद्योज, 33 आभषिक्त, 34 गोधून्, 35 राजधून्, 36 भल, * 37 मल. 38 माल । Also 39 शर्मन्, 40 गृह, 41 भूम् ॥

१२८८ । स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राधु । ४ । २ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गेषु एषु देशेषु सौवीरसाल्वम् । सौवीरे । दत्तामित्रेण निर्बुता दत्तामित्रा नगरी । साल्वं वैधूमाम्नी । प्राप्ति, माकम्नी ॥

1288. So also the affix **अञ्** comes when the place is situate in the lands of the Sâuvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people ; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशे तन्नाम्न (IV. 2. 67) : so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दत्तामित्रा 'the city founded by Dattâmitra' (in Sauvîra). So also वैधूमाम्नी (in Sâlva). माकम्नी, (in the Eastern countries).

१२८९ । सुवास्त्वादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ७७ ॥

अभ्योऽपवादः । सुवास्तोरदूरभवं सौवास्तवम् । वर्णु । वार्णवम् । भण्यहणं नद्यां मतुपो बाधना-
र्यम् । सौवास्तवी ॥

• 1289. The affix **अण्** comes after the words **सुवास्तु** &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix **अञ्** which would have otherwise come by IV. 2, 71 and 73. S. 1283 and 1285. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word **अण्**, though its anuvritti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars 'matup' of IV. 2. 85. S. 1304, in the case of river names even. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्णु, 3 भण्डु 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवालिन (सेवालिन), 6 कर्पूरिन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्ग, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकण (शटीकण), 11 कृष्णकण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 ककचुमती (कर्कचु), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 आहिसक्य 16 वृत् ॥

१२९० । रोणी । ४ । २ । ७८ ॥

रोणीशब्दात्तन्ताच्च अण् । कृपाभ्योऽपवादः । रोणः ॥ आजकरोणः ॥

1290. The affix **अण्** comes after **रोणं** in the fourfold sense.

This debars **अञ्** of IV. 2. 74 S. 1286. This sūtra consists of one word **रोणी** in the nominative case. As a general rule, all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in the sūtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word **रोणी** indicates that this word takes **अण्** under *all* circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. Thus रोणः, आजकरोणः ॥

१२९१ । कोपधाञ् । ४ । २ । ७९ ॥

अण् । अभ्योऽपवादः । कार्यच्छिद्रकः कूपः । कार्कवाकवम् । त्रैशङ्कवम् ॥

1291. The affix **अण्** comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having **क्** for its penultimate.

This debars अम् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. S. 1283 and' 1285 Thus कार्यच्छिद्रकः कृषः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम् । शैशङ्कवम् ॥

१२६२ । धुञ्छणकठजिलसेनिरहण्ययफकिफिञ्छयकठकोऽरीहणकृशा-
भ्यश्चकुमुदकांशतृणप्रेक्षादमसङ्गिसंकाशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ।
४ । २ । ८० ॥

एभ्यः सप्तदशभ्यः सप्तदश क्रमास्त्युत्तरार्थ्याम् । अरीहणादिभ्यो वुञ् । अरीहणेन निर्वृत्तमारीहण-
कम् । कृशाभादिभ्यश्छण् । कार्शाभ्याम् । ऋश्यादिभ्यः कः । ऋश्यकम् । कुमुदादिभ्यश्च । कुमुदिकम् ।
काशादिभ्य इलः । काशिलः । तृणादिभ्यः सः । तृणसम् । प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिः । प्रेक्षी । अशमादिभ्यो रः ।
अशमरः । सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् । साख्यम् । सङ्काशादिभ्यो ण्यः । साङ्काश्यम् । बलादिभ्यो यः । बल्यम् ।
पक्षादिभ्यः फक् । पाक्षायणः । पथः पन्थ च । पान्यायनः । कर्णादिभ्यः फिञ् । कर्णायनिः ।
सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इम् । सौतङ्गनिः । प्रगद्यादिभ्यो ञ्यः । प्रगद्यः । वराहादिभ्यः कक् । वाराहकः । कुमुदादि-
भ्यश्चक् । कौमुदिकः ॥

1292. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1 वुञ् (=अक) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (=ईय) after कृशाभ् &c. 3. क after ऋश्य &c. 4. ढच् (=इक्) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल after काश &c. 6 स (or श) after तृण &c. 7. इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अशमन् &c. 9. ढञ् (=एय) after सखि &c. 10. ण्य (=य) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12 फक् (=भायर्त्त) after पक्ष &c. 13. फिञ् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इम् (इ) after सुतङ्गम् &c. 15. ञ्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16. कक् (क्) after वराह &c. 17. चक् (=इक्) after कुमुद &c.

Note :—The above affixes वुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words. भादि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sūtra upto चक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-classes. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) अरीहणकम्, (2) कार्शाभ्याम् (3) ऋश्यकम्, (4) कुमुदिकम्, (5) काशिलः (6) तृणसम्, (7) प्रेक्षीन्, (8) अशमरः, (9) साख्यम्, (10) साङ्काश्यम्, (11) बल्यम्, (12) पाक्षायणः, पान्ययणः, (13) कर्णायनिः, (14) सौतङ्गनिः, (15) प्रगद्य (16) वाराहकः, and lastly (17) कौमुदिकः ॥

Note :—The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes, viz. अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14) and वराहादि (3). Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82 S. 1301) therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

(1). 1 अरीहण, 2 कुमुद, * 3 कुहण, * 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्ठा-
यण, 9 औष्ठायण, * 10 भैगतयन, 11 भैत्रायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमत्तायन (also वैमत्तायन), 14
गौमत्तायन (गो), 15 सौमत्तायन, 16 सौसायन. 17 धौमत्तायन, * 18 सौमायन, * 19 ऐन्द्रायण, *

20 कौन्दावय, * 21 खाडायन, 22 चाशिडल्यायन, 23 रावस्योष, 24 विषय, 25 विषाष, 26 उहण्ड, 27 उहण्डन, 28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृन्त (कश), 31 जाम्बवत (वन्त) 32 सिंशपा, 33 देवत (देवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 अम्बु, 39 खरि, 40 सुधर्मन् (सुधर्म K.), 41 इलट्, * 42 भलन्दन, * 43 खण्डु, * 44 कनल, * (कलन), 45 यज्ञदत्त, * 46 सार, 47 वैवर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन ॥

(2). 1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेशमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश, * 7 रोमश * 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक, * 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 बर्चल, * 13 सुर्वचल, * 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सदृश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग, * 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 भाजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता), 24 भवनत, 25 विकुन्धास (च. l. कुविद्यास; विकुधास), 26 पराशर, * 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्, * 29 मौल्ल्य, 30 यूकर, * (मौल्ल्याकर), 31 रोमन् 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अषावस् ॥

(3). 1 अश्वथ, 2 न्यमोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगूढ, 11 उपगूढ 12 असान, 13 सित, 14 मत्, * 15 वेशमन्, * 16 उत्तरादमन्, 17 अदमन् * 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खरि, 21 शर्करा, 22 अतडुह, 23 अरडु, * 24 परवश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 वण्ड, * 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कदम्ब, 31 अशु ॥

(4). 1 कुसुह, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यमोध, 4 इकट (इल्कट, उत्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्धास, * 11 शकट, * 12 कच, * 13 मधु, * 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व, * 16 अश्वथ, 17 बल्लज, 18 यवाष, 19 वृष, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 दशग्राम, 22 कण्टक, 23 बलाश, 24 त्रिक, 25 कत ॥

(5). 1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वथ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूषा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छल, * 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 विस (विश and विस) 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर 17 बर्बर, * 18 मधुर, * 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपिस्थ, * 21 जटु, 22 वीपाल: 23 नर, 24 कंटक ॥

(6). 1 तृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल, * 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण, * 8 बिल, 9 पुल, * 10 फल, * 11 अर्जुन, * 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण, * 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 धुस, 17 जन, 18 जव ॥

(7). 1 भेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 वधुका, 4 ध्रुवका, 5 त्रिपका, 6 म्यन्त्रोध, 7 इकट (इकुट), 8 कङ्कट (ककटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट, * 11 कूप, * 12 बुक, * 13 पुक, * 14 पुट, 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवाप * 17 यवाष, * यवास), 18 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य, * 22 धुधका, 23 सुक्का, 24 मङ्कट, 25 मुक ॥

(8). 1 अशमन्, 2 यूथ, (also यूष), 3 ऊष (रूष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नड, 6 दर्भ, 7 वृन्ध, 8 गुह, * 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कौट (काट), 13 पाम (पाम!), 14 कन्द, * 15 कान्द, * 17 गह्व, * 18 गुड, * 19 कुण्डल, * 20 पीन, * 21 गुह, ..

(9). 1 सखि, 2 अभिदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल, 7 पाल (भल्लपाल भल्ल, पाल), 8 अक्र (अर्क), 9 अक्रवाक, * 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासव, * 14 वीर, * 15 पूर, * 16 वज्र, * 17 कुशीरक, * 18 सहरि (शीहर; सीकर), 19 सरक (सकर), 20 सरस, 21 समर, * 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 समाल, 26 करल, 27 सप्तल, 28 अक्रपाल, 29 अक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशोर ॥

(10). 1 संकाश, 2 काम्पिह, 3 कश्मीर (कदमर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरिक, 7 सूर, * 8 सुपान्यिन (rightly सुपथीन्), पन्थ (सक्य!) अ, 9 यूष (यूष), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग, * 12 नासा, * 13 पलिन, * 14 अनुनाश, * 15 अशमन्, 16 कूट, 17 मर्लिन, 18 दश, * 19 वृ: भ,

20 शीर्ष,* 21 विरत (चिरन्त ; विरत !), 22 समल,* 23 सीर,* 24 पञ्जर,* 25 नन्ध,*
26 नल,* 27 रोमन्,* 28 लोमन्,* 29 पुलिन,* 30 सुपरि,* 31 कटिप,* 32 सक्क्यक,*
33 वृष्टि,* 34 तीर्थ,* 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर,* 37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40
विरह ॥

(11). 1 बल, 2 चुल (चुल), 3 नल,* 4 वल,* 5 वट,* 6 लकुल,* 7 डरल,*
8 पुल,* 9 मूल,* 10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल 15 कवल ॥

(12). 1 पत्त, 2 तुष्ट,* 3 तुष्टे,* 4 कुण्ड,* 5 अण्ड,* 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बलिक),
7 बलिक,* 8 चिच, 9 आस्ति,* 10 पयिन् पन्थ च (also वात्स्यायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक
(सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल (सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिवन् (स्वन्). 18
रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्,* 21 मकर,* 22 लोमक, 23 शीर्ष,* 24 निवाल,* 25 पाक,*
26 सिंहक, 27 अकुष,* 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक (हंसका), 30 हंसक,* 31 कुत्स,* 32
बिल,* 33 खिल,* 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला,* 37 सक्क्यक (सकण्डक), 38 अशमन्,
39 अस्तिबल ॥

(13). 1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अकल्ल (ल्ल), 5 हुपर (हुपर), 6 आनडुष (अन),
7 पाञ्चजन्य, 8 फि फज्, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ती*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13
कुलिश, 14 आण्डवीवत (आण्डवीवत्), 15 अव,* 16 जैच,* 17 आनक,* 18 अलुष, 19
बाल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

(14). 1 सुतंगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्त), 3 विप्रचित (चित्त), 4 महाचित्त,* 5 महापुच,
6 स्वन,* 7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक), 9 शुक्र, 10 विष, 11 वीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 ववन्,
14 अजिर, 15 जीव, 16 खाण्डन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विमह*,

(15). 1 प्रगविन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 मरविन् (मरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित
(खण्डिव), 6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडारं, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार,* 10 कीविवार ॥

(16). 1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनङ्ग, 5 निवङ्ग, 6 बलाह,* 7 स्थूल (स्थूल),
8 विदग्ध, 9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न,* 12 बाहु, 13 खादि, 14 शर्करा, 15
विनङ्ग, 16 विरुङ्ग, 17 मूल ॥

(17). 1 कुडुर्, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 वशमान, 5 अश्वत्थ, 6 शास्मालि (ली), 7 शिरीष,
8 मुनिस्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधूकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्व, 13 ह्याचिकर्ण, 14
हृदुर्कर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

१२९३ । जनपदे लुप् । ४ । २ । ८१ ॥

जनपदे वाच्ये चातुरार्थकस्य लुप्स्यात् ॥

1293. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup*-elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

Note :—The words within bracket, in the above sūtra are added by the reading together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. 51 §. 1299. Dr. Otto Bohtlingk the learned translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means : (The

quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः = पञ्चालाः ॥ So also कुरुवः, मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्याः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no *lup*-elision of the affix in the following examples: औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees,' वैदिशो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not *names* of kingdoms, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase सत्तान्नि is understood here also.

१२९४। लुपि युक्तव्यक्तिवचने । १ । २ । ५१ ॥

लुपि सति प्रकृतिवर्गिणवचने स्तः । पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः पञ्चालाः । कुरुवः । अङ्गाः । मगधाः । कलिङ्गाः ॥

1294. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

Note :—This sūtra consists of four words: लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्ति, 'gender,' 4 वचन number.' The form 'vyakti vachane' is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is elided by *lup* then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by *luk* rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by *lup*—rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees' the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पञ्चालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as is mentioned by Pāṇini in 1. 2. 53 following, and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पञ्चालाः are a class of Kshatriyas; as such the word is of masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchālās live is also called Pañchālās; similarly कुरुवः, अङ्गाः, मगधाः, कलिङ्गाः ॥

१२९५। तद्विशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५३ ॥

युक्तवत् वचनं न कर्तव्यं संज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

1295. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and

substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of 'sañjñā (or conventional term or idiom).

Note:—The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word वारः 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to female singular; similarly जलः 'water' is always feminine plural in form; so also गृहाः, वर्षाः, शिकताः ॥ This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like Pañchālā, Kaurava &c., should not be considered as derivative words formed by the *lup* elision of a Taddhita affix, but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of Grammar.

१२६६ । लुप्योगाप्रख्यानात् । १ । २ । ५४ ॥

लुपि न कर्तव्योऽवयवार्थस्येहाप्रतीतिः ॥

1296. The sūtras declaring *lup*-elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by *lup*-elision.

Note:—In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus वरणाः Varanāḥ is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणाः 'a kind of tree' because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no वरणा trees at all near the town Varanā. Let us therefore call words like वरणाः, पञ्चालाः, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 S. 1281 and '82 (तस्य निवासः, जलमवच्छिन्नः), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2. 81 and 82 S. 1298 and 1301 (जनपदे लुप् । वरणादिभ्यः) ॥

१२६७ । योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् । १ । २ । ५५ ॥

अदि हि योगस्यावयवार्थस्यैव बोधकं स्यात्तदा तदभावेऽदर्शनं इत्येत ॥

1297. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

Note:—This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *rup*-elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पंचालाः &c. are not derivative words, but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Panchālās be the name of the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañchālās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchālās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called कृति words.

१२६८ । प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५६ ॥

प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवंरूपं वचनमप्यश्लिष्यम् । कुतः अर्थस्य लोकोक्त एव सिद्धे ॥

1298. The proposition (vachanam) that the meaning of the affix (pratyārtha) is the chief factor (pradhānam) in determining the sense of a word should not also be made, because the authority for the meaning of a word consists in something else.

Note:—The translation according to Kāshikā is as follows:

(Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhāna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

Note:—This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; 1. Pradhāna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in

the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana and पुरुषः is pradhāna 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थः 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word ; and if a derivative word, then by the affix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it ; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Rāja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औषधम् he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

१२६६ कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् । १ । २ । ५७ ॥

अतीताद्या रात्रेः पश्चाद्दिनागमित्याः पूर्वाधेन च सहितो दिवसोऽद्यतनः । विशेषणद्वयसर्जन-
नित्यादि पूर्वाचार्यैः परिभाषितं तथाप्यवशिष्यत्वं समानम् । लोकप्रसिद्धेः ॥

1299. And a rule fixing the meaning of Time (kāla) and Upasarjana (secondary term in a compound) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Thus adyatana (the period of the current day) has been defined by ancient grammarians to be that day which commences with the latter half of the past night, and ends with the first half of the succeeding night (that is from midnight to midnight). Similarly upasarjana has been defined as an adjective or attributive by the ancients. These also need not be taught, as the meaning of the words like adyatana &c. is also determined by usage.

Note :—Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Āchāryas :—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound." The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define

such words as *upasarjana*, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses. They say - "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word *upasarjana*, for they say :—"वयमत्र गृहे आमे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership." "In Dranda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayibhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

१३०० । विशेषणानां चाजातेः । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

लुबधस्य विशेषणानामपि तद्व्यभिचयवचने स्तो जातिं वर्जयित्वा । पञ्चाला रमणीयाः । गोदौ रमणीयो । अजातेः किम् । पञ्चाला जनपदः । गोदौ ग्रामः ॥

हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः * ॥ हरीतक्याः फलानि हरीतक्यः ॥

खलतिकारिषु वचनम् * ॥ खलतिकस्य पर्यतस्यादूग्भवानि खलतिकं वनानि ॥

मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधः * ॥ मनुष्यलक्षणे लुबधं विशेषणानां न । लुबन्तस्य तु भवतीत्यर्थः । पञ्चाला अभिरूपः ॥

1300 And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup*-elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) except so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (i. e. when not expressing *jāti*).

When a Taddhita is elided by *lup*; the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पञ्चालाः रमणीयाः, बहुभ्रातृः, बहुभ्रीरधूनाः, बहुनाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः pleasant &c. agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. So also गोदौ रमणीयो ॥ Why do we say; when not expressing *jāti*? For when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word; then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चालाः जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः ॥

Note :—Here: जनपद though qualifying Pañchālāḥ does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by

the *lup* of a Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बहुलः 'the country of Panchālās is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुलः qualify directly the word जनपदः, and indirectly the word Panchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

Vārt:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्याः फलानि—हरीतक्यः 'the fruits of *Haritaki*.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine. Here the affix denoting fruit is *lup*-elided by IV. 3. 167. S. 1546. The resultant noun *haritaki* meaning the fruit of *haritaki* agrees in gender only.

Vārt:—The words खलतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकं वनानि 'mountain forests i. e, forests in the vicinity of mountains'. Here खलतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *vis.* neuter. Here the affix is *lup*-elided by IV. 2. 82. S. 1301.

Vārt—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the *lup* elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कर् (V. 3. 97 S. 2052) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus बभ्रुकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचा+कन्तुप् (कुम्भनुष्ये V. 3. 98 S. 2053) = चञ्चा। Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Therefore Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चंचा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of a man.'

१३०१। वरणादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८२ ।

अजनपदार्थे आरम्भः । वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं वरणाः ॥

1301. Also after the word वरणा &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरणाः and the rest, the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The scope of this rule is in cases of nouns which are not names of kingdoms (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā".

Note:—The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कडुकवदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण्), 2 भृङ्गी, 3 शाल्मलि, 4 हुण्डी *, 5 द्याण्डी *, 6 पर्णी, 7 साम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वे गोदो, पूर्वेण गोदो, अपरेण गोदो), 9 आनिङ्गवायन, 10 आनपरी (जालपरी ; जालपद). 11 जम्बू *, 12 पुष्कर *, 13 चम्पा *, 14 पम्पा *, 15 वल्लु *, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मधुरा, 19 मञ्जुशिला, 20 उरसा (उरसा). 21 गोमती *, 22 वलमी *, 23 कटुकवन्दी (with कटुक), 24 शिरीषाः 25 काञ्ची, 26 रुद्राण्डी, 27 वणिक्, 28 वणिक् ॥ Is an भाकृतिगण ॥

१३०२ । शर्कराया वा । ४ । २ । ८३ ॥

शस्माच्चातुर्थिकस्य वा लुप्त्यान् ॥

* 1302. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is *lup-elided*.

१३०३ । ठक्छौ च । ४ । २ । ८४ ॥

शर्कराया एतौ स्तः । कुमुदादौ वराहादौ च पाठसामर्थ्यास्पद्ये ठक्कौ । वामहणसामर्थ्यास्पद्ये औस्सार्गिकोऽण् तस्य लुप्त्यकल्पः । षड् रूपाणि । शर्करा । शर्करम् । शार्करिकम् । शर्करीयम् । शार्करिकम् । शार्करिकम् ॥

1303. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Why do we say "optionally" in S. 1302? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 classes 4 and 16), and must *necessarily* take the affixes ठक् and कक् taught therein : for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality. And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83 S. 1013), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शर्करम्, शर्करा । अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely, two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शार्करम्, शार्करिकम् (formed by टक्), शार्करिकम् (formed by कक्), शार्करिकम् (formed by टक्), and शर्करीयम् (by छ).

१३०४ । नद्यां मतुप् । ४ । २ । ८५ ॥

चातुर्थिकः । इक्षुमती ॥

1304. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river in the four-fold sense given above.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and मत्). Thus उदुम्बरावती, नक्षत्रावती, नीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, दुर्मती ॥ See IV. 3. 119. S. 1499 by which

the *व* is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219. S 3705 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10. S. 1898 by which *नत्* becomes *वत्* ॥

Note :—The affix *नतुप्* is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and जैनरथी which are formed by *कण्* added under IV. 2. 68.

१३०५ । मध्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८६ ॥

मतुप् स्थाणानुरधिकः । अनघर्ष आरम्भः । मधुमात् ॥

1305. The affix *मतुप्* is added to the words *मधु* &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a *river*. As *मधुमात्*, *वित्तमात्* &c.

1 मधु, 2 वित्त, 3 स्याणु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कण्डु, 6 क्षमी, 7 करीर (किरीर), 8 हिम, 9 किशरा, 10 शार्ङ्ग (शर्पण), 11 मरुत्, 12 चार्वाली*, 13 चार, 14 इटका, 15 आश्रुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 शकल, 19 शलाका, 20 आमिषि (आमिषी), 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (शुष्टि दृष्टि), 24 हृष्य, 25 तक्षाशिला, 26 खड्ग (खंडा), 27 वट*, 28 वेष्ट (वेष्टा), 29 रम्य, 30 ऋक्ष, 31 मरुत्, चार्वापाट ॥

१३०६ । कुमुदनडवतसेभ्यो डमतुप् । ४ । २ । ८७ ॥

कुमुदमात् । नड्मात् । वेतस्वमात् । आद्ययोर्ह्येव इति अन्ये मादुषधया इति वक्ष्यमाणेन च ॥ महिषाभ्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ ॥ महिषाज्ञान देशः ॥

1306. The affix *डमतुप्* comes after the words *कुमुद*, *नड* and *वेतस्* in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus *कुमुदमात्*, *नड्मात्*, *वेतस्वमात्* ॥ In the case of the first two words (*kumudvat*, and *naḍvat*) the *म* of the affix is changed to *व* by VIII. 2. 10 S. 1898; and in the case of the last word (*vetasvat*) by VIII. 2, 9 S. 1897.

Vart :—So also after the word *महिष*, as *महिषमात्* ॥

१३०७ । नडशादाहड्लच् । ४ । २ । ८८ ॥

नड्लः । शादो जम्बालपासयोः । शाहलः ॥

1307. The *हड्लच्* comes after *नड* and *शाद* in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus *नड्लः* and *शाहलः* ॥ The word *शाद* means "mud" and "young grass." (*See Amarakosha III. 3. 89).

१३०८ । शिखाया वलच् । ४ । २ । ८९ ॥

शिखावलच् ॥

1308. The affix *वलच्* comes after the word *शिखा* in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम्ब 'the city Sikhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'.

Note :—The word शिखा takes वलम्ब by V. 2. 111 S. 1918, the affix having the same force as वलम्ब V. 2. 94 S. 1894, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

१३०६ । उत्करादिभ्यश्छः । ४ । २ । ९० ॥

उत्करीवः ॥

1308. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses.

As उत्करीवः ॥

1 उत्कर 2 सेफल, 3 शफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 अमन, 7 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण्यं) 8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक,* 12 वैषण,* 13 पिपुल, 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 चुह (शकाशुह st काश. क्षुह), 17 भस्मा, 18 शाल, 19 जम्बा, 20 अजिर (अजिन), 21 अर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 शान्त (शान्त), 24 खदिर, 25 शर्पशाव, 26 श्यावनाथ, 27 मषाकव (नैव, वक), 28 मूय,* 29 वृक्ष, 30 शाक,* 31 पलाश, 32 विजिनिषा,* 33 अनेक, 34 आतव, 35 फल, 36 संपर*, 37 अक, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराजक,* 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 निशान्त,* 44 पथे, 45 नीचायक,* 46 शकर, 47 अवरहित, 48 क्षार,* 49 विशाल, 50 वेच, 51 अरीहण* 52 लघु, 53 वातागर, 54 मन्वजार्ह,* 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त. वृक्ष), 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष, 58 मृगव, 59 अन्य, 60 मञ्च, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष ॥

१३१० । नडादीनां कुक् च । ४ । २ । ६१ ॥

नडकीवः ॥ कुञ्चा ह्रस्वं च * ॥ कुञ्चकीवः ॥ तक्षकीवः * ॥ तक्षकीवः ॥

1310. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c. when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीवः; तक्षकीवः, &c.

Two Vārtikas :—The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न is elided : e. g. कुञ्चकीवः and तक्षकीवः ॥

1 नड, 2 वृक्ष, 3 विल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेच, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 मूय, 11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाया) ह्रस्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपय ॥

१३११ । विल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् । ६ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नडाद्यन्तर्गता विल्वकाद्यस्तेश्चरुहस्य लुक् तद्धित परे । विल्वया वत्सां सन्ति सां विल्वकीया । तत्सां भवा वैल्वकाः । वैल्वकीया । वैल्वकाः । छस्य किम् । छमाचस्य लुग्यया स्यात्कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूम् । अन्यया समिधो गविहानामिति कुगपि निवर्तेत । लुग्यद्वयं सर्वलोपार्थं । लोपो हि वमाचस्य स्यात् ॥

1311 The affix छ of the bha stems विल्वक &c. is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The विल्व &c are a subdivision of the Naḍādi class (IV, 2. 91 S. 1310), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. S. 1310. After these words, with the augment क, the affix छ is elided when they take a *secondary* Taddhita affix. Thus विल्व यस्यां सन्ति = विल्वकीयाः; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वेवकाः ॥ Similarly वेवकीयाः, वेवकाः ॥

Why do we say the affix छ? The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगविष्टानामन्यतरापये (or अभावे) उभयोरन्यभावः (or अपायः), “When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise”. The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय. and not merely of य ॥ Had the word lopa been used, then य only of ईय would have been elided, because its anuvṛitti is understood from VI. 4. 149. S. 499.

Here ends the chapter on Quadrulpy Significant affixes.

अथ तद्धितेषु शैबिकाः ॥

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ŚAISIKAS.

१३१२ । शेषे । ४ । २ । ६२ ॥

अपत्यादिचतुर्ध्वन्मादन्योऽर्थः शेषस्तत्राऽणादयः स्युः । चक्षुषा गृह्यते चाक्षुषं रूपम् । श्रावणः शब्दः । औपनिषद् पुरुषः । दृषदि पिष्टा दार्षदाः सक्तवः । उल्लुखले क्षुण्ण औल्लुखला यावकः । अश्वैरुह्यते आश्वो रथः । चतुर्भिर्ह्यते चातुरं शकटम् । चतुर्दशं दृश्यते चातुर्दश रक्षः । शेष इति लक्षणं चाधिकारश्च । तस्य विकार इत्यतः प्राक् शेषाधिकारः ॥

1312. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification, the last, be called शेष or the remainder '—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix भण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं visible 'viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुष् ; श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रवणः, औपनिषद् 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, दार्षदः from दृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चातुरं 'ridden in by four persons' viz. a cart ; चातुर्दशम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin ; औल्लुखलः 'pounded in a wooden mortar' viz. awn-less barley : आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot.

The word शेषे is both a vidhi (lakṣhaṇa) and an adhikara sūtra. It is a vidhi sūtra in the senses of 'apprehension' as in chakshushā gṛihyate (apprehended by the eye), "pounding" (as in ulūkhale kṣhurṇa). &c. For no sūtras are taught in these senses.

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134 S. 1514. The affixes &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25 S. 1393), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), आगतः (IV. 3. 74 S. 1453) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 87 S. 1467), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38 S. 1413).

Note:—Thus सौप्तः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25 S. 1393), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38 S. 1413), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39 S. 1414), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41 S. 1416), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), or what

has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74 S. 1453), or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83 S. 1463), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86 S. 1466) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87 S. 1467), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89 S. 1469), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 9) S. 1470)."

१३१३ । राष्ठावारपाराक्षौ । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

आभ्यां क्रमाक्षौ स्तः शेषे । राक्षिः । अवारपारीणः ॥

अवारपारादिगृहीतादपि विपरीता वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अवारपारीणः पारीणः पारापारीणः । इह प्रकृतिविशेषे वाजादवद्भ्युदयुलन्ताः प्रत्यवा उच्यन्ते तेषां जानादयोऽर्यविशेषाः समर्थविमलवचनं वक्ष्यते ॥

1313. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इव is substituted for च, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus राष्ट्रिः 'born &c. in a country,' अवारपारीणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks.'

Vart:—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारिणः 'belonging to this bank of the river,' पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank,' पारापारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this.' Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes and the cases of the noun in construction, such as those of 'being born' &c. will be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 1393 and sūtras that follow it.

Note:—There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first where of is च, and the last where of are ह्यु (IV. 3. 24 1392), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced there-from' IV. 2. 25 S. 1227, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable.

१३१४ । ग्रामाद्यक्षौ । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

ग्राम्यः । ग्रामीणः ॥

1314. The affixes य and क्ष (ईन) come after the word 'grāmā.'

As ग्राम्यः and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic.'

१३१५ । कत्त्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

कुत्सिताक्षयः कक्षयः । तत्र जातादिः काक्षेयकः । नागरेयकः । पावादिभ्योऽक्षेयकः ॥

1315. The affix **ढकञ्** (पयक) comes after the words कञ्चि &c.

As कौलेयकः, नागरेयकः and if we take the anuvritti of grāma from the last sūtra, we have ग्रामेयकः ॥

1 कञ्चि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोहन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्मती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मण्वती) 11 उखया, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुम्भाया (कुलाया) बलोपभ, 14 बज्जी, 15 भक्ति ॥

१३१६ ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्त्यलङ्कारेषु । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कौलेयकः श्वा । कौलोऽन्यः । कौलेयकोऽसिः । कौलोऽन्यः । मेघेयकोऽलङ्कारः । मेघोऽन्यः ॥

1316. The same affix **ढकञ्** is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament.'

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 S. 1227 &c.): but the whole word has a specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौलेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath). मेघेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by ण्य as, कौलः, कौकः and मेघः ॥

१३१७ । नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् । ४ । २ । ९७ ॥

नादेयम् । नदिभ्यम् । वाराणसेयम् ॥

1317. The affix **ढक्** (पय) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25 S. 1227 &c).

Thus नादेयं, 'pertaining to a river,' नदिभ्यम् 'earthen,' &c. वाराणसेयम् ॥

1 नदी, 2 मदी, 3 वाराणसी, 4 श्रावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकाशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशपरी*, 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 मावा (मावा) 13 शाल्वा (साल्वा) 14 दार्वा*, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडबाया वृष, 17 हाल्वा ॥

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्वनगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर्व—वन—गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पूर्वरेयम्, वानेयम् and गिरिरेयम् ॥

१३१८ । दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

दक्षिणेत्याजन्तमभ्यवयम् । दक्षिणात्यः । पश्चात्यः । पौरस्त्यः ॥

1318. After the words 'dakshinâ', 'paschât,' and puras', the affix 'tyak' (त्यै) is added in the remaining senses.

As 'दक्षिणाय' : 'pertaining or produced in the south'; 'पश्चिम' : 'occidental', 'वैरत्य' : 'oriental'.

१३१६ । कापिह्याः ष्फक् । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कापिह्यां जातासि कापिहावनं मधु । कापिहावनी ब्राह्म ।

1319. After the word 'Kāpisi', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses : (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV. 1. 41 S, 498).

Thus कापिहावनं मधु, कापिहावनी ब्राह्म 'a liquor'.

१३२० रङ्गोरमनुष्येऽण् च । ४ । २ । १०० ॥

चान् ष्फक् । रङ्गवो गौः । रङ्गवायवः । अमनुष्य इति किम् । रङ्गवको मनुष्यः ॥

1320 After the words रङ्गु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As रङ्गवो गौः or रङ्गवायवो गौः ॥ Why do we say 'non-human being'? Observe रङ्गवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Note :—Q. The word रङ्गु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण् and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take ष्फक् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanushya is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as रङ्गवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a living being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रङ्गु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by डृष् of IV. 2. 125 S. 1349, and डृष् is debarred by डृष् of IV. 2. 119 S. 1343, and डृष् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132 S. 1356, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debarbs that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

१३२१ । सुप्रागवागुदकप्रतीचो यत् । ४ । २ । १०१ ॥

विच्यम् । प्राच्यम् । अपाच्यम् । उरीच्यम् । प्रतीच्यम् ॥

1321. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्. (IV. 4. 180 S. 3476) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyul' and 'tyu' e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). the word अपाचम् means south.

१३२२ ॥ कन्थायाष्टक् । ४ । २ । १०२ ॥

कान्यिकः ॥

1322. After the word 'Kanthā', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्यिकः ॥

१३२३ । वर्णौ बुक् । ४ । २ । १०३ ॥

वर्णुर्नदस्तस्य समीपदेशो वर्णुः तद्विषयार्थमाचिकन्थाशब्दादुक् स्यात् । यथा हि जातं हिमवत्सु कान्यिकम् ॥

1323. To the same stem is added the affix बुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varṇu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293 Thus कान्यिकम् ॥ As in the sentence यथा हि जातं हिमवत्सु कान्यिकम् (?)

१३२४ । अव्ययात्त्यप् । ४ । २ । १०४ ॥

अनेहकृतसिन्धेय एव * ॥ अमाऽन्तिकसहार्ययोः । अमात्यः । इहत्यः । कृत्यः । ततस्त्यः । तत्रत्यः । परिगणनं किम् । उपरिष्टाद्भव औपरिष्टः ॥

अव्ययानां अमात्रे दिलोपः * ॥ अनित्योऽयं बहिषष्टिलोपविधानात् । तेनेह न । अरातीयः ॥ त्यजेर्ध्रुव इति वक्तव्यम् । नित्यः ॥

निसां गते * ॥

1324. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide and the following *vārtikas* restrict it.

Vārt. The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables:— अमा near or 'together' इह 'here', क्व 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7 S. 1953) and च (V. 3. 10 S. 1957). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कृत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्रत्यः, &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्टः, formed from the Indeclinable उपरि ॥

Vart:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables when they are Bha : As सौवर्गमिकः (स्वर्गमनमाह) This is an anitya rule because lopa is ordained of the ङि syllable of bahis by vārtika under IV.1. 55 S. 1877. Had the ङि elision of the present vārtika been universal then there would have been no necessity of the vārtika teaching the ङि elision of bahis.

Thus there is no ङि elision of अरात् and शाश्वत् when they take the affix छ in the same sense. As अरातीय and शाश्वतीयः ॥

Vart:—The ल्यप् is added to the upasarga नि in the sense of “fixed” as, निश्चः = छुष्य ॥

Vart:—The ल्यप् is added to the upasarga निस् in the sense of ‘gone’. As निष्पद्यः “Chandalas &c who have gone out of the caste”. It is thus formed : निस् + ल्यप् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra:

१३२५। ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते । ८ । ३ । १०१ ॥

ह्रस्वादिभ्यः परस्य सत्त्वं षः स्यात्तादौ तद्धिते । निर्गतो वर्णाश्रमेभ्यो निष्पद्याण्डालादिः ॥

अरण्यवायः * ॥ अरण्यः सुमनसः ॥

दूरादेशः * ॥ दूरेशः ॥

उत्तरावाहः * ॥ औत्तराहः ॥

1325. ल् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

Therefore the निस् is replaced by ष before ल्यप् ॥ Thus we get निष् + ल्यप् = निष्पद्यः meaning ‘one who has gone out of caste such as Chandālas &c.

Note:—The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely तर, तन, तय, ल्य, तस्, ल्यप्, ॥ As तर—सर्विष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तन । तर्पितमन । यजुष्टमन । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । ल्य । सर्विष्टम् । तस् । सर्विष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्विष्टो, यजुष्टः । ल्यप् । भाविष्ट्यो बह्वेते ॥

Vart:—The affix ण comes after अरण्यः e. g. अरण्यवाः सुमनसः ‘forest flower’s. *

Vart:—The affix एत्व comes after दूर, e. g. दूरेशः पथिकः ‘a traveller’.

Vart:—The affix आहम् comes after उत्तर e. g. औत्तराहः ॥

१३२६। ऐषमोहाः श्वसोऽभ्यनरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १०५ ॥

एषमोहाः । पक्षे वक्ष्यमायौ द्युदयुलौ । ऐषमस्यम् । ऐषमस्तमम् । श्वस्यम् । श्वस्तमम् । श्वस्यम् । श्वस्तमम् । पक्षे श्वस्यम् वक्ष्यते ॥

1326. The affix ल्यप् is added optionally after the words ‘aishamas,’ ‘hyas,’ and ‘śvas’ in the remaining senses.

These take optionally ल्यप्; in the other alternative they will take युच् and इयुच् as taught hereafter.

As ऐषमस्यच् or ऐषमस्तनच् (IV. 3. 23. S. 1391), ह्यस्यच् or ह्यस्तनच् (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391); अ्यस्यच् or अ्यस्तनच् (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391) or औषस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15 S. 1385). The word 'śvas' takes the augment तुच् also, hence the above three forms.

१३२७। तीरकृष्योत्तरपदादञ्जौ । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

यथासंख्येन । काकतीरम् । पाप्मलतीरम् । शैवकृष्यम् । तीरकृष्यान्तादिति नोक्तम् । बहुवृत्त-
न्माभूत् । बाहुकृष्यम् ॥

1327. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ज् comes after a word ending with कृष्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अण । Thus काकतीरम्, पाप्मलतीरम्, शैवकृष्यम् । The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीष् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15 S. 470): those in अ take the affix टाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीरकृष्यान्तात्; for had it been so, the affix would apply to बाहुकृष्य also, where कृष्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023). Therefore, we have बाहुकृष्यम् formed by अण् ॥

१३२८। दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अः । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । पौर्वशालः । असंज्ञायां किम् । संज्ञाभूतायाः प्रकृतेर्मा भूत् । पूर्वेषुकामशम्यां भवः पूर्वेषुकामशमः । प्राचां ग्रामनगराणामित्युत्तरपदवृद्धिः ॥

1328. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another word that signifies 'direction,' provided that the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix अ is added, forming the feminine in ञ्मा । The word असंज्ञायाच् qualifies the 'base,' This debars अण् । Thus पूर्वशाला + ञ्म = पौर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148. VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Why do we say 'when not a Name'? 'Observe, from the word पूर्वेषुकामशमी (II. 1. 50. S. 727) we have पूर्वेषुकामशमैः (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpuruṣa kind is formed by the words पूर्व + इषुकामशमी; "Ishukāmaśamī in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city. Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule (VII. 2. 117; S. 1075) but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz. the letter ई of इषुकामशमी by rule VII. 3. 14. S. 1400.

१३२९ । मग्नेऽन्योऽञ् । ४ । १०८ ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । दिशोऽनङ्गायामिति मङ्गपर्युदासादादिवृद्धिः । पूर्वमङ्गः । आपरमङ्गः ॥

1329. The affix अञ् is added to the word मङ्ग, preceded by a word denoting direction ; in the remaining senses.

Thus पूर्वमङ्गः / . °ङ्गी । आपरमङ्गः / . °ङ्गी ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied; by VII. 3. 13. S. 1399 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मङ्ग ॥

१३३० । उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तात् । ४ । २ । १०९ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । शैविपुरम् ॥

1330. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debars अण् । Thus शैविपुरम् ॥

१३३१ । प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपथाद् । ४ । २ । ११० ॥

नाहिकिमस्थः । पालवः । नैलीनकः ॥

1331. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c., and after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अञ् of the last aphorism. Thus नाहिकिमस्थः, पालवः, नैलीनकः ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट), 6 बहुकीट (बाहुकीट), 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गोष्ठी, 12 नैकती (नैतकी), 13 परित्ता, 14 शरसेन, 15 गानती, 16 पदचर, 17 उदपान (उदबानि), 18 बहुलोम, 19 सकलोम ॥

१३३२ । कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे । ४ । २ । १११ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तेभ्योऽण् स्यात् । कण्वो गर्गादिः । काण्वस्य अण्वाः काण्वाः ।

1332. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means 'that after a word

ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c., in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus काण्वाः ' the pupils of Kāṇva.'

Thus Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargādi. The Family-name from कण्व is काण्व्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. काण्व्य + अण् = काण्वः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

१३३३ । इञ्च । ४ । २ । ११२ ॥

गोत्रे य इञ्च तदन्तादण्त्वान् । दाक्षाः । गोत्रे किञ्च । सौतङ्गमेरिदं सौतङ्गमीयम् । गोत्रमिह शास्त्रीयं ननु लौकिकम् । तेनेह न । पाणिनीयम् ॥

1333. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus from इक्ष we have the Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षाः ' the pupils of Dākshi.' The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148. S. 311.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गमिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, S. 1292 not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70S. 1280-82. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीयम् by छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). The word Gotra in this sūtra, however, refers to the scriptural gotras or clans as mentioned in the list of gotras given in the sacred books : and not worldly gotras, or family descent. Therefore the rule does not apply in पाणिनीयम् ॥

१३३४ । न इञ्चः प्राच्यभरतेषु । ४ । २ । ११३ ॥

इञ्चोत्पत्त्योऽपवादः । प्राङ्गिः । काशीयाः । भरतानां प्राच्यत्वेऽपि पृथगुपादानमन्यत्र प्राच्यग्रहणौ भरतानामग्रहणस्य लिङ्गम् ॥

1334. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result is that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, from the शैबिक derivatives by affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337).

Thus प्राङ्गिः and काशीयाः from, प्राङ्गि or काशी । The word प्राङ्गि and काशी are Vṛiddha words as defined in the next rule, and therefore they take छ ॥

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See

१३३५। वृद्धिर्यस्याच्चांमादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । १।१।७३ ॥

अस्य सवुदायस्याच्चां मध्ये आदिर्वृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1335. 'That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhi, is called vṛiddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम् । The sūtra consists of five words :—वृद्धि 'the vṛiddhi vowel'; अस्य 'whose,' अच्चां 'among the vowels,' आदि 'is first'; तद् 'that'; वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

Note :—If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words गाला, गाला &c., have the first vowel ग्वा a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.

The word vṛiddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words, certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) by which the affix छ is added to vṛiddham. Thus गाला + छ = गालीयः ॥

१३३६। त्यदादीनि च । १।१।७४ ॥

वृद्धसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥

1336. The words tyad &c., are also called vṛiddham.

Note :—The त्यद् &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. These words are also called vṛiddham. Thus तद् + छ = तदीयम् । So also मदीयम्, इवनीयम्, अवसायम्, स्वादायनिः, मादायनिः &c.

• १३३७। वृद्धाच्छः । ४।२।११४ ।

गालीयः । मालीयः । तदीयः ॥

1337. After a word cellad Vṛiddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गोच does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule. This debars अण् । Thus from गार्ग्ये we have गार्गीय (VI. 4. 148. S. 311 and VI. 4. 152 S. 2119). So also गालीयः, मालीयः, तदीयः ॥

१३३८। एङ् प्राचां देशे । १।१।७५ ॥

एङ् जस्याच्चांमादिस्तद्वृद्धसंज्ञं वा स्यादेवाभिधाने । ऐयीपचनीयः । गोनर्दीयः । भोजकदीयः । पक्षे अणि । ऐयीपचनः । गोनर्दः । भोजकटः । एङ् किम् । आदिच्छम् । कान्यकुब्जः ॥ वा नानधेयस्य वृद्धसंज्ञं वक्तव्या * ॥ देवदत्तः । देवदत्तीयः ॥

1338. A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets optionally also the designation of vṛiddham, when it is the name of a country.

As गोनर्द is a country of the east; it is a vṛiddham word and we have गोनर्द + छ = गोनर्दीयः; similarly ऐयीपचनीयम्, भोजकदीयः । Alternatively, with the affix अण् the forms will be गोनर्दः, ऐयीपचनः, भोजकटः ॥

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called *vṛiddham* : and as such will not take the affix छ; as आहिच्छत्रः, कान्यकुब्जः ॥

Vart :—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a *vṛiddham*. Thus देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तीया, or we may have देवदत्ता ॥

१३३६ । भवतष्टकछसौ । ४ । २ । ११५ ॥

वृद्धाद्भवत एतौ स्तः । भावत्कः । जस्त्वम् । भवशीयः । वृद्धादित्यनुवृत्तेः शत्रन्तावयोव । भावतः ।

1339. The affixes टक and छस् come after the *Vṛiddha* word भवत् in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a *Vṛiddha* word, because it belongs to *tyadādi* class (I. 1. 74 S. 1336). This rule debarcs छ of IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. In the affix छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 17 S. 230). Thus भवत् + टक् = भावत्कः । भवत् + छस् = भवशीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as *Vṛiddha*, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः । This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing शन् to भू ॥

१३४० । काश्यादिभ्यश्चञ्जितौ । ४ । २ । ११६ ॥

इकार उच्चारणार्थः । काशिकी । काशिका । वैदिकी । वैदिका ॥

आपदादिपूर्वपदात्कालान्तात् * ॥ आपदादिराकृतिगणः । आपत्कालिकी । आपत्कालिका ॥

1340. The affixes टञ् and जिट् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes टञ् and जिट्, the द is replaced by इक, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by टञ् will take डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), the others will take टप् (IV. 1. 4. S. 454). Thus काशिकाः or काशिकी, वैदिका or वैदिकी ॥

Note :—The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

Note :—The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. S. 1338. Thus देवदत्तिकाः । But when it is the name of a *Vāhika* village, it is not a *Vṛiddha* word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

Vart ;—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or का, औषधकालिकी or का, तात्कालिकी or का ॥

1 काधि, 2 वेदि (वैदी), 3 सांवाति,* 4 संवाह, 5 अन्वुत, 6 मोहमान (मोहमान)
 7 राहुनाम्, 8 इस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुदानम्), 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोधासन
 (गोधाशन), 13 भारङ्गी,* 14 आरैदन, 15 अरिच,* 16 देवदत्त, 17 दशमान (दासमान), 18
 चौवावता (सौधावतान), 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन,* 23 सिधुनिच,
 24 दासनिच, 25 सुधानिच,* 26 सोमनिच,* 27 छागनिच,* 28 सधनिच,* 29 आपदादपूर्वपदात्
 (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौतिकि, 32 भौतिकि, 33 सर्वनिच, 34
 साधुनिच ॥

१३४१ । वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ११७ ॥

वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्चिभ्यो स्तः । छत्यापवादः । कास्तीरि नाम वाहीकग्रामः ।
 कास्तीरिकी । कास्तीरिका ॥

1341. The affixes ठञ् and झिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting the villages of Vāhika.

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus कास्तीरिकी or कास्तीरिका ॥

१३४२ । विभाषोशीनरेषु । ४ । २ । ११८ ॥

एषु वे ममास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्चिभ्यो वा स्तः । सौदर्शनिकी । सौदर्शनिका । सौदर्शनीया ॥

1342. The affixes ठञ् and झिद् come optionally in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting Vāhika villages situated in Uśīnara.

Thus सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका, and सौदर्शनीया ॥

१३४३ । ओर्देशे ठञ् । ४ । २ । ११९ ॥

उपख्यान्तादेशवाचिनश्चम् । निषादकर्षूः, निषादकर्षुकाः । केऽण इति ह्रस्वः । देशे क्त्वि ।
 पदोरङ्गावाः पादवाः । भिदं व्यावर्तयितुं ढञ्प्रत्ययम् । वृद्धाच्छं परस्परं बाधते । दाक्षिकर्षुकः ॥

1343. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus निषादकर्षुकाः from निषादकर्षूः; the long ऊ is shortened by VII. 4. 13. S.834 before the affix क । Why do we say 'denoting a country'? Observe पादवाः 'the pupils of पद्' formed by ञ् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of ठञ् and झिद् both were current; hence the repetition of ठञ् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of ठञ् from the last sūtra, without drawing in the anuvṛitti of झिद् ॥

This sūtra being subsequent in order to IV. 2. 114 S. 1337, debars that sūtra ; and hence in the case of vṛiddha words ending in उ and denoting a locality, छ is not added, but the ड् of the present sūtra. Thus साक्षिकर्षुकः ॥

१३४४ । वृद्धात्प्राच्याम् । ४ । २ । १२० ॥

प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धादेवेति निबन्धार्थं सप्तम् । आडकजम्बुकः । शाकजम्बुकः । नेह मल्लवास्तु, मालवास्तवः ॥

1344. The affix ड् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word ending in उ and denoting a locality of the Eastern-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus आडकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः ॥

The affix ड् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a मन्त्र or restriction, showing that the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have मालवास्तवः ॥

१३४५ । धन्वयोपधाद्बुम् । ४ । २ । १२१ ॥

धन्वादिशेषवाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्बुम् स्यात् । ऐरावतं धन्व ऐरावतकः । साङ्खारयकाभ्यन्त्यशब्दैः बुम्बुद्ध्यादिबुद्धेयं यथान्तौ । साङ्खादयकः । काम्पिल्यकः ॥

1345. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धान् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly साङ्खादयकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate. (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292).

१३४६ । प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च । ४ । २ । १२२ ॥

एतदन्तावृद्धादेशवाचिनो बुम् स्यात् । छस्यापवादः । मालाप्रस्थकः । नान्दीपुरकः । पैलुवहकः । पुरान्तप्रहणमप्रागर्थम् । प्राग्देशं तत्तरेण सिद्धम् ।

1346. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह ॥

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, पैलुवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix बुम् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope.

१३४७ । रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् । ४ । २ । १२३ ॥

रोपधादीकारान्ताश्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्बुञ् स्यात् । पाठलिपुष्पकः । ईतः, काकन्दकः ॥

1347. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ This पाठलिपुष्पकः ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, (VI. 4. 148).

Note :—Why do we say प्राचाम् 'of the East-folk'? Observe दाक्षामिषीयः formed by छ ॥ The ह् in ईन् in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

१३४८ । जनपदतद्वधोश्च । ४ । २ । १२४ ॥

जनपदवाचिनस्तद्वधिविवाचिनश्च वृद्धाद्बुञ् स्यात् । आदर्शकः । वैगर्तकः ॥

1348. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तद्वधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आदर्शकः is an example of जनपद- ॥

Note :—And औपुष्टकः and श्यामायनकः from औपुष्ट and श्यामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदावधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV. 2. 137 S. 1361 to words like त्रिगर्त which is an arid desert : as वैगर्तकः ॥ The word तद्वधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

१३४९ । अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् । ४ । २ । १२५ ॥

अवृद्धाद्बुद्धाश्च जनपदतद्वधिविवाचिनो बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकाद्बुञ् स्यात् । अवृद्धादणो वृद्धाच्छस्यापवादः । अवृद्धाज्जनपदात्, आङ्गकः । अवृद्धाज्जनपदावधेः, आजमीढकः । वृद्धाज्जनपदात्, शर्वकः । वृद्धाज्जनपदावधेः, कालञ्जरकः । विषयग्रहणं किम् । एकशेषेण बहुत्वे मा भूत् । वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तनी, तासु भवो वर्तनः ॥

1349. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vṛiddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vṛiddha words.

The words जनपद and तद्वधि are to be read into the aphorism, This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vṛiddha

Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः and कालिंगकः॥ Similarly भजनीढाः and अजकन्शः are always non-Vṛiddha plural words, denoting boundary of kingdoms ; we have from them आजनीढकः and आजकन्दकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vṛiddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus दार्वकः and जाम्बकः from शवाः and जाम्बाः ॥ So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom : कालंजराः—कालंजरकः, वैकुलिशाः—वैकुलिशकः ॥

Why have we used the word विषय in the sūtra ? The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तनः ॥ For वर्तन्यः is an ekaśeṣha plural of वर्तनी + वर्तनी + वर्तनी ॥

१३५० । कच्छाग्निवक्त्रवर्तोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

देशवाचिनो वृद्धाववृद्धाश्च वुञ् स्यात् । शरुकच्छकः । काण्डाग्रकः । सैन्धुवक्त्रकः । बाहुवर्तकः ॥

1350. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kacchha', 'agni,' 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ As शरुकच्छकः, काण्डाग्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, and बाहुवर्तकः ॥ Kāśika reads the sūtra as गर्तो &c.

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

१३५१ । धूमादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १२७ ॥

देशवाचिभ्यो वुञ् । धौमकः । तैर्यकः ॥

1351. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debars अण् &c. धौमकः, तैर्यकः &c.

Note:—The word पाथेय occurs in the list. It would have taken वुञ् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and भानर्त being names of जनपद would have taken वुञ् by IV. 2. 124 ; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyās". So also भानर्तकम् ॥ The word सायुज्ज occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सायुज्जिका नौः and सायुज्जिको मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not ; as सायुज्जिम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूमः, 2 वडयड (खडयड and खयड), 3 क्षशावन, 4 अर्जुनाव (आर्जुनाव), 5 माहकस्थली 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (मावस्थली), 9 अहस्थली*, 10 मनुकस्थली*, 11 सधुद्रस्थली, 12 दाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 साचासाह, 17 क्षप. (क्षिप्य, 18 निश्वर्ध (निश्वर्धः, निश्व, वल), 19 मञ्जाली*, 20 मङ्गकूल, 21 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल), 22 ब्राह्मव, 23 जयाहाव, 24 संस्फांय (संहीय), 25 चर्चर, 26 वड्य, 27 गर्त (वर्चगर्त), 28 आनर्त, 29 नाडर, 30 पाथेव, 31 चाव, 32 वल्ली (वली) 33 आराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्य (अवयात् तीर्य), 37 कृतात्सौवीरेषु, 38 सधुद्रात्रावे मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीय), 41 दीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जवनी, (उज्जयिनी), 44 पटार*, 45 रुक्षिणापय, 46 साकंत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मनवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

१३५२ । नगरात्कुत्सनेनप्रावीण्ययोः । ४ । २ । १२८ ॥

नगराद्वाद्बुम् स्यात्कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्भे । नागरकधौरः शिल्पी वा । कुत्सनेति किम् । नागरा ब्राह्मणाः ॥

1352. The affix बुम् comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure', and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a thief or a skilful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागरा ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas'.

१३५३ । अरण्यान्मनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १२९ ॥

बुम् । अरण्यार्णइत्यस्यापवादः ॥

पथ्यध्यायन्यायाविहारमनुष्यइतिविति वाच्यम् ° ॥ अरण्यकः पन्थाः अघ्यायो न्यायो विहारो मनुष्यो हस्ती वा ॥

वा गोमंथु * ॥ आरण्यकाः आरण्या वा गोमजाः ॥

1353. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ण of 1325 Vaitika. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

1'art:—It should be stated rather that the affix बुम् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः, अघ्यायः, न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

Vart:—Optionally when the sense is that of cow-dung, as आरण्याः or आरण्यका गोमयाः ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ॥ As आरण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

१३५४ । विभाषाकुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् । ४ । २ । १३० ॥

बुम् । कौरवकः । कौरवः । योगन्धरकः । योगन्धरः ॥

1354. The affix बुम् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवै, योगन्धरकः or योगन्धरैः ॥

१३५५ । मद्रवृज्योः कन् । ४ । २ । १३१ ॥

जनपदबुम्प्रोऽपवादः । मद्रेषु जातो मद्रकः । वृजिकः ॥

1355. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars बुम्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

१३५६ । कोपधादण् । ४ । २ । १३२ ॥

माहिषिकः ॥

1356. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after a word denoting a place, and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars बुम् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus आरिषिकः "born in आरिषिकाः." So also माहिषिकः ॥

Note:—The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in उ, which would have otherwise taken डम् by IV. 2. 119 S. 1343. Thus ऐक्षवाकः "born in ऐक्षवाकु" ॥ The word ऐक्षे is understood in this sūtra.

१३५७ । कच्छादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३३ ॥

देशवाचिभ्योऽण् । बुम्प्रोऽपवादः । काच्छः । सैन्धवः ॥

1357. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word ऐक्षे is understood here. This debars बुम् &c. Thus काच्छः सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c.

Note:—The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The

word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sūtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes वुञ् also under certain conditions.

1 काच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्ण, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 करणीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 मनुषण्ड (अणु, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलतर (कुलत) 16 रङ्कु ॥

१३५८ । मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्वुञ् । ४ । २ । १३४ ॥

कच्छायणोऽपवादः । कच्छे जातादिः काच्छको मनुष्यः । काच्छकं हसितम् । मनुष्येति किम् । काच्छो गौः ॥

1358. The affix वुञ् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch' काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'.

Why do we say "when meaning a man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौः 'The cow of Kutch'.

१३५९ । अपदातौ साल्वात् । ४ । २ । १३५ ॥

साल्वशब्दस्य कच्छादित्वाद्वुञ्जि सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । अपदातावेवेति साल्वको ब्राह्मणः । अपदातौ किम् । साल्वः पशून्त्रजति ॥

1359. The affix वुञ् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c. when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि' class, would have taken वुञ् by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं ॥

Why do we say 'when not meaning a foot soldier'? Observe साल्वः पशून्त्रजति 'the Sālva foot soldier goes.'

१३६० । गोयवाग्वोञ् । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

साल्वाद्वुञ् । कच्छायणोऽपवादः । साल्वको गौः साल्विका यवागूः । साल्वमन्यत् ॥

1360. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c. after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133 S. 1357. Thus साल्वको गौः "the cows born in Salva", साल्विका यवागूः 'the barley gruel of Sālva', In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

१३६१ । गतोत्तरपदाच्छः । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

वेद्ये । अथोऽपवादः । वृकगतीयम् । उत्तरपदमहणं बहुवृत्तिनिरासार्थम् ॥

1361. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word वेद्ये is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes इम् and मिद् of sūtra IV. 2. 117 S. 1341. Thus वृकगतीयं, 'born in the wolf's hole.' The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023) and not a pada.

१३६२ । गहादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

छः स्यात् । गहीयः ॥

मुखपार्श्वतसोलोपश्च * ॥ मुखतीयम् । पार्श्वतीयम् । अश्वयानां भ्रमाद्ये दितोपस्थानिस्थतां क्षापयितुमिदम् ॥

कुञ्जनस्य परस्य च * ॥ जनकीयम् । परकीयम् ॥

देवस्य च * ॥ देवकीयम् ॥

स्वस्य च * ॥ स्वकीयम् ॥ वैष्णुकादिभ्यश्छप्वाच्छः * ॥ वैष्णुकीयम् । वैष्णवीयम् । औत्तरपद-
कीयम् ॥

1362. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c.

Vārtika :—The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः get the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥ This Vārtika also indicates that the elision of दि of the Indeclinable as ordained by the Vārtika under S. 1324 is a rule of limited scope.

Vārt :—The augment कुक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ
As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vārt :—The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

Vārt :—The same augment is added to the word स्व as स्वकीयम् ॥

Vārt :—The affix छण् comes after the words वैष्णु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वैष्णुकीयम्, वैष्णवीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, प्रास्थकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

Note :—In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमच्यमं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीक्षाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here

has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिविमध्ये भवौ ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरिण्य, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 S. 1469 and not all the other senses. Thus चरः प्राच्याः, चर और्वियाः, चरौ मध्यमाः "three Charanas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle".

1 गङ्गा, 2 अन्तःस्थः, 3 समः, 4 विषमः, 5 मध्यमध्यमं चाण चरयोः, 6 उत्तरः, 7 अङ्गः, 8 वङ्गः, 9 मगधः, 10 पूर्ववङ्गः, 11 अपरपञ्चः, 12 अथन शाखः, 13 उत्तम शाखः, 14 एकशाखः, 15 समानशाखः, 16 समानग्रामः*, 17 एकग्रामः, 18 एकवृक्षः, 19 एकपलाशः, 20 इष्यः, 21 इष्यनीक (इष्यनी), 22 अवरथन्त (अवस्थयी and अवकन्ध), 23 कामप्रस्थः, 24 खाडावन (शाडिकाडायनि; खाडायनि and खायाडायनी), 25 काठेरणि (कावेरणि and कामवेरणि), 26 कावेरणि*, 27 लोनिधिः*, 28 लोकारि, 29 आसुतः*, 30 देवकर्मि (देवकर्मन्), 31 श्रौति, 32 आहिति, 33 आनिधि, 34 व्याडः, 35 लौजि (वैजि), 36 आध्याश्वः, 37 आनुशशि, 38 शाङ्गि, 39 आगिकर्मि (अगिकर्मन्), 40 मंजि, 41 वाराटकि (आराटकि), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 लैमवृद्धि (लैमवृद्धिन्), 44 आश्वस्थि, 45 औदग्राहमनि*, 46 ऐक, 47 बिन्दवि*, 48 दन्ताग्र*, 49 इंस*, 50 तन्वमः*, 51 उत्तरः, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुख्यपार्श्वतलोपः (also मुख्य-तीय and पार्श्वतीय), 54 अनपरयोः कुक् च (also अनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवय च, 56 बहुकादिभ्यश्छण्, 57 आसुरि, 58 लौघे, 59 वारकि it is an आकृतिगण ॥

१३६३ । प्राचां कटादेः । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

प्राग्देशवाचिनः कटादेशः स्यात् । अयोऽपवादः । कदनगरीयम् । कटघोषीयम् । कटपल्ह-
लीयम् ॥

1363. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कदनगरीयम्, कटघोषीयम्, कटपल्हलीयम् ॥

१३६४ । राज्ञः क च । ४ । २ । १४० ॥

बुद्ध्याच्छेदिते तत्सन्निधौ कश्चिदपि विधीयते । राजकीयम् ॥

1364, The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches the substitution of क ; for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देश does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

१३६५ । बुद्ध्यादेकान्तखोपधात् । ४ । २ । १४१ ॥

अक इक एतन्तात्सोपधात् बुद्ध्यादेशवाचिनश्छः स्यात् । ब्राह्मणको नाम अनपरो यत्र ब्राह्मण आधुर्ध्वविनस्तत्र जातो ब्राह्मणकीयः । शास्त्रलीकीयः । अयोऽपवादः ॥

1365. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having च as its penultimate.

The word **देशे** must be read into the sūtra. This debars the अण् of IV. 2. 132 S. 1356 as well as the affixes ordained by IV. 2. 117 and 123. S. 1341 and 1347.

Thus अकः—ब्राह्मणकीयम् ॥ “One born in Brāhmaṇaka—a country where the Brāhmaṇa caste live by the profession of arms.” इकः—शास्त्रात्मिकीयम् ॥

Note :—The words सौसुकीयम् &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in उक् ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम्, मौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवेशुकीयम् ॥

१३६६ । कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १४२ ॥

कन्थापिपञ्चकोत्तरपदादेशवाचिनो वृद्धाच्छः स्यात् । उष्मिठावरपदाः । वाक्षिकन्धीयम् । वाक्षिपलसीयम् । वाक्षिनगरीयम् । वाक्षिग्रामीयम् । वाक्षिहरीयम् ॥

1366. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vṛiddha words, having the words kaunthā, palada, nagara, grāma and hrada, as last terms.

This debars the other affixes such as उष् and मिद् of IV. 2. 117 S. 1341.

Thus वाक्षिकन्धीयम्, वाक्षिपलसीयम्, वाक्षिनगरीयम्, वाक्षिग्रामीयम्, वाक्षिहरीयम् ॥

१३६७ । पर्वताच्च । ४ । २ । १४३ ॥

पर्वतीयः ॥

1367. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा “the hill-king”. पर्वतीयः पुरुषः ‘the hill man’.

१३६८ । विभावाऽमनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १४४ ॥

मनुष्यमिदं पर्वताच्छा वा स्यात्पक्षेऽण् । पर्वतीयानि पार्वतानि वा फलानि । अमनुष्ये किम् । पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः ॥

1368. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि ‘hill fruits’.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये ‘not-human’? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

१३६९ । कृकणपर्णाद्भारहाजे । ४ । २ । १४५ ॥

भारहाजदेशवाचिभ्यामायां छः । कृकणीयम् । पर्णीयम् । भारहाजे किम् । कार्कणम् । पार्णम् ॥

1369. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bhāradvāja.

The word देश is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say “denoting country of Bhāradvājas?” Observe कर्कणीयम्, पार्णीयम् &c.

१३७० । युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ् ॥ ४ । ३ । १ ॥

वाच्यः । पक्षेऽण् । युवयोर्युष्माकं वा अयं युष्मदीयः । अस्मदीयः ॥

1370. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words ‘yushmad’ and ‘asmad’.

The regulating power of the word देशो ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word “optionally” shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण् and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛddha, as they belong to Tyadādi class (I. 1. 74 S. 1336), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 ; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद् + अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV. 3. 2 S. 1371) योष्माकः । युष्मद् + छ = युष्मद् + ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2).

युष्मद् + खञ् = युष्माक + ईन (IV. 3. 2. S. 1371) = योष्माकीणः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII. 4. 2 S. 475 and 197). So also आस्माकः । अस्मदीयः ; and आस्माकीनः ॥

१३७१ । तस्मिन् खञ् च युष्माकास्माकौ । ४ । ३ । २ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरेतादौस्तः खञ्चि च । योष्माकीणः । आस्माकीनः । योष्माकः । आस्माकः ॥

1371. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note :—The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ् and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10 S. 128) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms : as (I) तस्मिन् खञ् युष्मदस्मदोरेतादौस्तः भवतः (2) ततोऽण् च ॥ 1. ९. (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively. (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding sūtra, e, g. योष्माकीणः, आस्माकीनः with खञ्, and योष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥

Note :—This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

१३७२ । तवकममकावेकवचने । ४ । ३ । ३ ॥

एकार्थवाचिनोर्युष्मदस्मदोस्तवकममकौ स्तः स्वय्यणि च । तावकीनः । तावकः । मामकीनः । मामकः । छे तु ॥

1372. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when स्वय् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee,' मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will be स्वदीयः, and मदीयः by the following rule.

Note :—The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, S. 263 there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्थे ॥

१३७३ । प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च । ७ । २ । ६८ ॥

नपर्वन्तयोरैकार्थयोस्त्वनौ स्तः प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च । स्वदीयः । मदीयः ॥

1373. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म्, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As स्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, S. 1337, I. 1. 74 S. 1336).

Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुत्रः = स्वत्पुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥ त्वं नाथोऽस्य = त्वन्नाथः ॥

Note :—When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (= युष्माकमिदं), अस्मदीयं; युष्मत्पुत्रः (= युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मत्पुत्रः ॥

१३७४ । अर्धाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । ४ ॥

अर्धे ॥

1374. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्धे in the remaining senses.

This debarb अण् ॥ Thus अर्धे: 'belonging to half.'

१३७५ । परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५ ॥

पराध्वम् । अवराध्वम् । अधमाध्वम् । उत्तमाध्वम् ॥

1375. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus पराध्वम्, अवराध्वम्, अधमाध्वम्, उत्तमाध्वम् ॥

१३७६ । दिक्पूर्वपदादञ्च । ४ । ३ । ६ ॥

चाद्यन् । पौर्वाधिकम् । पूर्वाध्वम् ॥

1376. And the affix **ठञ्** also (as well as **यन्**) comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By **च**, the affix **यन्** is also used. This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **पूर्वाध्वम्** or **पौर्वाधिकम्** ॥

१३७७ । ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ । ४ । ३ । ७ ॥

ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनां जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च दिक्पूर्वपदार्धान्तादञ्ठञौ स्तः । इमेऽस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वापौर्वाधाः । पौर्वाधिकाः । ग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरार्धे भवा इति तद्वितार्थे समासः । ठञ्महर्ण्यं स्पष्टार्थम् । अञ्चेष्वुक्ते यतोऽप्यनुकर्षः संभाव्येत ॥

1377. The affixes **अञ्** and **ठञ्** come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase **दिक्पूर्वपदान्** is to be read into the sūtra. This debars **यन्** ॥ Thus **इमे खलुस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वाधाः** or **पौर्वाधिकाः** "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". The word **पौर्वाध्याः** = **ग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरार्धे भवाः** and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

Though the anuvṛtṭi of **ठञ्** was current in this Sūtra from the preceding, yet it is repeated here for the sake of precision,; for had the sūtra been **ग्राम जनपदैकदेशादञ्च**, then the **च** would have drawn in not only the affix **अञ्** but the affix **यन्** which is not desired.

१३७८ । मध्यान्मः । ४ । ३ । ८ ॥

मध्यमः ॥

1378. After the word **मध्य** there is the affix **म** in the remaining senses.

This debars **अण्** ॥ As **मध्यमः** "middlemost".

१३७९ । अ सांप्रतिके । ४ । ३ । ९ ॥

मध्यवाक्यकारप्रत्ययः स्यात्सांप्रतिकेऽर्थे । उत्कर्षापकर्षद्वीनो मध्यो वेद्याकरणः । मध्यं वाह । नातिद्वत्वं नातिदीर्घमित्यर्थः ॥

1379. The affix **अ** comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word **सांप्रतिक** means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As **नातिदीर्घं नातिद्वत्वं मध्यं वाह** "the proper piece of wood—neither too long nor too short". **मध्यो-वेद्याकरणः** "the fit Grammarian; neither too refined nor too dull."

१३८० । द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् । ४ । ३ । १० ॥

समुद्रस्य समीपे चो द्वीपस्ताद्वीपवाद्द्वीपशब्दाद्यञ् स्यात् । द्वेप्यञ् । द्वेप्या ॥

1380. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea. *

Note :—The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhādi (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357), and would have taken अञ् ; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134 S. 1358, it would have taken युञ् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वेप्यञ् or द्वेप्या, 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वेप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

१३८१ । कालाहुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११ ॥

कालवाचिभ्यश्चञ् स्यात् । मासिकम् । सांवत्सरिकम् । सायंप्रतिकः । पौनः पुनिकः । कथं तर्हि चार्धरस्य तमसोर्नपिद्वये इति कालिदास अनुवृत्तौषसरागेति भारविः, समानकालीनं प्राक्कालीनमित्यादि च । भपभंश्चा एवैत इति प्रामाणिकाः ॥ तच्च जात इति यावत्कालाधिकारः ॥

1381. The affix ङञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अञ् ॥ The affix हुञ् which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकम् 'monthly' सांवत्सरिकम् 'annual'. सायंप्रतिकः "morning and evening," पौनः पुनिकः 'again and again'.

How do you explain the forms चार्धर and चोषस in the following lines of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi चार्धरस्य तमसोर्नपिद्वयं (Kālidāsa) and अनुवृत्तौषसरागा (Bhāravi)? Or the forms समानकालीनम् and प्राक्कालीनम्? These forms are "grammatical according to the best authorities.

Note :—The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. कावन्धपुष्पिकं, त्रैविपलालिकम् ॥

The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto IV. 3. 25 S. 1393. च जातः) ॥

१३८२ । आद्धे शरद्ः । ४ । ३ । १२ ॥

ङञ् स्यात् । ऋत्वयोऽपवादः । शारदिकं आद्धम् ॥

1382. The affix ङञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing आद्ध ॥

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). The word आद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not अद्धावान् पुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं आद्धं 'the autumnal 'Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

१३८३ । विभाषा रोगातपयोः । ४ । ३ । १३ ॥

शारदिकः शारदी वा रोग भातपो वा । एतयोः किम् । शारदं वधि ।

1383. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको or शारदी रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिकः or शारद आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine.'

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं वधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debarb the क्तु भण् (IV. 3. 16).

१३८४ । निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च । ४ । ३ । १४ ॥

वा ठञ् स्यात् । नैशिकम् । नैशम् । प्राशेषिकम् । प्रादोषम् ॥

1384. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'nisha', 'and pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 S 1381, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal', प्रादोषम् or प्राशेषिकम् ॥

१३८५ । श्वसस्तुद् च । ४ । ३ । १५ ॥

श्वसश्चावृष्ट्वा वा स्यात्तस्य तुङागमश्च ॥

1385. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix लप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. S. 1326. This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. S. 1391 Thus श्वस् + तुद् + ठञ् now applies the following sūtra:—

१३८६ । द्वारादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ४ ॥

द्वारः स्वरः व्यल्कशः स्वस्तिः स्वरः स्फपकृतः स्वाहुः वृहुः श्वस्, श्वन्, स्व एषां न वृद्धिरेजागमश्च । शौचस्तिकम् ॥

1386. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ, ए or क् the Vridhhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or च् but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semivowels in द्वार &c.

The following is a list of Dvārādi words:—

1 द्वारः, 2 स्वरः, 3 स्वाध्यायः, 4 व्यल्कशः, 5 स्वस्तिः, 6 श्वद् (स्वरः), 7 स्फपकृतः, 8 स्वाहुवृहुः, 9 श्वस्*, 10 श्वन्, 11 स्व ॥

Thus श्वस् + तुद् + ठञ् = शौचस् + तु + इक (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098) = शौचस्तिकम् (ephemeral).

Note:—As द्वारे नियुक्तः = दौवारिकः, दौवारपालश्च from द्वारपाल ॥ The Tadādi rule applies here, शौचरः from स्वरः, (स्वरमधिकृत्यकृतोऽमन्यः) ॥ So also शौचरोऽध्यायः, शौचर्यः

सप्तम्यः ॥ वैचल्लकः from व्यल्लक्य, (व्यल्लक्ये भवः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वस्ति, (स्वस्तीति भावः), सौरः from स्वर (स्वर्भवेः) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (सोमनो-ध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्तैयकृतः from स्तयकृतः; सौवादुचदुच from स्वादुचदुच, सौवनम् from भन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI. 4. 167 S. 1155). while सौवम् from भन् where there is no prakṛitibhāva (by अम् IV. 3. 154): सौवारंष्ट्रः (भवारंष्ट्र्यां भवः) Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्थेवं); सौवमानिकः from स्वमान with the affix डम् (अध्यास्मादित्वाट डम्). This sūtra is made because the व् and व् here are not final of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra.

१३८७ । संधिवेलाच्युत नक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६ ॥

संधिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् स्यात् । सन्धिवेलायां भवं सान्धिवेलम् ।
धैम्यम् । तैषम् ॥ संधिवेला, संध्या, अमावास्या, ज्योतिषी, चतुर्वशी, पौर्णमासी, प्रतिपद् ॥
संवत्सरान् फलपर्वणोः * ॥ संवत्सरं फलं पर्वं वा । संवत्सरिकमन्यत् ॥

1387. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'sandhi-velā' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars डम् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114S. 1337). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम्, (2) धैम्यम् सौक्ष्मम् (3) तैषम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelā, season and asterisms respectively.

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 ज्योतिषी, 5 चतुर्वशी, 6 पौर्णमासी, 7 प्रतिपद् ॥

Vart:—The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival,' as संवत्सरं फलं or पर्वं ॥ Otherwise संवत्सरिकम् ॥

१३८८ । प्रावृष ण्यः । ४ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्रावृषेण्यः ॥

1388. The affix ण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष ॥

Note:—This debars the अण् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvriṣh' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season".

१३८९ । वर्षाभ्यष्टक् । ४ । ३ । १८ ॥

वर्षाष्टु साधु वार्षिकं वातः । कालास्साधुपुण्यस्वच्यमानेति साधये ॥

1389. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. Thus सार्विकमनुलेपनम् । The डक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 S. 1418 here.

१३९० । सर्वत्राणं च तलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । २२ ॥

हेमन्ताण् स्यात्तलोपश्च वेदलोकयोः । चकारात्पक्षे ऋत्वण् । हेमन्तम् । हेमन्तम् ।

1390. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्तम् or हेमन्तम् ॥

Note :—The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the classical literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 S. 1387 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387), हेमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21 S. 3452) and हेमन्तम् ॥

१३९१ । सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यष्ट्युलौ तुद् च । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यष्ट्युलौ स्तस्तथोस्तुद् च । तुद्ः प्रागनादेशः अनद्यतन इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । सायन्तनम् । चिरन्तनम् । प्राह्णप्रगयारेदन्तत्वं निपात्यते । प्राह्णतनम् । प्रगेतनम् । शेषातनम् । दिवातनम् ॥

चिरपरस्परारिभ्यस्त्रो वक्तव्यः * ॥ चिरन्नम् । परन्नम् । परारन्नम् ॥

अमादिष्ठाष्टिमश्च * ॥ अभिमम् । आदिनम् । पश्चिमम् ॥

अन्ताश्च * ॥ अन्तिमम् ॥

1391. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं + ट्यु = सायं + अन = सायं + तुद् + अन = सायंतनम् 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रागेतनम् " what is of the early morn ".

The replacement of ट्यु by अन under VII. 1. 1. S. 1247 takes place prior to the addition of the augment तुद् to the affix : because we find it so in the forms like अनद्यतन &c used by Pāṇini himself in III. 2. 111 S. 2205 &c Had it been added first, then the affix would have become ट्यु, and the form would have been अनद्यास्तु like दृष्टुः for there is no rule which would have changed ट्यु into तन ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are शेषातनम् 'belonging to the night.' दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day.'

Varṇa :—The affix ङ comes after the words चिर, परत् (meaning in the past year) and परारि (meaning in the year before the last). As चिरङ्गम्, परङ्गम्, and परारिङ्गम् ॥

Vart:—The affix **दिमच्** comes after **अप**, **आदि** and **पश्चाद्**, as, **अभिमन्** **आदिमन्** and **पश्चिमन्** ॥

Vart:—So also after **अन्त**, as, **अन्तिमन्** ॥

Note:—The difference between **त्यु** and **त्यल्** is in accent. Thus **सायन्तन** and **सार्थन्तन**, **चिरन्तन** and **चिरैन्तन**, **प्राह्लेन्तन** and **प्राह्लैन्तन**, **प्रगेन्तन**, **प्रगेत्तन**, **दिवान्तन** and **दिवाैन्तन**, **दोषान्तन** and **दोषाैन्तन** ॥ See VI. 1. 193. S. 3676.

१३०२ । विभाषा पूर्वाह्णापरह्णाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

आभ्यां व्युत्थूलो वा स्तस्तयोस्तुद् च । पक्षे ढम् । पृवाह्लेन्तनम् । अपराह्लेन्तनम् । पकालतने-
वित्यल्लुक् । पूर्वाह्णः सोढोऽस्येति विग्रहे तु पूर्वाह्लन्तनम् । अपराह्लन्तनम् । पौर्वाह्निकम् । आपराह्निकम् ॥

1392. Optionally after the words **पूर्वाह्ण** and **अपराह्ण**, there are the affixes **इयु** and **इयुल्** and their augment is **तुद्** ॥

In the alternative **ढम्** of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 also occurs. As **पुर्वाह्लेन्तनम्**, **अपराह्लेन्तनम्** with **त्यु**, or **पौर्वाह्निकम्**, **आपराह्निकम्** with **था**. With **त्यल्** we have **पुर्वाह्लेन्तनं** and **अपराह्लेन्तनं** ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17 S. 975. When the compound is such as not retaining the case- affix, because not in the locative case, as when it is analysed by saying **पूर्वाह्णः सोढोऽस्य** (IV. 3. 52 S. 1427) then we have, **पूर्वाह्णन्तनं** **अपराह्णन्तनम्** । **पौर्वाह्णिकम्** ॥ **आपराह्णिकम्** ॥

१३६३ । तत्र जातः । ४ । ३ । २५ ॥

सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्यर्थेऽणारयो चाव्यञ्च स्युः । कुत्रे जातः कौत्रः । औत्सः । राष्ट्रियः । अवारपारीष इत्यादि ॥

1393. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes **अण** &c. **च** &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV 2. 92. S. 1312. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus **कुत्रेजातः** = **कुत्र** + **अण्** = **कौत्रः** 'born in Srughna'. **औत्सः** 'born in Utsa', **राष्ट्रियः** (IV. 2. 93 S. 1313) **अवारपारीषः** &c.

१३६४ । प्रावृषष्ठप् । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

एण्यस्यापवादः । प्रावृषि जातः प्रावृषिकः ॥

1394. After the word **प्रावृद्** being in the 7th case- affix, there is the affix **ढप्** in the sense of produced therein.

This debars **एण्य** of sūtra IV. 3. 17 S. 1388. The **प्** of **ढप्** is for the sake of accent. **प्रावृषिजातः** = **प्रावृषिकः** 'produced in the rainy season'.

१३९५ । संज्ञार्था शरदो बुञ् । ४ । ३ । २७ ॥

ऋत्वणोऽपवादः । शारदका र्शविशेषा बुञ्विशेषाच्च ॥

1395. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein.' the whole word being a name.

This debars अञ् of IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शारदका र्शः 'the grass called Śāradaka.' शारदका बुञ्ः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Note :—According to some, the word संज्ञार्था governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38, S. 1413.

१३९६ । उत्तरपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १० ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । हनस्त इत्यस्मात्पाक् ॥

1396. Upto VII. 3. 31 S. 1789 inclusive, the substitution of Vṛiddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 S. 2574. exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11. S. 1397 the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्तिकं, अपरवार्तिकम्, पूर्वहेमन्, अपरहेमन् ॥

Note :—In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 S. 1397 (अवयवात्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi.' This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

१३९७ । अवयवाद्गतोः । ७ । ३ । ११ ॥

अवयववाचिनः पूर्वपदादनुवाचिनोऽन्वामादेशो वृद्धिः स्यात् मिति गिति किति च तद्धिते परे । पूर्ववार्तिकः । अपरहेमन् । अवयवात्किम् । पूर्वास्तु वर्षास्तु भवः पूर्ववार्तिकः । ऋतोर्बृद्धिनदिधाव-
यववानामिति तदन्तविधि पूर्वम् । इह तु न । अवयवत्वाभावात् ॥

1397. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or ऊ, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्तिकः from पूर्व + वार्त्ता + ठक् meaning वर्षावात् पूर्वः ॥ अपरहेमनः meaning हेमन्तस्यापरः ॥

Note:—The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c. takes place by II. 2. 1 S. 712 and then by IV. 3. 18 S. 1389 there is ठक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त् by IV. 3. 22. S. 1390. The Tadanta-viddhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-viddhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन्त being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22 S. 1390), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (कृतोर्वृद्धिर्नदिधाववयवान् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वासु वर्षासु भवः पूर्ववार्तिक with ठक् (IV. 3. 11 S. 1389) and no vṛiddhi of the अ of व because of the maxim "The Tadanta-vidhi applies, when an affix causing Vṛiddhi is ordained after a word denoting season; provided that, the word denoting season is preceded in composition by a word denoting a part, and not otherwise." Therefore the vṛiddhi does not take place here, because the preceding word in composition is not a word which denotes a part of varshā, but is in apposition with it. The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

१३९८ । सुसर्वाधाजनपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १२ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः । सुपाञ्चालकः । अर्धपाञ्चालकः । जनपदत्वव्योक्तिरिति वुम् । सुसर्वाधविक्रान्द्येभ्यो जनपदस्येति तदन्तविधिः ॥

1398. After सु, सर्वे and अर्धे, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः, and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with वुम् (IV 2. 124. S. 1348) read with IV. 2. 125 S. 1349. though the word is not a Vṛiddha. This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वाधविक्रान्द्येभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word "

Note:—As shown in the above examples, and for direction-denoting words see the following sūtra (I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

१३९९ । दिशांश्मद्राणाम् । ७ । ३ । १३ ॥

दिग्वाचकाजनपदवाचिनो वृद्धिः । पूर्वपाञ्चालकः । दिशः किय् । पूर्वपाञ्चालानामयं पूर्वपाञ्चालः । अमद्राणां किय् । पूर्वमद्रः । योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः ॥

1399. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र,

gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपञ्चालकः, (IV. 2. 125, 107) The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction, ? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः, = पूर्वपञ्चालकः ॥ Why do we say with the exception of मद्र ? Observe पूर्वमद्रः with अम् (IV. 2. 108 S. 1329). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvritti of "direction" only runs.

१४०० । प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् । ७ । ३ । १४ ॥

विद्यः परेषां नगरवाचिनां ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवत्वं च वृद्धिः । पूर्वेषुकामशम्यां भवः पूर्वेषुकामशमः । नगरे, पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः ॥

1400. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a town or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशमः "born in Purveshu kāmashamī". So also अपरैषुकामशमः, पूर्वकाण्वृत्तिकः, अपरकाण्वृत्तिकः (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) These are town names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः, पूर्वकान्यकुब्जः, अपरकान्यकुब्जः ॥ These are city names.

Note :—The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24. S. 1431 does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians' but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वेषुकामशमः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ इषुकामशमी = पूर्वेषुकामशमी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50 S. 727. Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of ततो भवः by IV. 2. 107 S. 1328. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix वुम् is added by IV. 2. 123 S. 1347. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Purva-pāṭali-putra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

१४०१ । पूर्वाह्णपराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद्वुन् । ४ । ३ । २८ ॥

पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः । आर्द्रकः । मूलकः । प्रदोषकः । अवस्करकः ॥

1401. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः ॥ This debars IV. 3. 24 S. 1392. So also आर्द्रकः । मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. प्रदोषकः ॥ This debars इम् of IV. 3. 14. S. 1384. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

१४०२ । पयः पन्थ च । ४ । ३ । २९ ॥

पयि जातः पन्थकः ॥

1402. The affix **बुन्** comes after the word **पथ**, in the sense of 'produced therein', and there by in the room of **पथ**, the substitute is **पन्थ** ॥

Thus **पथी जातः = पन्थकः** 'produced in the way.'

This debars the **अण्** ॥

१४०३ । अमावास्याया वा । ४ । ३ । ३० ॥

अमावास्याकः । अमावास्याः ॥

1403. The affix **बुन्** comes optionally after the word **amāvāsyā**, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars **अण्** of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. Thus **अमावास्याकः** or **अमावास्याः ॥**

Note :—This affix **बुन्** is applied to the word **अमावास्या** also, on the maxim **एकदेशविकृतस्यागन्त्यस्यात्** "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus **अमावास्याकः** or **अमावास्याः ॥**

१४०४ । अ च । ४ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अमावास्या ॥

1404. And the affix **अ** also is added to the word **amāvāsyā**, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the **बुन्** and **अण्** already given. Thus **अमावास्याः, अमावास्याकः, अमावास्याः ॥** So also after the word **अमावास्या**, as **अमावास्याः, अमावास्याकः** and **अमावास्याः ॥**

१४०५ । सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् । ४ । ३ । ३२ ॥

सिन्धुकः । कच्छाद्याणि मनुष्यबुद्धि च प्राप्ते । अपकरकः । औत्सर्गिकेऽणि प्राप्ते ॥ *

1405. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix **कन्** in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word **सिन्धु** occurs in the **Kachchhādi** class and takes **अण्** and **बुञ्** (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357); and **अपकर** would have also taken **अण्** under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus **सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः, ॥**

१४०६ । अणञौ च । ४ । ३ । ३३ ॥

क्रमात् स्तः । सैन्धवं । आपकरः ॥

1406. And the affixes **अण्** and **अञ्** come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus **सेव्यः** and **जौपरः** ॥

१४०७ । अविष्टाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुला-
स्तुक् । ४ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एभ्यो नचनवाचिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् ॥

1407. The affix denoting 'born therein', is elided by *luk*, after the words 'śravishṭhâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâtî', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hastâ', 'viśâkhâ', 'ashâḍhâ', and 'bahulâ', all denoting asterisms.

Note :—The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. S. 1408. Thus अविष्टास्तु जातः = अविष्टः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ'. So also फल्गुनः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahulâ' is another name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥ It is exhibited in the sūtra as bahula with a short अ, as it is a Samâhâra Dvandva shortening.

१४०८ । लुक् तद्धितलुकि । २ । २ । ४९ ॥

तद्धितलुकि सत्पुपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् अविष्टास्तु जातः अविष्टः । फल्गुनः इत्यादि ॥
चित्रादेवतिरेहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियास्तुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चित्रायां जाता चित्रा । रेवती । रोहिणी ।
आभ्यां लुक् तद्धितलुकीति लुकि कृते पिप्पल्यादेराकृतिगणस्वास्तुनङ्गि ॥
फल्गुन्यषाढाभ्यां दानौ वक्तव्यौ * ॥ स्त्रियामित्येव । । फल्गुनी । अषाढा ॥
अविष्टाषाढाभ्यां छप्पक्तव्यः * ॥ अस्त्रियामपि । अविष्टीयः । आषाढीयः ॥

1408. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word *luk*, there takes place the elision by *luk* of the feminine affix also, of the original stem to which the Taddhita affix was added.

The word *लुक्* defined in I. 1. 61. S. 260, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word *लुक्*; there the feminine suffix of the prâtipadika is also dropped, or becomes *luk*. The word *upasarjana* used in explaining this sūtra by the author should be taken in its popular sense of non-principal, secondary; and not the technical *upasarjana* of grammar.

Thus अविष्टा + (अणलुक्) = अविष्टः ॥ The Taddhita suffix being *laked*; the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk*. Therefore the derivative of अविष्टा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्टः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Vart :—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitrâ' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine

affix which had been elided after the two words Revatī and Rohiṇī, by the present sūtra I. 2. 49 S. 1408 is reordained by IV. 1. 41, S. 498 because these words belong to the Pippalyādi subdivision of the गौरादि class. The Pippalyādi being an ākṛitigaṇa contains these words also.

Vart:—The affixes ट् and अन् come respectively after फल्गुनी^३ and अषाढा^४ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As फल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vart:—The affix छन् also comes after 'Śravishṭhā' and 'Aśhāḍhā,' even when females are not denoted. As श्राविष्टीयः and आषाढीयः ॥

१४०६ । जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् । ७ । ३ । १८ ॥

प्रोष्ठपदानामुत्तरपदस्याचामदिरेचो वृद्धिः स्याज्ज्ञानार्थे ऽति णिति किति च । प्रोष्ठपदासु जातः प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः । जे इति किम् । प्रोष्ठपदासु भवः प्रोष्ठपदः । बहुवचननिर्देशात्पर्यायोऽपि गृह्यते । भाद्रपदः ॥

1409. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory ज्, श् or क् ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपदां is the name of an asterism, the day when the moon is there is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अण् of IV. 2. 3. S. 1204 is elided by IV. 2. 4 S. 1205). प्रोष्ठपदासु जातः = प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्रोष्ठपदोभेदः (= प्रोष्ठपदासु भवः) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भाद्रपद are also to be included. As भाद्रपदः ॥

१४१० । स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च । ४ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । गोस्थानः । गोशालः । खरशालः । विभाषा संनेति नपुंसकत्वे ह्रस्वत्वम् ॥

1410. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting "born therein" after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gośâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥ The word gośâla and kharasâla in the sūtra end in a short अ because they are Neuter under II. 4. 25 S. 828.

१४११ । वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्शतभिषजो वा । ४ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थस्य लुक् स्यात् । वत्सशाले जातो वत्सशालः । वत्सशालः इत्यादि ॥ जातार्थे प्रतिप्रसूतोऽण्वा डिङ्कत्वम् * ॥ शतभिषः । शतभिषजः । शतभिषक् ॥

1411. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasāla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'satabhik'.

As वत्सशाले जातः = वत्सशालिः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतभिषक् or शतभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वात्सशाल are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

Vart :—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as ङित्, provided that, it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2. S. 1550 by force of IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 but it is debarred by इम् of IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शतभिषः or शतभिषजः, or शतभिषक् ॥

१४१२ । नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् । ४ । ३ । ३७ ॥

जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुक् स्यात् । रोहिणः । रोहिणः ॥

1412. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after the name of an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387 'person born when the moon is in the asterism of Rohini Aldebaran).

१४१३ । कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः । ४ । ३ । ३८ ॥

तत्त्रेलेव । बुद्धे कृतो लब्धः क्रीतः कुशलो वा सौज्ञः ॥

1413. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix in construction, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there', 'bought there', and 'dexterous therein'.

Thus सौज्ञः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Sruḡhna".

१४१४ । प्रायभवः । ४ । ३ । ३९ ॥

तत्त्रेलेव । बुद्धे प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति सौज्ञः ॥

1414. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus सौज्ञः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Sruḡhna', = बुद्धे प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति ॥

Note :—This sūtra according to Patanjali, is superfluous, as it is covered by the more comprehensive sūtra तत्रभवः (1V. 3. 53 S. 1428). If त्रयभवः be explained as अनित्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

१४१५ । उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक् । ४ । ३ । ४० ॥

ओपजानुकः । ओपकर्णिकः ; ओपनीविकः ॥

1415. The affix ष्टक् comes in the sense of 'generally found there in', after the words 'upajānu', 'upakārṇa', and upanīvi', being in the 7th case in construction.

This debarb अण् &c. Thus ओपजानुकः, ओपकर्णिकः ओपनीविकः ॥

Note :—All these three words of the sūtra are Indeclinables, because they are Aṅvayībhāva compounds. In the sūtra, they have formed a samāhāra Dvandva and masculine.

१४१६ । संभूते । ४ । ३ । ४१ ॥

सुप्ते संभवति सौप्तः ॥

1416. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix ङी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein'.

Note :—Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the words जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy', i. e. अवकल्प्तिः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुप्ते संभवति = सौप्तः 'what is suited to the country of Sruḡhna'. The word तत्र is understood here also.

१४१७ । कोशाड्ढक् । ४ । ३ । ४२ ॥

कौशेयं वस्त्रम् ॥

1417. The affix ढक् comes after the word कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that'.

This debarb अण् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कौशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes'.

Note :—The word कोश means 'cocoon'. कौशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon', and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however कूड and means 'silken'. Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath', as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134. S 1514 under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact, after the sūtra एण्या-इञ् (IV. 3. 159 S. 1537), the addition of कोशाङ्ग would have been more appropriate.

१४१८ । कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु । ४ । ३ । ४३ ॥

हेमन्ते साधुहेमन्तः प्राकारः । वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति, वासन्यः कुन्दलताः । शरदि पच्यन्ते शारदाः शालयः ॥

1418. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good therein', 'flowering therein' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः । So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring'. So also शरदि पच्यन्ति = शारदाः शालयः 'the grains that ripen in autumn'.

Note :—This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c. The word pushpyat in the sūtra is the Present Participle or शतृ of the Divādi पुष्प ॥

१४१९ । उत्ते च । ४ । ३ । ४४ ॥

हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते हेमन्ता यवाः ॥

1419. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein.'

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हेमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' चैष्मा त्रीहयः ॥

Note :—The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of उत्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

१४२० । आश्वयुज्या बुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४५ ॥

उज्जोऽपवादः । आश्वयुज्याशुता आश्वयुजका माषाः ॥

1420. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या शुता = आश्वयुजका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī'. Āśvayujī is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Āśvayuj. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्विनी instead of आश्वयुज् ॥

१४२१ । ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पक्षे क्त्वण् । ऐष्मक् । वैष्मक् । वासन्तक् । वासन्तक् ॥

1421. The affix बुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grīshma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown therein'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus ऐष्मन् or ऐष्मकन् वास्यन्
'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तन् or वासन्तकन् ॥

१४२२। देयमृणे । ४ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कालोहित्वेव । मासे देयमृणं मासिकम् ॥

1422. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month".

Note :—Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

१४२३। कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वुन् । ४ । ३ । ४८ ॥

यस्मिन् काले मयूराः कलापिनो भवन्ति स उपचारात्कलापी तत्र देयमृणं कलापकम् । अश्व-
त्थस्य फलमश्वत्थस्तृक्तः कालोऽप्यश्वत्थः । यस्मिन् कालेऽश्वत्थाः फलन्ति तत्र देयमश्वत्थकम् । यस्मिन्
यवबुसमुत्पद्यते तत्र देयं यवबुसकम् ॥

1423. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are terms which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the aśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley-chaff.' Thus कलापिनिकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season)' So also अश्वत्थकम् "a debt due when the fig-tree, flowers." And यवबुसकम् ॥ 'a debt due when the barley is thrashed'.

१४२४। ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४९ ॥

ग्रीष्मे देयमृणं ग्रीष्मकम् । आवरसमकम् ॥

1424. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due at that time' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama.'

This debars the अण् and ङञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृणं = ग्रीष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् 'a debt which will be due next year', or 'which fell due last year.'

Note :—This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while वुन् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराग्रमाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न दत्तम्; 'a debt which will be due next year,' or 'which fell due last year.'

१४२५। संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ङञ्च । ४ । ३ । ५० ॥

चाद्बुम् । सांवत्सरिकम् । सांवत्सरकम् । आग्रहायणिकम् । आग्रहायणकम् ॥

1425. The affix ठञ् also (as well as बुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'āgrahāyaṇī' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयवृणं=सांवत्सरिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

Note :—The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhivelaḍi Class (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins ठञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

१४२६ । व्याहरति घृगः । ४ । ३ । ५१ ॥

कालवाचिनः सप्तम्यन्ताच्छब्दायत इत्यर्थे अयादयः स्युः यो व्याहरति स घृगचेत् । निशायां व्याहरति नैशो घृगः । नैशिकः ॥

1426. An affix (like अण् or ठञ् &c.) comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then makes noise', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति घृगः=नैशः or नैशिकः "an animal that makes noise at night." So also प्रादोषः or प्राशोषिकः (IV. 3. 14. S. 1384) 'a brute that yells in the morning'. The affix added is ठञ्, in the alternative with अण्, by IV. 3. 14. S. 1384.

Note :—Why do we say घृगः 'a beast' ? Observe निशायां व्याहरति उलूकः for 'owl' is a bird. Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to wander.' The Sūtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes in expressing a wild beast who roams at large at that time."

१४२७ । तदस्य सोढम् । ४ । ३ । ५२ ॥

कालादित्येव । निशासहचरितमध्ययनं निशा तत्सोढमस्य नैशः । नैशिकः ॥

1427. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद्=that : सोढम्=जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमध्ययनं=निशा "reading by night". तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य=नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. The affix is णाङ् by IV. 3. 14. S. 1384.

१४२८ । तत्र भवः । ४ । ३ । ५३ ॥

कुत्रे भवः कौत्रः । राष्ट्रियः ॥

1428. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in the sūtra तच्च जातः (IV. 3. 25. S. 1393). Thus, सुप्ते भवः = सौप्तः "who stays in Srughna". राट्टिन् ॥

Note :—The repetition of तच्च in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtra, is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

१४२६ । दिगादिभ्यो यत् । ४ । ३ । ५४ ॥

विश्वम् । वर्गम् ॥

1429. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars भण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भव = दिश्वम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्गम् ॥

Note :—The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुख्यं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघन्यम् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उदक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उदक्या = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदको मन्त्रः ॥

1 दिक्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाट्य (धाट्या), 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथिन्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देश*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 मेघ, 21 यूय, 22 उदकास्संज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 देश (विश), 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 अनुवंश ॥

१४३० । शरीरावयवाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५५ ॥

दन्त्यम् । कर्णम् ॥

1430. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars भण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भव = दन्त्यम् 'dental, i. e. what stays there, कर्णम् ॥

१४३१ । प्राचां नगरान्ते । ७ । ३ । २४ ॥

प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भिति णिति किति च । सुहृन्नगरे भवः सौहृन्नागरः । पौर्वनागरः । प्राचां किञ्च । मङ्गनगरमुख्ये तच्च भवो माङ्गनगरः ॥

1431. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of

both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the stem नगर ॥

As सौवर्णनगरः (= सुवर्णनगरे भवः), पौर्वनागरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माह्वनगरः, from मह्वनगरः the city of the Northern people.

Note :—The word अङ्गस्य of VI. 4. 1. S. 200. governs this sūtra also, with this difference that it is changed into the locative case here and does not give its genitive termination.

१४३२ । जङ्गलधेनुवत्तजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् । ७ । ३ । २५ ॥

अङ्गलायन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिरुत्तरपदस्य वा ऽति णिति किति च । कुरुजङ्गले भवं कौरुजङ्गलम् । कौरुजाङ्गलम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । सौवर्णवलजम् । सौवर्णबालजम् ॥

1432. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, the Vpiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the compound ending in the stems जङ्गल, धेनु and बलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुजाङ्गलम्, "existing in Kurujangala". वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्, सौवर्णबालजम् or सौवर्णबालजम् ॥

१४३३ । दतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्यस्यहेर्दञ् । ४ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हातेयम् । कौक्षेयम् । कलशिर्घटः तच्च भवं कालशेयम् । वास्तेयम् । आस्तेयम् । आहेयम् ।

1433. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti'. 'kukshi', 'kalaśi', 'vasti', 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus हातेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम् कालशेयम्, 'what exists in a pot'. वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहेयम् ॥ आहेयम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिक्षीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

१४३४ । ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च । ४ । ३ । ५७ ॥

चात् दञ् । भवेयम् । भैवम् ॥

1434. The affix अण् also (as well as दञ्) comes after the word 'grīvâ' in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55 S. 1430) ग्रीवासु भवं = भवेयम् or भैवम् ॥

Note :—The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

१४३५ । गम्भीराञ्ज्यः । ४ । ३ । ५८ ॥

गम्भीरे भवं गाभीर्यम् ॥

1435. The affix **व्य** comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhīra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गम्भीरिव 'gravity'.

Vart:—So also after पंचजन ॥ As पांचजन्यम् ॥

१४३६ । अव्ययीभावाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५९ ॥

परिदुलं भवं पारिदुल्यम् ॥ परिदुलादिभ्य एवेत्यन्ते * ॥ नेह । औपकुलः ॥

1436. After an *Avyayibhāva* compound, the affix **व्य** is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

Ishti:—The affix comes only after the *Avyayibhāva* compounds *parimukha* and the rest. The affix **व्य** does not come after every *Avyayibhāva* compound, but only after the words included in the list of *परिदुलादि* as given in the *Gaṇapāṭha*.

Thus *परिदुलं भवं* = *पारिदुल्यम्*, So also *पारिहन्यम्* ॥ Not so *औपकुलम्*, the word *उपकुल* not belonging to the class *परिदुल* ॥

1 परिदुल, 2 परिदु, 3 पयोष्ठ, 4 पशुलूल, 5 औपमूल, 6 उपस्थूल, 7 पारिरी, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुद्वग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुयुप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्गा, 21 प्रतिशाल, 22 अनुसाय ॥

१४३७ । अन्तःपूर्वपदादृञ् । ४ । ३ । ६० ॥

अव्ययीभावादिभ्येव । वेरमनि इति अन्तर्वेदमन् तच्च भवमान्तर्वेदमिक्कम् । आन्तर्गणिकम् । अभ्यात्मादेष्टमित्यन्ते * ॥ अभ्यात्मं भवमाभ्यात्मिकम् ॥

1437. After an *Avyayibhāva* compound, having the word **अन्तर्** as prior term, the affix **ठञ्** is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus *आन्तर्वेदमिक्कम्* from *antar-veśmam* which means "in the house". That which exists in the house is "āntar-veśmikam," So also *आन्तर्गणिकम्* ॥

Vart:—So also after the words *अभ्यात्म*, &c as, *आभ्यात्मिकम्*, *आधैविकम्*, *आधिभौतिकम्* ॥ The class *आभ्यात्मादि* is *Ākṛitigaṇa*.

१४३८ । अनुशतिकादीनां च । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

एषामुभयपदवृद्धिः स्यात् अिति शिति किति च । आधिदैविकम् । आधिभौतिकम् । ऐश्वरीयिकम् । पारलौकिकम् । आभ्यात्मादिराकृतिगणः ॥

1438. Before a *Taddhita* affix having an *indicatory* अ, ए or क्, the *Vṛiddhi* is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds *अनुशति* &c.

Thus आधिदैविकम् ; आधिभौतिकम् ; ऐहलौकिकम् ; पारलौकिकम् ॥ These words belong to the Ākritigaṇa of अच्चात्म &c.

Note :—(1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशातिकत्वेऽन्) V. 1. 21. and IV. 3. 120. ; (2) आनुहोदिकः (= अनुहोदेन चरति IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसावरणम् (अनुसंवरणे णीते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसावस्तरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by डच् from अनुसम्बत्सरेण षथिते) (5) आंगारवेणवः (son-of अङ्गारवेणु). (6) आसिहात्यम् (= आसिहृत्ये भवं). Some read this word as अस्यहात्य ; this will also take अण् as belonging to विभुक्तादि class. As आस्यहात्यः (= अस्यहात्यशब्दोऽस्मिन्नाच्चायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्येहेति ; as आस्येहेतिकः (= अस्येहेति प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) वाध्योगः (= वाध्योगस्य भवत्वं). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) पुस्करशोऽपत्यं = पौस्करसाविः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi class. (9) आनुवारत from अनुवर्त- ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargādi class. Its paronymic is कौरुकात्यः (11) कौरुपाञ्चालः (= कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix डच् is not added here, because अनपदसङ्ग्रहायो जनपदमहयेन गृह्यते ॥

१४३६ । देविकाशिंशपादित्यवाङ्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् । ७ । ३ । १ ॥

एषां पञ्चानां वृद्धिमात्राद्योरच आत् स्यात् अिति णिति किति च । दायिकम् । देविकाकुले भवा-
दायिकाकुलाः शालयः । शिंशपाया विकारः शंशपचमसः । पलाशादिभ्यो वेत्यच् । विलौह इहं दालोहम् ।
दीर्घसत्र भवं दार्घसत्रम् । श्रयसि भवं श्रेयसम् ॥

1439. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क्, follows, आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following five words :— devikā, simśapā, dityavāt, dīrghāsatra, and śreyas.

* Thus दायिकम् (= देविकायां भवम्) in दायिकमुदकम् ; दायिकाकुलाः शालयः (= देविक-
कुल भवाः), Similarly शंशपचमसः (= शिंशपायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the
Palāśādi class (IV. 3. 141 S. 1521), and takes अण् or अच्, the difference
being in accent. Similarly दालोहम् from दित्यवाह, (विलौह इहं) and दार्घसत्रम्
(दीर्घसत्रे भवं) and श्रेयसम् (श्रयसि भवं) ॥

१४४० । ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् । ४ । ३ । ६१ ॥

डच् स्यात् । अव्ययीभावादिष्वेव । पारिग्रामिकः । आनुग्रामिकः ॥

1440. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayībhāva), there is the affix डच् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The word "after an Avyayībhāva", is understood here also. Thus पारिग्रामिकः and आनुग्रामिकः ॥

१४४१ । जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेदङ्गः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

जिह्वामूलीयम् । अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

1441. After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'aṅguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

१४४२ । वर्गान्ताच्च । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कवर्गीयम् ॥

1442. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

As कवर्गीयम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

१४४३ । अशब्दे यत्खाद्यन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

पक्षे पूर्वेषु छः । मद्गर्थः । मद्गर्गीजः । मद्गर्गीयः । अशब्दे किम् । कवर्गीयो वर्गः ॥

1443. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As मद्गर्थः (by यत्) मद्गर्गीजः, (by ख), and मद्गर्गीयः (by छ) ॥

Why do we say, when it does not mean 'शब्द' ? For then it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; as कवर्गीयोवर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class.'

१४४४ । कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कर्णिका । ललाटिका ॥

1444. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karṇa' and 'lalāṭa', the word denoting an ornament.

Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting an ornament' ? Observe कर्णम् 'what is in the ear'.

१४४५ । तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुपां व्यख्यानः सौपो मन्यः । तेऽङ् । कर्तः । सुप्सु भवं सौपम् ॥

1445. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

Note :—That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यातम् as well as तच्चभवः, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus **सुपां व्याख्यानः**—सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case affixes'. So also **तैङ्गः** 'Tainga—a Commentary on Verbal affixes'. **कार्तः** 'Kārta—a Commentary on kṛit affixes', सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भव &c.

Note :—The anuvṛitti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of भव into this sūtra also.

१४४६ । बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तादृञ् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वत्स्यजः षड्योर्विधायकं शास्त्रं पत्वयात्स्वम् । तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा वात्स्यजत्विकः ॥

1446. The affix **डञ्** comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **वात्स्यजत्विकम्** 'a commentary on the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ज ॥'. The word **वत्स्यजत्वम्** is acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169).

Note :—Why do we say बहुचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम् तैङ्गम् &c. A word of two syllables will take **डञ्** (IV. 3. 72 S. 1451). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe **संहितम्** from **संहिता** ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49).

१४४७ । क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

सोमसाध्येषु यागेष्वेतौ प्रसिद्धौ तन्नाम्यतोपोदानेन सिद्धे उभयोरुपादानसामर्थ्यादसोमका अग्नीहृत्तृह्यग्ने । अग्निष्टोमस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा आग्निष्टोमिकः । वाजपेयिकः । पाकयज्ञिकः । नावयज्ञिकः । बहुवचसं स्वरूपविधिनिरासार्थम् । अनन्तोदानार्थं आरम्भः ॥

1446. The affix **डञ्** comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

These two words generally refer to a sacrifice in which the soma-juice is the chief ingredient. But as they can be accomplished without Soma also, so these words include here non-soma sacrifices also.

This debars **अण्** ॥ **Kratu** :—आग्निष्टोमिकः, 'a commentary on a work on Agnishtoma sacrifices' वाजपेयिकः, ॥ **yajña** :—पाकयज्ञिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ The word **पाक** means 'small', a minor or small sacrifice is called पाकयज्ञः । It is a Karma-dhāraya samāsa and has the final acute accent of samāsa in general. The

sacrifice with new (nava) rice is नवयज्ञः । The word यज्ञ is derived from √यज् with the affix यङ् (III. 3. 90. S. 3268). It retains its accent in the compound being a Kṛit-word. नवयज्ञिक ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The word 'vājapeya' is acute in the middle, because पेय being a Kṛidanta-word, formed by यन्, retains its accent in the compound (VI. 2. 139. S. 3873).

Note :—The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a soma sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas, because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifice only. Thus वाञ्छौदनिकः, वाञ्छौदनिकः ॥

Note :—The word stoma (स्तोम) is synonymous with stuti (स्तुति) "praise". The sacrifices in which Agni is praised is called Agnishtoma. It has acute on the final by परादिश्च परान्तश्च ॥

The word vājapeya is a compound of vāja "a kind of barley-gruel" and peya "a sacrifice in which something is drunk". It is formed by यन् affix of the 'kṛitya-lyuṭo bahulam' subdivision. The acute is on पे by VI. 1. 213. S. 3701.

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68 S. 25).

१४४८ । अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

कृषिशब्देभ्यो लक्षणया व्याख्येयमन्यवृत्तिभ्यो भवे व्याख्यानं चाध्याये ङङ् स्यात् । वसिष्ठेन हृष्टो मन्त्रो वसिष्ठस्तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा वसिष्ठिको ऽध्यायः । गद्यायेषु किम् । वसिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

1448. The affix ङङ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only.

Note :—The word कृषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word कृषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi."

Thus a Vedic hymn first seen by (revealed to) Vasishṭha is called by lakṣhaṇa or indirectly वसिष्ठ also. वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वसिष्ठिकाऽध्यायः "Vasishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha".

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वसिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

१४४९ । पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात्छन् । ४ । ३ । ७० ॥

पुरोडाशसहचरितो मन्त्रः पुरोडाशः स एव पौरोडाशः ततः छन् । पौरोडाशिकः ॥

1449. The affix छन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pau-roḍāśa' and 'puroḍ

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāśa 'a sacrificial rice cake', are called पौरोडाशः, the commentary on such puroḍāśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). A book on Puroḍāśa cake is called पुरोडाशः; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The commentary here refers to the mantras or verses relating to Puroḍāśa, and not to the sacrifice.

१४५० । छन्दसो यदणौ । ४ । ३ । ७१ ॥

छन्दस्यः । छान्दसः ॥

1450. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the word Chhāndas.

This debars ढक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः ॥

१४५१ । झजूझाहणक्प्रथमाभ्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताढक् । ४ । ३ । ७२ ॥

झञ् । ऐटिकः । पाशुकः । ऋत् । चातुर्होतृकः । ब्राह्मणिकः । आर्थिकः । इत्यादि ॥

1451. The affix ढक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brāhmaṇa', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharaṇa', 'nāma', 'ākhyāta' and 'nāmākhyāta', being the names of explainable works.

Note:—The word nāma being a dissyllabic word would have been covered by the first part of the sūtra, viz, dvyaḥ. Its separate enumeration shows that it is to be taken singly, as well as in composition with ākhyāta.

This debars झञ् and ढञ् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic:—ऐटिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in ऋ:—चातुर्होतृकः ॥ ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्थिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरश्चर्यिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

१४५२ । अणुगयनादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७३ ॥

डम् । ऐरपवादः । आर्गयनः । औपनिषद्ः । वैयाकरणः ॥

1452. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commetary thereon' after the words 'piḡa-yana' &c.

This debars डम्, ढक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, औपनिषद्ः, वैयाकरणः ॥

Note:—The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the anuvṛitti of this affix was current from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 कृगवन, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविधिनि, 6 न्याय,
7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या,
14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्यान, 18 संवत्सर, 19 ब्रह्म, 20 उपनिषद्, 21
निमित्त, 22 शिष्टा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो विजिनी, 25 व्याय ॥

१४५३ । तत आगतः । ४ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुग्रादागतः सौगः ॥

1453. An affix (IV. 1. 83. S. 1373 &c) comes after
a word being in the 5th case in construction, in the sense
of 'what has come thence'.

Thus सुग्रादागतः = सौगः 'what has come from Srughna'.

१४५४ । उगायस्थानेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७५ ॥

शुल्कशालाया आगतः शौल्कशालिकः ॥

1454. After a word denoting sources of revenue,
there is the affix उक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

Note:—The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord.
The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from
custom house'.

Note:—The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68 S. 25).

१४५५ । शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । ७६ ॥

आयस्थानउकछादीनां चापवादः । शुण्डिकादागतः शौण्डिकः । कार्कणः । तैर्यः ॥

1455. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence
come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः, तैर्यः ॥

Note:—The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV 3. 73, S. 1452,
बाधकबाधनार्थम् ॥ As औत्पानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्य, 7 भूमि, 8 वृण,
9 पर्य ॥

१४५६ । विद्यायोनिस्संबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ७७ ॥

सौपाध्यकः । पैतानहकः ॥

1456. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence
come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the
relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and
pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिस्सम्ब-

॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix **बुम्** ॥ This debars **अण्** and **ङ** ॥ Thus **उपाध्यायाश्रितः** = **अपौध्यायकः**, 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' So also **बोनिर्बन्धः** as **पैतामहकः** 'wealth derived from a grand-father.'

१४५७ । **श्रुतवृत्** । ४ । ३ । ७८ ॥

बुम्ोऽपवादः । **होत्रकम्** । **भ्रातृकम्** ॥

1457. The affix **ठञ्** comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short **श्रु**, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars **बुम्** ॥ Thus **होत्रागतम्** = **होत्रकम्** 'derived from Hotri.' So also of 'blood,' as :—**भ्रातृकम्** ॥

Note :—The **त्** in **कत्** is for the sake of facility of pronounciation, there being no such word ending in long **श्रु** ॥

Note :—When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, **सावित्रम्** ॥

१४५८ । **पितुर्यच्च** । ४ । ३ । ७९ ॥

चाडम् । **रीड्** श्रुतः । **यस्येति** लोपः । **पिड्यम्** । **पैतृकम्** ॥

1458. The affix **यत्** as well as **ठञ्** comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus **पितुरागतं** = **पितृ + यत्** = **पितृरी + य** = **पितृर् + य** = **पिड्यम्** (the **ri** is replaced by **री** by VII. 4. 27. and the long **ई** of **री** is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'paternal—i. e. wealth inherited from father.' With **ठञ्** = **पैतृकं** ॥

१४५९ । **गोत्रावङ्गवत्** । ४ । ३ । ८० ॥

विदेभ्य आगतं **वैदम्** । **गार्गम्** । **राक्षम्** । **औपगवकम्** ॥

1459. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

Note :—The word **गोत्र** in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting **अङ्ग** are taught in IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 and 127 S. 1507. The affix **बुम्** of IV. 3. 126 S. 1503 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix **अण्** of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus **वैदम्**, **गार्गम्**, **राक्षम्** formed by **अण्** of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gargyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. **औपगवानामङ्गः** = **औपगवकः** 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also **कापदवकः**, **नाडायनकः**, **चारायनकः** ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as **औपगवोभ्य** आगतम् = **औपग-**

वकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडावनकम्, चारावणकम्) formed by वृष् (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506).

Note:—The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34 S. 1237), चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् (IV. 2. 46 S. 1255).

१४६० । नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् । ७ । ३ । ३० ॥

नञः परेषां शुच्यादिपञ्चानामांवरचो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा त्रिशसौ परे । आशौचम् । अशौचम् । आनेश्वर्यम् । अनेश्वर्यम् । आक्षेत्रज्ञम् । अक्षेत्रज्ञम् । आकुशलम् । अकुशलम् । आनेपुणम् । अनेपुणम् ॥

1460. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क्, the Vridhhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अशौचम् or आशौचम्, अनेश्वर्यम् or आनेश्वर्यम्, अक्षेत्रज्ञम् or आक्षेत्रज्ञम्, अकुशलम् or आकुशलम्, अनेपुणम् or आनेपुणम् ॥

१४६१ । हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः । ४ । ३ । ८१ ॥

समादागतं समरूप्यम् । विषमरूप्यम् । गते गहादित्वाच्छः । समीयम् । विषमीयम् । देवदत्तरूप्यम् । देवदत्तीयम् । देवदत्तम् ॥

1461. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause', or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समादागतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 S. 1502, meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause'. So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men also देवदत्तरूप्यम् or देवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) 'what originates with देवदत्तः' ॥

Note:—The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (1. 1. 68 S. 25) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in 11. 3. 23 S. 568 : and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by 11. 3. 25 S. 602.

१४६२ । मयट् च । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

सममयम् । विषममयम् । देवदत्तमयम् ॥

1462. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सप्तमवचन्, विषमवचन्, देवदत्तवचन्, ॥

Note :—The द् of मवच् indicates that the feminines of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), as, सप्तमवती ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10 S. 128) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमदुच्ये-ऽन्यतरस्यां कञ्मवचनो ॥

१४६३ । प्रभवति । ४ । ३ । ८३ ॥

'ततः' इत्येव । हिमवतः प्रभवति हेमवती गङ्गा ॥

1463. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हेमवती "The Haimavati", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'.

Note :—So also दारदी "The Dārādī" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तच्च जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

१४६४ । विदूराज्यः । ४ । ३ । ८४ ॥

विदूराज्यभवति देदूर्ध्वो मयिः ॥

1464. The affix य comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidūra'.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus विदूरान् प्रभवति = देदूर्ध्वः 'a kind of gem found at Vidūra'.

Note :—The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidūra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidūra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sūtra, the appropriate sthāni (vālavāya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidūra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidūra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vālavāya by the name of Vidūra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvasi.

१४६५ । लङ्गच्छति पश्चिदुतयोः । ४ । ३ । ८५ ॥

कुङ्कुमं गच्छति लोहः पश्चाद्दूतो वा ॥

1465. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what

goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus गृह्य गच्छति = गच्छन्: "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna". The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Note :—Why do we say पयिभूतो: "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe गृह्यं गच्छति सायः 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

१४६६ । अमिनिष्कामति द्वारम् । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

तदित्येव । गृह्यममिनिष्कामति सौप्तिकान्यकुब्जद्वारम् ॥

1466. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus सौप्तिकः 'a gate which looks towards Srughna'—as a gate of Kanyakubja.

Note :—Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe गृह्यममिनिष्कामति गृह्यः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

१४६७ । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तदित्येव । शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शारीरकीयः । शारीरकं भाष्यमिति स्वभेदोपचारात् ॥

1467. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject', when the thing made is a 'book'.

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to'. Thus शारीरकं अधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः = शारीरकीयः i. e. a book relating to the śāṅkara sūtras. The form शारीरकं भाष्यम् is however more generally employed. Here no distinction is made between the sūtras and the bhāṣya. Hence the commentary is called śārīraka.

१४६८ । शिशुकन्द्यमसमग्रन्धेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥

शिशुना कन्दनं शिशुकन्दः तमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शिशुकन्दीयः । यमस्य सना यमसम्बन्धः । श्रीवत्सं निपातनात् । यमसम्बन्धः । किरातार्जुनीयम् । इन्द्रजननादिराकृतिगणः । इन्द्रजननीयम् । विद्वज्-भोजनीयम् ॥

1468. The affix च comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz. 'śisukranda', 'yamasabha' and after the Dvandva compounds, and the words "indra-jaana" &c.

The word तद् (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants'. यमसभम् 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. The compound is Neuter irregularly (nipātana).

'Dvandva-Compound : as किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are Ākritigāṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, विरुद्धभोजनायम् &c.

Note :—The words शिशुकन्द and यमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

१४६६ । सोऽस्य निवासः । ४ । ३ । ५६ ॥

बुध्नो निवासोऽस्य सौप्तः ॥

1469. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place.'

Note :—The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवासः means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

बुध्नो निवासोऽस्य = सौप्तः 'a present dweller of Srughna',

१४७० । अभिजनश्च । ४ । ३ । ६० ॥

बुध्नोऽभिजनोऽस्य सौप्तः । यत्र स्वयं वसति स निवासः । यत्र पूर्वैरुपितं सोऽभिजनः ॥ इति विवेकः ॥

1470. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus सौप्तः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'.

Note :—The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anvṛitti of 'abhijana' only runs.

१४७१ । आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते । ४ । ३ । ६१ ॥

पर्वतवासिनः प्रथमान्तावभिजनशब्दादस्येत्यर्थे छः स्यात् । इति लः पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषामायुध-जीविनां ते इतोऽमीयाः । आयुधेति किम् । ऋक्षोऽपः पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषां ते आर्षोऽवा हिजाः ॥

1471. The affix **उ** comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word **आयुधजीवी** means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase **सोऽस्योभिजनः** is to be read into the sūtra. Thus **हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषानायुधजीविना = हृद्गोलीयाः** 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hṛdgola mountain'.

Why do we say **आयुधजीविभ्यः**? Observe **भार्गोरा द्विजाः** "the Brāhmaṇas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains".

Note :—Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe, **सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥**

१४७२ । शण्डिकादिभ्यो ड्यः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

शण्डिकोऽभिजनोऽस्य शण्डिक्यः ॥

1472. The affix **ड्य** comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words **शण्डिक** &c.

This debars **अण्** &c. Thus **शण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः** &c.

1 शण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन, 3 सर्वकेश, 4 शक, 5 शट (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध ॥

१४७३ । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

सिन्ध्वादिभ्योऽण् तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽम् स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे । सैन्धवः । तक्षशिला नगरी अभिजनोऽस्य ताक्षशिलः ॥

1473. The affixes **अण्** and **अम्** come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshaśila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus **सैन्धवः** । So also **ताक्षशिलः** ॥

Note :—Many of the words occurring in the Sindhu-class, are found in the Kachchhādi class (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357) also. Those words would have taken **अण्** by sūtra IV. 2. 133 S. 1357. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of **ड्यम्** (IV. 2. 134 S. 1358) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, S. 1358 when the further significance of **अभिजनः** is added to them.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वरुण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 सात्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 वरद् (वरद), 11 गन्धिका (गन्धिका), 12 कुल्ल, 13 विरसा ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वस्तोजरण, 3 कैमेदुर (कैमेदुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 हृगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किन्नर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक ॥

१४७४ । तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्डक्करड्यकः । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

सूरी अभिजनोऽस्य लोकेवः । शालातुरीयः । धर्मतेवः । कौचधर्मः ॥

1474. After the words सूरी, शालातुर, धर्मते, and कौचधर्म, come respectively the affixes डक्, ङक्, डक्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अक् ॥ Thus लोकेवः, शालातुरीयः, धर्मतेवः and कौचधर्मः ॥

१४७५ । भक्तिः । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

लोकास्तेत्यनुवर्तते । भज्यते सेव्यते इति भक्तिः । दुष्प्रो भक्तिरस्य लोकाः ॥

1475. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping', or 'loving'.

Thus दुष्प्रो भक्तिरस्य = लोकाः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The words लः and अस्व should be read into the sūtra.

१४७६ । अचिन्ताद्देशकालादृक् । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अपूर्वा भक्तिरस्य आपूर्विकः । पायसिकः । अचिन्तादृक् । देवदत्तः । अदेवतादृक् । लोकाः । अकालादृक् । मेघः ॥

1476. After a word denoting a thing not possessing consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix डक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अक् ; and ङक् also. Thus अपूर्वाभक्तिरस्य = आपूर्विकः 'a person who loves cakes'. पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not possessing consciousness'? Observe देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe लोकाः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe मेघः 'who loves summer.'

१४७७ । महाराजादृक् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

महाराजिकः ॥

1477. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अक् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this डक् and the डक् of the last aphorism, is in the accent only.

१४७८ । वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

वासुदेवकः । अर्जुनकः ॥

1478. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and झण ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

१४७९ । गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यां बहुलं वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ६९ ॥

अजोऽवधारः । परस्वादवृष्टाच्छं बाधते । ग्लुचुकायनिभक्तिरस्य ग्लौचुकायनकः । नाकुलकः । बहुलमवधारः । पाणिनी भक्तिरस्य पाणिनीयः ॥

1479. The affix वुञ् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars झण and छ ॥ Thus : ग्लौचुकायनकः 'who loves or serves &c. Gluchukāyani'. Kshatriyas :—नाकुलक ॥

Note :—The word पाण्ड्यां in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of well-known or famous Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनी भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः ॥

Note :—The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

१४८० । जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वे जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने । ४ । ३ । १०० ॥

जनपदस्वामिवाचिनां बहुवचने जनपदवाचिनां समानभूतानां जनपदवत्सर्वे स्वात्स्वत्वात् प्रकृतिश्च । जनपदवत्त्वध्वोयेति प्रकरणं ये प्रत्यया उक्तास्तेऽत्रातिविश्वन्ते । अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । जनपदिनां किञ् । पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य पाङ्चालः । जनपदेनेति किञ् । पौरवो राजा भक्तिरस्य पौरवीयः ॥

1480. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and the affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

Note :—The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. 'plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. KshatriyaPrinces, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada

denoting word', जनपदस्य सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada' In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya princes which in the plural have the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word'. Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 S. 1348 &c. and those affixes will apply here.

Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = अङ्गकः formed by दुष् of sūtra IV. 2. 125, S. 1349 meaning 'who loves the country of Āngās' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सौम्यकः, मौन्यकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्य = अङ्गकः formed by the same affix दुष्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas Āngās'. So वाङ्गकः, सौम्यकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyā Princes'; (janapadinām). Observe, पंचालस्य ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पांचालाः ॥ Here the general affix भण् is employed.

Why do we say जनपदेन समानं शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janpada word'? Thus पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीयः ॥

१४८१ । तेन प्रोक्तम् । ४ । ३ । १०१ ॥

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1481. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकषेयोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृते has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pāṇini.'

१४८२ । तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोऽखारुह्या । ४ । ३ । १०२ ॥

छन्दोब्राह्मणानीति तद्विषयता । तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तमधीयते तैत्तिरीयाः ॥

1482. The affix ऊण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khanḍika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 66. S. 1278). the Veda enounced by Tittiri'.

Note :—According to Kāśika this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to classical ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV, 3, 106. S. 1486 and तद्विषयता from IV. 2. 66. S. 1278.

१४८३ । काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामुचिभ्यां णिनिः । ४ । ३ । १०३ ॥

कारवयेन प्रोक्तमधीयते काश्यपिनः ॥

1483. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâśyapa' and 'Kauśika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ ॥ The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa'

Note :—Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe हृदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्तं=काश्यपयिम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa; not a Rishi'.

१४८४ । कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कलाप्यन्तेवासिभ्यः, हरिद्रुणा प्रोक्तमधीयते हारिद्रविणः । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यः, आलम्बिनः ॥

1484. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî' and 'Vaiśampāyana', the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

Note :—This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpa: as हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरुः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaiśampāyana: as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कच्चाभ, आरुथि; ताण्ड्य, दयामायन, हठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हारिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the works enounced by Haridru.' So also आलम्बिनः ॥

Note :—The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः hence चरकः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

१४८५ । पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । ४ । ३ । १०५ ॥

हृदीयान्तात्प्रोक्तार्थे णिनिः स्यात् । यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्वेदब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति । पुराणेन चिरन्तनेन धुनिना प्रोक्ताः । आल्लु, आल्लविनः । शाव्यायनः, शाव्यायनिनः । कल्पे, विङ्गेन प्रोक्तः । द्वि कल्पः । पुराणेषु किम् । याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्वमयः कल्पः । अथि । आपत्यस्येति यत्प्रोक्तः ॥

1485. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brâhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages', equivalent to पुरातन of the Brāhmaṇa literature, the example is शाब्बा-
निनः, so also from भल्लु—भाल्लविनः ॥ Kalpa work : as पैत्रीकल्पः ॥

Why do we say पुराणोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe
वाङ्मयवक्त्रानि ब्राह्मणानि, वाङ्मयः कल्पः ॥ The य of these words is elided by VI. 4.
151.S. 1082. Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The सङ् विषय
affix IV. 2. 66. S. 1278, will not also apply to these, because the word
ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66. S. 1278. is restricted to पुराणोक्त of the present sūtra.

१४८६ । शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

उन्त्यमिधेय एभ्यो णिनिः । शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शौनकिनः ॥

1486. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced
by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting chhandas.

This debars छ and षण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study
(IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the chhandas enounced by Śaunaka'. वाङ्मयनेयिनः &c.

Note :—Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas' ? Observe शौनकीया शिञ्चा
'the orthography of Śaunaka'.

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a
compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided
(IV. 3. 107 S. 1487). Thus कठशाठाभ्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाङ्मयनेय, 3 शाङ्करव, 4 शापेय (सापेय), 5 शापेय (शाखेय),
6 शाङ्गायन, 7 स्तम्भ- (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ड, 12
कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कषाय), 14 तल*, 15 दण्ड*, 16 पुरुषासक (पुरुषासक), 17
अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्करव, 19 स्कन्ध, 20 देवदर्शन, 21 तलवकार ॥

१४८७ । कठचरकाल्लुक् । ४ । ३ । १०७ ॥

आभ्यां प्रोक्तमलयस्य लुक् स्यात् । कठेन प्रोक्तमधीयते कठाः । चरकाः ॥

1487. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is
elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Kāṭha and Charaka

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word :
and चरक would have taken the affix षण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठाः 'who
study the Chhandas enounced by Kāṭha'. चरकाः &c.

Note :—The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sūtra. Observe काठा चरका श्लोकाः

१४८८ । कलापिनोऽण् । ४ । ३ । १०८ ॥

कलापिना प्रोक्तमधीयते कलापाः ॥ नास्तस्य दिलोपे सङ्गम्यापिरीडसार्पिकलापिकौशुमितैति-
जाजलिलाङ्गलिलालिशिखण्डिसूकरसमसुपर्वणाशुपसंखयानाङ्गिलापः ॥

1488. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enoun-
ced by him', after the word Kalâpi.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. S. 1484. Thus कलापाः ' who study the work enounced by Kalāpi'.

Note:—The word कलापः is thus formed:—कलापिन् + षण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679. which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI. 4. 164 S. 1245 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when षण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for the following Vārtika.

Vārti:—The णि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows:—सब्रह्मचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुयुमिन्, तैत्तिलिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सूकरसघन्, सुपर्वण ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following : 1. सब्रह्मचारिन्—सब्रह्मचाराः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500), 2. पीठसर्पिन्—पीठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59 S. 1488 and 1269), 4. कुयुमिन्—कौयुमाः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), 5. तैत्तिलिन्—तैत्तिलाः (IV. 3. 116 S. 1496), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः 10. सूकरसघन्—सौकर सघाः, 11. सुपर्वण्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in षण् contradict VI. 4. 167.

१४८९ । छगालिनो दिनुक् । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

छगालिनो प्रोक्तमधीयते छागलेयिनः ॥

4489. The affix दिनुक् comes in the sense of ' enounced by him ', after the word ' Chhagalin '.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104 S. 1484). This debars that. Thus छागलेयिन् ' who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali '.

१४९० । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । ४ । ३ । ११० ॥

पाराशर्येण प्रोक्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते पाराशरियो भिक्षवः । शैलालिनो नटाः ॥

1490. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of ' enounced by him ', after the words Pârâsarya and Śilalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sūtra and Nāṭa-Sūtra respectively.

Note:—The affix णिनि is to be read into the sūtra and not दिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक ' religious mendicants ' and नटः ' jugglers, dancers '.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152 S. 2119) = पाराशरिन्, the treatise of Pārāśarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलीलिन् ॥

Note :—These words of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pārāśarya and Sailalin'. See IV. 2. 66 S. 1278. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नटाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Naṭa Sūtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

१४६१ । कर्मन्दकुशाश्वदिनिः । ४ । ३ । १११ ॥

भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्देन प्रोक्तमधीयते कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः । कुशाश्विनो नटाः ॥

1491. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sūtra and Naṭa-Sūtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśāśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sūtra of Karmandin'. कुशाश्विनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Naṭa sūtra of Kriśāśvin'. Otherwise कर्मन्दकम् and कार्शाश्वम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

१४६२ । तेनैकदिक् । ४ । ३ । ११२ ॥

सुशान्ना भवति एकादिक् सौशमनी ॥

1492. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'.

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus सुशान्ना एकदिक् = सौशमनी दिक्षु " a lightening, literally, that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudāman "

Note :—The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101, S. 1481 is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the छन्दस् which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 S. 1278 which was applied to those sūtras does not apply here.

१४६३ । तसिञ्च । ४ । ३ । ११३ ॥

स्वरादिपाठादध्ययवद्म् । पीलुसूत्रेन एकदिक् पीलुसूत्रतः ॥

1493. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् &c च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables as it is an affix mentioned in the svarādi class. (I. 1. 37 S. 447). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुसूत्रतः, सुशान्तः ॥

१४९४ । उरसो यच्च । ४ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आत्तासिः । भणोऽपवादः । उरसा एक दिक् उरस्यः । उरस्तः ॥

1494. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ॥

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

१४९५ । उपज्ञाते । ४ । ३ । ११५ ॥

तेनेत्येव । पाणिनिना उपज्ञातं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1495. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनीनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् व्याकरणम् 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'.

१४९६ । कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ११६ ॥

वररुचिना कृतो वाररुचो ग्रन्थः ॥

1496. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः = वाररुचाः । श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'.

Note :—Why do we say 'a book' ? Observe तत्तकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Takshas'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

१४९७ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । ३ । ११७ ॥

तेनेत्येव । भ्रमन्यार्थनिर्देशः । मक्षिकाभिः कृतं माक्षिकं मधु ॥

1497. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + भण्य = माक्षिक (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). The anuvṛtti of " ग्रन्थः " does not, of course, apply here.

१४९८ । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११८ ॥

तेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । कुलालेन कृतं कौलालकम् । वारुडकम् ॥

1498. The affix वुञ् comes the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla & ; whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वारुडकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिन्ध (सिन्ध), 8 सैन्धि (सेन्धिय), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्यद्), 11 वधू, 12 मधु, 13 इह, 14 इह, 15 धनदुह, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव ॥

१४९९ । क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् । ४ । ३ । ११९ ॥

तेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । क्षुद्राभिः कृतं चौद्रम् । भ्रामरम् । वाटरम् । पादपम् ॥

1499. The affix वुञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vaṭara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अञ् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = चौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रामरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

१५०० । तस्येदम् । ४ । ३ । १२० ॥

उपगोरिवमौपगवम् ॥ वहेस्तुरीणद् च * ॥ संवोदुः स्वं सांवहित्रम् ॥ अग्नीधः क्षरणे रणं भं च * ॥ अग्निनिधे अग्नीन् तस्य स्थानमाग्नीध्रम् । तात्पर्यास्तोऽप्याग्नीध्रः ॥ समिधामाधाने वेपथ्यं * ॥ सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः । सामिधेनी ऋक् ॥

1500. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV. 1. 83) and the affixes च &c. (IV 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरिवम् = औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'.

Note:—The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vart:—The verb वह takes त् (तृण् and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इद् As, संवोदुः स्वं सांवहित्रम् ॥

Vart—The affix रम् comes after अग्निन्, (= अग्निनिधे 'who kindles the sacred fire' formed by Kvip) in the sense of 'sanctuary', and the base gets the designation of न् ॥ Agnî is the name of a Ritvik priest. As आग्नीध्रम् "The place where the sacred fire is kept" as well the officiating priest of Agni. The word अग्नीध्र being treated as a Bha and not as a pada, the च is not changed to द् (VIII 2. 39)

Vart :— The affix 'shenyaṇ' comes after सनिधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सानिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सानिधेनी (IV. I. 41) ऋक् ॥

१५०१ । रथाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । १२१ ॥

रथं चक्रम् ॥

1501. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येदं रथम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle', .

Note :—The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot.' This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमारथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vārtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

१५०२ । पत्रपूर्वादञ् । ४ । ३ । १२२ ॥

पत्रं वाहनम् । अश्वरथस्येवमाश्वरथम् ॥

1502. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart,

Note :—The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix घृन् (III. 2. 182).

१५०३ । पत्राध्वयुं परिषदश्च । ४ । ३ । १२३ ।

अञ् ॥ पत्राद्वाहो * ॥ अश्वस्येदं वहनीयमाश्वम् । आध्वयं वम् । परिषदम् ॥

1503. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added.

This debars अण् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहन ॥

Vart :—When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added, to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अश्वस्येदं वहनीयम्—आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by a horse.' So also आध्वयं वम् and परिषदम् ॥

१५०४ । हलसीराट्ठक् । ४ । ३ । १२४ ॥

हालिकम् । सैरिकम् ॥

1504. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sīra.'

Thus हलस्येदम् = हालिकम्, सेरिकम् ॥

१५०५ । छन्द्वाद्बुन्वेरमैथुनिकयोः । ४ । ३ । १२५ ॥

काकोल्लिका । कुत्सकुशिका ॥ धेरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः * ॥ देवासुरम् ॥

1505. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'Enmity' काकोल्लिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, कुत्सकुशिका ॥

Note :—The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. S. 918. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वेरम् ॥

१५०६ । गोत्रचरणाद्बुञ् । ४ । ३ । १२६ ॥

औपगवकम् । अरणाद्धर्माज्ञायथोरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ काठकम् ॥

1506. The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars अण् as well as छ ॥ Thus gotra :—औपगवकम् ॥

Vart :—The word अरण which ordinarily means Vedic School, means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (Āmnāya). Thus कठानां धर्म आज्ञायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sūtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāṭhas'.

१५०७ । सङ्गाङ्गलक्षणेष्वन्यभिजामण् । ४ । ३ । १२७ ॥

औपगवहणमपि कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अम्, देवः सङ्गाङ्गो योषो वा । देवः लक्षणम् । यम्, गार्गः । गार्गम् । इम्, शाकः । शाकम् । परंपरासंबन्धोऽङ्गः साक्षात् लक्षणम् ॥

1507. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

Note :—The word सङ्घ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्ग should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a distinguishing feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another: as a mark on a cow showing

to what person or clan that cow belongs. The **सङ्ग** though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the **लक्षण** is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars **बुम्** of the last aphorism.

Vart :—The word **घोष** 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with the **संघ** &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark, (3) sign, and (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply.

Thus **अमन्तात्** (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106)—**वैदः** (Masculine), 'a congregation but **वैद्य** (Neuter) meaning, a sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. **अमन्तात्**—(IV. 1. 105 S. 1107)—**गार्ग्य + अण् = गार्गः** (VI. 4. 148, 151 S. 311, 1082) "a congregation, or a mark of the Gārgyas" **इमन्तात्** (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095), —**दाक्षि + अण् = दाक्षः** (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'. **दाक्षन्**, 'a mark of the Dākshis'.

Note :—The **ण्** of **अण्** could not serve the purpose of Vṛddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛddhi by virtue of the affixes **अम्** or **इम्** in which they end. The **अ** would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vṛddhi is concerned, but **अण्** is used to show that the feminine is formed by **ङीप्** (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), Thus **वैदी** ॥ It further prevents पुंवङ्गाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39 S. 849), as **वैदी विद्यास्य = वैदीविद्यः** i. e. विद्यानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति सः ॥

१५०८ । शाकलाद्वा । ४ । ३ । १२८ ॥

अण् प्रोक्तस्ये । पक्षे चरणत्वादबुम् । शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शाकलास्तेषां सङ्गोऽङ्गो घोषो वा शाकलः । शाकलकः । लक्षणे स्त्रीवत्ता ॥

1508. The affix **अण्** optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word **शाकल** ॥

This debars **बुम्** ॥ Thus **शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शाकलाः** (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 and IV. 2. 64 S. 1274), **शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः** or **शाकलकः** (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.' When denoting **लक्षण** it will be of the neuter gender.

१५०९ । छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ज्यः । ४ । ३ । १२९ ॥

छन्दोगानां धर्मं ब्राह्मणो वा छान्दोग्यम् । औक्थिक्यम् । याज्ञिक्यम् । बह्वृच्यम् । नाञ्ज्यम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्मज्ञायोरित्युक्तं तत्साहचर्यान्निदृशश्चापि तथेति ॥

1509. The affix **ज्य** comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhandoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvṛicha' and 'naṭa.'

Thus 'छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽ त्रायो छान्दोग्यम्' the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also भौतियवियम्, बाहियवियम्, आह्वयम्, and नाव्यम् ॥

१५१० । न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु । ४ । ३ । १३० ॥

1510. The affix बुद् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a ' beginner pupil ', and ' a boarder pupil.'

१५११ । रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः । ४ । ३ । १३१ ॥

1511. The affix **इ** comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words **रैवतिक** &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिशि, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरधीवि (गौरधीव), 5 औश्मेधि (औश्मेधि)
6 औश्वाधि (औश्वाहि), 7 वैजवाधि ॥

१५१२ । कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादया । ४ । ३ । १३२ ॥

1512. The affix **अय** comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hâstipada'.

This debars वुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपद् ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. The word कौपिञ्जल means the descendant of कुपिञ्जल ॥ It is formed by अच् by the nipātana of this sūtra. To this is again added अण् in order to exclude the वुम् affix. Similarly the son of हास्तिपाद् is called हास्तिपद् ॥ It is formed by अण् and पाद् changed to पद् by nipātana. To हास्तिपद् is added the affix of this sūtra.

१५१३। आयर्वणिकस्येकस्त्रेपञ्च । ४ । ३ । १३३ ॥

अण् स्यात् । आयर्वणिकस्यावनायर्वणः धर्म आत्मायो वा । चरणद्बुद्धोऽपवादः ॥

1513. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of "this is his", after the word 'ātharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars बुद्ध् (IV. 3 126. S. 1506). आयर्वणिकस्यावन्=आयर्वणो धर्मः आत्मायोवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्मात्मायोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

अथ प्रागदिव्यतीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIX.

PRĀGDĪVYĀTĪYA.

१५१४ । तस्य विकारः । ४ । ३ । १३४ ॥

अशमनो विकारे दिलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ अशमनो विकार आशमनः । आत्मनः । मार्तिकः ॥

1514. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of ' a modification thereof.'

Note :—The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its anuvṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of कोषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under कोषे (IV. 2, 92 S. 1312 &c). such as घ, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra : the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter.

Vart :—अशमन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning ' prepared there with ' : as, आशमनः, otherewise आशमनः ॥ So also आत्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

१५१५ । अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १३५ ॥

आधिकारे । मयूरस्यावयवो विकारो वा मायूरः । मौर्वे काण्डं भस्म वा । पेपलम् ॥

1515. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of ' this is its part ', (as well as ' this is its modification ').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य अवकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus मयूरस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = मायूरः (IV. 3. 154) ' a modification, product or part of a peacock—viz a fan ' &c. So also of ' herbs ' ; as मौर्वे ' product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva '. So also of ' trees ', as, पेपलम् meaning " the stalk or the ashes of Pīpala tree."

Note :—In the subsequent sūtra, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

१५१६ । बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् । ४ । ३ । १३६ ॥

बैल्वम् ॥

1516. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part', after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अम् and मद् ॥ Thus बैल्वम् 'the modification or part of Bilwa'.

Note :—The word गवेधुकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'अण्' by the next sūtra also ; its inclusion in the class of Bilwadi is for the sake of preventing the application of मद् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 ब्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 घुम्, 5 मक्षर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पाटली, 12 कर्कन्धू, 13 कुटीर ॥

१५१७ । कोपधाञ् । ४ । ३ । १३७ ॥

अण् अत्रोऽपवादः । तर्कु, तार्कवम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1517. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus from तर्कु we get तार्कवम्, from तैत्तिडीक, we get तैत्तिडीकम् ; ॥ The words तैत्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phiṭ Su. II. 16).

१५१८ । त्रपुजतुनोः षुक् । ४ । ३ । १३८ ॥

आभ्यामण् स्थादिकारे एतयोः शुगागमम् । चापुषम् । जातुषम् ॥

1518. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense 'its modification', after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139 S. 1519). As, त्रपुणो विकारः = चापुषम् ; so also जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac."

Note :—In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अयवम् is not denoted by the affix.

१५१९ । ओरञ् । ४ । ३ । १३९ ॥

देवशारवम् । भाद्रशारवम् ॥

1519. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part', (provided that, the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus देवशारवम्, भाद्रशारवम् ॥

Note :—The words देवदारु and मङ्गदारु are ādy-udātta owing to Phiṭ Su. II. 14 (पीतह्वर्यानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

१५२० । अनुदात्तादेशः । ४ । ३ । १४० ॥

वाधित्यम् । कापित्यम् ॥

1520. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of ' modification or part ', after a word having anudātta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus वाधित्यम्, कापित्यम् ॥

Note :—The word वाधित्यम् is an upapada-samāsa of वाधि + त्य + क्, the क् being changed to त् as it belongs to Prishodaradi class; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वरः ॥

१५२१ । पलाशादिभ्यो वा । ४ । ३ । १४१ ॥

पालाशम् । कारीरम् ॥

1521. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of ' modification or part ', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशम् or पालाशम् so also खारिरम् or खादिरम्; कौरीरम् or कारीरम् ॥

Notes :—This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, खारि, शिंषपा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 खारि, 3 शिंषपा 4 स्यन्दन (स्यन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर, 7 शिरीष, 8 बवास, 9 विकङ्कत ॥

१५२२ । शम्याः (ढ्) लञ् । ४ । ३ । १४२ ॥

शामीलं भस्म । चित्वाञ्छीष्टं शामीली जुक् ॥

1522. The affix ञ् (ढ्) लञ् comes in the sense of ' its modification or part ', after the word शमी ॥

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शामीलं भस्म । शामीली जुक् (IV. 1. 60 S. 515) The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicative ञ् ॥ According to Mādhava the anubandha is ढ् and so the feminine is formed in ङीष् ॥

१५२३ । मयङ्मैतयोर्माषायामभक्ष्याच्छदनयोः । ४ । ३ । १४३ ॥

प्रकृतिमाचान्मयङ्मा स्याद्विकारावयवयोः अयममयम् आशमनम् । अभक्ष्येत्यादि किम् । नोऽत्रः सूपः । कापसिमाच्छादनम् ॥

1523. The affix मयङ् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of "product" and "part", in

the classical language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अश्मनयम् or आश्मनम् ' (IV. 3. 134).

Note :—Why do we say भाषायाद् 'in the classical language, P Witness देह्यः खासिरो वा द्रुपः स्नात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, P Observe भोजः दूयः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् 'cotton dress'.

Note :—Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra P Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कापोतम् (IV, 3. 135 S. 1515) लोहमयम् or लौहम् ॥

१५२४ । नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १४४ ॥

आम्रमयम् । शरमयम् ॥ एकाचो नित्यम् * ॥ स्वङ्मयम् । वाङ्मयम् । कथं तर्हि आप्यमन्-यानिति । तस्येवानित्यणन्तास्त्वार्ये व्यञ्ज ॥

1524. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its "product" or "part", when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आम्रमयम् ॥ After शरादि words :—शरमयम् ॥

Vart :—The affix मयद्, comes invariably after words of one syllable. Thus स्वङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥ How do you explain the form आप्यम् "modification of water", as given by Amarakosha (I. 10 5) ? It is formed by व्यञ्ज added to आपस् after the latter had taken अण् of तस्येदम् ॥ आप + अण् = आप ; आप + य = आप्यम् ॥ व्यञ्ज does not change the meaning.

1 शर, 2 रश्मि, 3 वृद्ध, 4 कुटी, 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्लज (वल्बज) ॥

१५२५ । गोश्च पुरीषे । ४ । ३ । १४५ ॥

गोः पुरीषं गोमयम् ॥

1525. The affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung'.

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'.

Note :—'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung' ? Observe गच्छं = milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160 S. 1538), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

१५२६ । पिष्टाच्च । ४ । ३ । १४६ ॥

मयद् स्वादिकारे । पिष्टमर्थं भस्म । कथं पेटी क्षुरेति । सामान्यविवक्षायां तस्येवमित्यण् ॥

1526. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमर्थं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पेटी क्षुरा in the sense of तस्येदम् ॥ (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) in a general signification.

१५२७ । संज्ञायां कन् । ४ । ३ । १४७ ॥

पिष्टादित्येव । पिष्टस्य विकारविशेषः पिष्टकः । पूषोऽपूषः पिष्टकः स्यात् ॥

1527. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥ 'cake', (Amarakosha II. 9. 48).

१५२८ । ब्रीहेः पुरोडाशे । ४ । ३ । १४८ ॥

मयद् स्यात् । बिल्वाद्यणोऽपवादः । ब्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः । त्रैहमन्यत् ।

1528. The affix मयद् comes after the word ब्रीहि in the sense of a 'Puroḍāśa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136 S. 1516). Thus ब्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley' Otherwise त्रैहम् ॥

१५२९ । असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । १४९ ॥

तिलमयम् । यवमयम् । संज्ञायां तु तैलम् । यावकः ॥

1529. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम् । यवमयम् ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name"? Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन् (यावादिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29).

१५३० । तालादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १५० ॥

अण्मयदोऽपवादः ॥ तालाद्वृत्तिः * ॥ तालं धनुः । अन्यन्तालमयम् । ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1530. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1 तालाद्वृत्तिः 2 बार्हिण, 3 ऐन्द्राविष, 4 ऐन्द्रावृष, 5 ऐन्द्रायुध, 6 अय (चाप, चर्म), 7 इयामक, 8 वीथुक्ता ॥

Vārt :—The affix अण् comes after ताल, when a "bow" is meant.

Thus तालं "a bow made of tāla tree". Otherwise तालमयम् ।

Note :—The words ताल and इयामक being Vṛiddha words would have taken

मयद् (IV. 3. 144 S. 1524) बर्हिणाच् विकारः—बार्हन् (by अञ् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532) then we ought to have added to बार्हन् the affix अञ् by IV. 3. 155 S. 1533. in the sense of 'product or part.' The present sūtra prevents that. The words इन्द्राविश and इन्द्रावृष are formed by adding क् to the roots विश and वृष preceded by the Upapada इन्द्र under Mula vibhujādi class. The lengthening of the अ of Indra is by अन्वेषामणि (VI. 3. 157.). The word चण and पीयूषा are acute on the middle. इन्द्रायुध is final acute by samāsa accent.

१५३१ । जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे । ४ । ३ । १५३ ॥

अण् । बहुवचनात्पर्यायग्रहणम् । हाटकः तापनीयः सौवर्णो वा निष्कः । परिमाणे किम् । हाटकमयी यष्टिः ॥

1531. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is "a weight or measure".

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटकः तापनीयस् सौवर्णो वा निष्कः ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe हाटकमयी यष्टिः ॥

१५३२ । प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । ३ । १५४ ॥

शौकम् । वाकम् । राजतम् ॥

1532. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

Note:—This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus :—शौकम्, वाकम्, राजतम्, &c.

Note:—In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c. which have anudatta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, S. 1520. have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयद् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सीत, 3 लोह, 4 उदुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शर, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 विभीतक, 9 पीतशर (कीत, शर), 10 तीव्रशर, 11 चिकण्डक, 12 कण्टकार ॥

१५३३ । जितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् । ४ । ३ । १५५ ॥

जिघो विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्ताइञ् स्यात्तथेरेवार्थयोः । मयटोऽपवादः । शामीलस्य शामीलम् । शथित्यस्य शथित्यम् । कापित्यम् । जितः किम् । बेल्वमयम् ॥

1533. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicative अ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory *अ* denoting product or part, are *अञ्* (IV. 3. 139), *इञ्* (IV. 3. 142), *अञ्* (IV. 3. 154), *इञ्* (IV. 3. 157), *उञ्* (IV. 3. 159), *अञ्*, *अञ्* (IV. 3. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix *अञ्* is used. This debars *नञ्* ॥ Thus *शाभीलञ्*, *वाधित्यञ्*, *कापित्वञ्* &c.

Why do we say *अञ्*? Observe *वैष्णवञ्* ॥ Here *नञ्* is used after *वैष्ण* and the derivative is formed by *अञ्* of IV. 3. 136. S. 1516. So also *वैष्णवञ्* ॥

१५३४ । क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

प्राग्वतेष्टमित्यारब्ध क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्यया येनोपाधिना परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते तथैव विकारोऽपि ति-
श्यन्ते । अणादीनामपवादः । निष्क्रेष्य क्रीतं वैष्णिकञ् । एवं निष्क्रेष्य विकारोऽपि वैष्णिकः । घातस्य
विकारः शत्यः । घातिकः ॥

1534. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part', is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c S. 1548 &c are the affixes that have the force of *क्रीत* (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 49). The same affixes are employed to denote *विकार*, after words denoting *परिमाण* ॥ This debars *अञ्* &c. Thus *निष्क्रेष्य क्रीतञ्* = *वैष्णिकञ्* (V. 1. 20). It will denote *vikāra* also, *निष्क्रेष्य विकारः* = *वैष्णिकः* formed by *ठक्* (V. 1. 20). As *घातेनक्रीतं* = *शत्यं*, or *घातिकञ्* (V. 1. 21), so *घातस्य विकारः* = *शत्यः* or *घातिकः* by *ठक्* and *यत्* (V. 1. 21).

Note :—The word *यत्* in *क्रीतयत्* indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sūtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As *द्विसहस्रः* or *द्विसाहस्रः* (V. 1. 29), *द्विनिष्कः* or *द्विनिष्किकः* ॥ The word *परिमाण* in this sūtra includes *संख्या* 'the numerals' also; while the technical word *परिमाण* does not include *sankhyā*. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of the affix (V. 1. 28) as, *द्विसहस्रः*, *द्विसाहस्रः* &c.

१५३५ । उष्ट्रादुष्टञ् । ४ । ३ । १५७ ॥

प्राग्व्यमोऽपवादः । औष्ट्रकः

535. The affix *उष्ट्रञ्* comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra'.

This debars *अञ्* (IV. 2. 154). *उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽप्यवबो वा* = *औष्ट्रकः* ॥

१५३६ । उमोर्णयोर्वा । ४ । ३ । १५८ ॥

औमञ् । औमकञ् । और्णञ् । और्णकञ् । इममावे वयाकृतमणमो ।

1536. The affix *उष्ट्रञ्* comes optionally in the sense

of 'its product or part', after the words उमा and ऊर्णौ ॥

Thus औमन् or औमकन्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

Note :—Umā has acute on the first syllable by वृथाधानानां च (Phit II. 4). Uṛṇā is finally acute, as a Prātipadika.

१५३७ । एण्या ढञ् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

ऐण्यन् । एण्यत्वं तु ऐण्यन् ॥

1537. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the feminine word एणी ॥

This debars ञञ् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532.

Thus ऐण्यं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एण्यत्वं मांसम् = ऐण्यम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by ञञ् ॥

१५३८ । ग्नेपयसोर्यम् । ४ । ३ । १५७ ॥

गव्यम् । पयस्यम् ॥

1538. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम्, पयस्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५३९ । द्रोक्ष् । ४ । ३ । १५८ ॥

द्रुवृक्षस्तस्य विकारोऽव्ययवो वाः द्रव्यम् ॥

1539. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'dru.' (meaning "a tree".)

This debars ञञ् (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५४० । माने वयः । ४ । ३ । १५९ ॥

द्रोरित्येव । द्रुवयम् । यौतवं द्रुवयं पाठ्यमिति मानार्थकं वयम् ॥

1540. The affix वय comes in the sense of 'its product', after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars यत् ॥ As द्रुवयम्, 'a measure.' The words द्रुवयम्, यौतवं and पाठ्यम् are three words denoting measure. (Amarakosha II. 9. 85).

१५४१ । फले लुक् । ४ । ३ । १६० ॥

विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् फले । आमलक्याः फलमामलकम् ।

1541. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by लुक्, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + मयद् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrabolans

Note :—The fruit is a “product” as well as “part” of a fruit-bearing tree.

१५४२ । प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६४ ॥

विधानसामर्थ्यात् लुक् । प्लाक्षम् ॥

1542. The affix अण् comes in the sense of ‘its product or part, it being a fruit,’ after the word ‘plaksha &c.’

This debars झञ् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम् ॥ So also नैद्यमोधम् by the following Sūtra.

1 प्लाक्ष, 2 न्यमोध, 3 अन्धत्प, 4 इह्युसी, 5 शिष्ट, 6 रुह, 7 कचतु (कर्कन्तु, कर्कन्तु कचतु) 8 बृहती ॥

१५४३ । न्यमोधस्य च केवलस्य । ७ । ३ । ५ ॥

अस्य न वृद्धिरैजागमश्च । नैद्यमोधम् ॥

1543. ये is placed before the य् of न्यमोध, instead of Vṛiddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory अ, ण् or क् ॥

As नैद्यमोधम् (= न्यमोधस्य विकारः) ॥

Note :—Why do we say ‘when it is alone’ ? Observe न्यमोधमूले भवाः शालयः = न्यमोधमूलाः ॥ If न्यमोध is a derivative word (from न्यमोहयति = नीचैर्गतौ परोहैर्वधते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies to this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

१५४४ । जम्बवा वा । ४ । ३ । १६५ ॥

जम्बुशङ्खशल्फलोऽण् वा स्यात् । जाम्बवम् । पक्षे ओरञ् तस्य लुक् । जम्बु ॥

1544. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word ‘jambū’.

This debars झञ् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix झञ् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163, S. 1541. As जम्बु + झञ् = (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बुनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8).

१५४५ । लुप् च । ४ । ३ । १६६ ॥

जम्बुवाः फलमलयस्य लुप् वा स्यात् । लुपि युक्तवत् । जम्बुवाः फले जम्बुः ॥ फलपाकशुषा-
शुषसंख्यानम् * त्रीहयः । दुग्धाः । पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् * ॥ मल्लिकायाः पुष्पं मल्लिका । आल्याः पुष्पं आली ।
विशर्वा मूलं विशरी । बहुलमह्वाग्नेह । पादलानि पुष्पाणि । सात्वानि मूलानि । बाहुलकास्काचित्सुक् ।
भोशाकम् । करवीरम् ॥

1545. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by lup after the word 'jambu'.

The word बा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. S. 1294. Thus जम्बू + अम्बुलुप् = जम्बूः, as, जम्बू फलं ॥ Optionally जम्बूवाः फलं = जम्बू फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vārt:—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens: Thus ब्रीहिः—ब्रीहयः, पुष्पाः ॥

Vārt—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots: as, मल्लिकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवनल्लिका जातिः; so also विशर्वा मूलं = विदारी ॥ अशुभती । वृहती ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, मल्लानि मूलानि ॥ So अशाकम्, करवीरम्, &c.

१५४६ । हरितक्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १६७ ॥

एभ्यः फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप्यात् । हरितक्यादीनां निम्नमेव प्रकृतिवत् । हरितक्याः फलानि हरितक्यः ॥

1546. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप्, after the words 'Haritakī' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2, 51 S. 1294), As हरितक्याः फलं = हरितकी instead of हरितक ॥ So also कोशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरितकी फलं, हरितक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरितकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी). 4 शष्कण्डी (शाकण्डी), 5 दाडी, 6 रोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 ब्राह्मा, 10 काला, 11 धाक्षा (धाडक्षा), 12 गभीका (गर्गरिका), 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 रंजी ॥

१५४७ । कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यजञौ लुक् च । ४ । ३ । १६८ ॥

कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यजञौ स्तश्छयतोश्च लुक् । कंसाय हितं कंसीयम्, तस्य विकारः कांस्यम् । परशवे हितं परशव्यम् । तस्य विकारः पारशवः ॥

1547. The affixes यञ् and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansīya' and paraśavya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. I. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. I. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes

बम् and बम् are added. Thus केशीव + बम् = केश + बम् = केशव so also पारशव from परशव ; thus परशव + बम् = परशु + बम् = पारशवः ॥

Here ends the chapter on Prāgdīvyatīya affixes.

अथ तद्धित ढगधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXX.

THE AFFIX ठक् ॥

१५४८ । प्राग्वहतेष्टक् । ४ । ४ । १ ॥

तद्वहतीत्यतः प्राक् ढगाधिक्रियते ॥ तदाहंति मासब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ मासब्दः कारि इति च भाह स मासब्दिकः ॥

1548. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76. S. 1627.

Note:—This is an adhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c

Vart:—After the words मासब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus मासब्द इत्याह = मासब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्यसाब्दिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Note:—Thus in the next sūtra it is said ; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = भाषिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer". अक्ष + ठक् = भाषिकः (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170)

१५४९ । स्वागतादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ७ ॥

ऐच् न स्यात् । स्वागतमित्याह स्वागतिकः । स्वाध्वरिकः । स्वप्नस्वापत्यं स्वाङ्गिः । व्यङ्गस्वापत्यं व्याङ्गिः । व्यङ्गस्वापत्यं व्याङ्गिः ॥ व्यवहारेण चरति व्यावहारिकः । स्वपतो साधु स्वापतेयम् ॥ भाङ्गो प्रभूतादिभ्यः * ॥ प्रभूतमाह प्रभूतिकः । पार्थसिकः ॥ पृच्छतो सुजातादिभ्यः * ॥ सुजातं पृच्छति सौज्जातिकः । सौख्यशायनिकः । अनुशक्तिकादिः ॥ गच्छतो परशारादिभ्यः * ॥ पारदारिकः । गौरुतल्पिकः ॥

1549. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3. S. 1098, do not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (= स्वागतमिति भाह), स्वाध्वरिकः, (= स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyāḍa). व्यावहारिकः (Vyavahāreṇa charati) and स्वापतेयः (= स्वपतो साधुः) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 2. S. 1144. स्वपत being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4. S. 1386. as it is included in the Dvārādi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्वध्वर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यङ्ग, 6 व्यङ्गहार, 7 स्वपति ॥

Vart:—So also after प्रभृत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभृतनाह = प्रा-भृतिकः, पार्थसिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an abverb.

Vart:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सौस्नार्तिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". सौस्नार्तिकः, सौस्नार्थानिकः ॥

Vart:—So also after परदारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परदाराम् गच्छति = पारदारिकः, गौहस्तम्भिकः ॥ The word तत्प here refers to "wife".

१५५० । तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् । ४ । ४ । २ ॥

अक्षैर्दीव्यति आक्षिकः । अभ्या खनति आभिकः । अक्षैर्जयति आक्षिकः । अक्षैर्जितमाक्षिकम् ॥

1550. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer', अभ्या खनति आभिकः, कौशलिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आक्षिकः, अक्षैर्जितम् = आक्षिकम् ॥

१५५१ । संस्कृतम् । ४ । ४ । ३ ॥

दध्ना संस्कृतं दाधिकम् । मारीचिकम् ॥

1551. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. मारीचिकम् ॥

Note:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs.

१५५२ । कुलत्थकोपभादण् । ४ । ४ । ४ ॥

ठकोऽपवादः । कुलत्थैः संस्कृतं कौलत्थम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1552. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

१५५३ । तरति । ४ । ४ । ५ ॥

उडुपेन तरति औडुपिकः ॥

1553. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third

case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses thereby over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लेवनतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, औडुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

१५५४। गोपुच्छाट् । ४। ४। ६॥

गोपुच्छिकः ॥

1554. The affix डक् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between डक् and टक् is in the accent. Thus गोपुच्छिकः ॥

१५५५। नौद्यचष्टन् । ४। ४। ७॥

नाविकः। घटिकः। बाहुभ्यां तरति बाहुका स्त्री ॥

1555. The affix टक् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, घटिकः, so also बाहुका (बाहुभ्यां तरति) in the feminine.

Note :—The ष in ष्टन् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory ड् occurs in the Fourth book, in sūtras IV. 4. 9. 10, 18, 53 and 74.

१५५६। चरति । ४। ४। ८॥

वृत्तीयान्ताश्छति भक्षयतीत्यर्थयोश्च स्यात् । हस्तिना चरति हास्तिकः । शाकटिकः । इषा भक्षयति शधिकः ॥

1556. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix टक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus शाकटिकः । हास्तिकः 'who travels by a car or an elephant'. इषा भक्षयति = दाधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd.'

१५५७। आकर्षात् छल् । ४। ४। ९॥

आकर्षो निकषेपलः । आकर्षाति पाठान्तरम् । तेन चरीत आकर्षिकः । विश्वाम्नीष । आकर्षिकी ॥

1557. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means thereof' after the word 'ākārsha.'

Note :—This debars डक् ॥ The ल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The ष of छल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in IV. 4. 7. S. 1555.

Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक f. आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested. Another reading is आकर्षात् ॥

१५५८ । पर्पादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । १० ॥

पर्पेण चरति पर्विकः । पर्विकी । येन पीठेन पङ्कजचरन्ति स पर्वः । भश्विकः । राथिकः ॥

1558. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ठक्; the न् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ण् for डीश् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्विकः f. पर्विकी, भश्विकः f. भश्विकी ॥ So also राथिकः ॥

1 पर्व, 2 भश्व, 3 भश्वत्य, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्यास, 8 पादः पञ्च ॥

१५५९ । श्वगणादुञ्च । ४ । ४ । ११ ॥

चात् छन् ॥

1559. The affix उञ् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'.

This debars ठक् ॥

१५६० । श्वादेरिञि । ७ । ३ । ८ ॥

ऐचन । श्वमल्लस्यापत्यं श्वामल्लिः । श्वादिभिः । तद्वादिभिश्चो चेन्नमेव ज्ञापकम् ॥ इकारादाविति वाच्यम् * ॥ श्वगणेन चरति श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी । श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी ॥

1560. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ् is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वमल्ल is श्वामल्लिः, so also श्वादिभिः ॥ The word श्वन् is included in the list of Dvārādi words VII. 3, 4, S. 1386. The present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vart :—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows.

Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. f. श्वगणिकी ॥ ठक् श्वगणिकः f. श्वगणिकी ॥

Note :—The form श्वगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 5. Thus श्वगण + ठक् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires the Vriddhi of the ञ of श्व ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vriddhi, the letter औ comes before व in the case of श्वन् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ठक् ॥ In

fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इम् (an affix beginning with इ): as from इवाभाञ्जि we have इवाभाञ्जम् (इवाभाञ्जिरिङ्) ॥

१५६१ । पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ३ । ६ ॥

श्वान्तरङ्गस्य पदशब्दान्तस्यैजा । श्वापदस्येदं श्वापदम् । शौवापदम् ॥

1561. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद् ॥

As श्वापदस्येदं = श्वापदम् or शौवापदम् ॥

१५६२ वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति । ४ । ४ । १२ ॥

वेतनेन जीवति वेतनिकः । धानुष्कः ॥

1562. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वेतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्ड the affix applies to the compound, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्दण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, दण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्दण्डः, 5 आल, 6 वेश (वेस), 7 उपवेश (उपवेश, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 क्षान्ता, 12 क्षान्ति, 13 उपनिषद्, 14 उपवेश, 15 स्किञ्* (स्किज्). 16 पाद, 17 उपस्थ, 18 उपस्थान,* 19 उपहस्त,* 20 सज् ॥

१५६३ वस्नक्यविक्रयाट्ठन् । ४ । ४ । १३ ॥

वस्नेन मूल्येन जीवति वस्निकः । क्रयविक्रयग्रहणं संघातविशुद्ध्यर्थम् । क्रयविक्रयिकः । क्रयिकः । विक्रयिकः ॥

1563. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya' and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire, hireling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

१५६४ आयुधाच्छ च । ४ । ४ । १४ ॥

आट्ठन् । आयुधेन जीवति आयुधीयः । आयुधिकः ॥

1564. The affix छ as well as ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'âyudha'.

Thus आशुधेन जीवति = आशुधीवः (formed by छ), or आशुधिकः (by ठक्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

१५६५ हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । १५ ॥

हस्तङ्गेन हरत्यौत्सङ्गिकः ॥

1565. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्सङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip.'

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत), 4 उत्पन्न, 5 उत्पुद, 6 पिदक, 7 पिदाक, 8 उडप ॥

१५६६ भस्त्रादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । १६ ॥

भस्त्रया हरति भस्त्रिकः । वित्वाण्डीष् । भस्त्रिकी ॥

1566. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhastra &c' being in the third case in construction.

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41)

Note :—The word भस्त्र means a pair of leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 भस्त्र, 2 भरट, 3 भरण (भारण), 4 वीधिभार, 5 वीथिभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार ॥

१५६७ । विभाषा विवधात् । ४ । ४ । १७ ॥

विवधेन हरति विवधिकः । पक्षे ठक् । वैवधिकः । एकदेशविकृतस्याऽनन्यत्वाद्द्विवधापि छन् । वीवधिकः । वीवधिकी । विवधवीवधशब्दौ उभयतो बद्धशिक्ये स्कन्धवाह्ये काष्ठे वर्तते ॥

1567. The affix छन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha'. (and 'vīvadha'), being in the third case in construction.

Vart :—A word altered in a portion there of remains the same. Therefore वीवध is also governed by this sūtra.

In the alternative, the general affix ठक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधेन हरति = वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is ठक्, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood with a loop at each end placed on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler.'

१५६८। अण्कुटिलिकायाः । ४ । ४ । १८ ॥

कुटिलिका व्याधानां गति विशेषः कर्मारोपकरणभूतं लोहं च । कुटिलिकया हरति घृगानङ्गारान्वा कौटिलिको व्याधः कर्मारश्च ॥

1568. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति घृगो व्याधः or (घृगो व्याधं) = कौटिलिको व्याधः (or घृगः) 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey.' कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान् = कौटिलिकः कर्मारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge.'

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths.'

१५६९। निर्वृत्तेऽक्षयूतादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । १९ ॥

अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षयूतिकं वैरम् ॥

1569. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyūta &c.', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = अक्षयूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling.'

1 अक्षयूत, 2 जातुप्रहत (°प्रहत), 3 अङ्गाप्रहत, (°प्रहत), 4 अङ्गाप्रहत,* 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्ठकमर्दन, 7 गतातुगत,* 8 गतागत, 9 यातापयात, 10 अनुगत ॥

१५७०। त्रैर्मन्त्रित्यम् । ४ । ४ । २० ॥

त्रिप्रत्ययान्तप्रकृतिकात्तृतीयान्तानिर्वृत्तेऽर्थे मत्प्रयान्नित्यम् । कृत्या निर्वृत्तं कृत्रिमम् । पक्वित्वम् ॥
* भावप्रत्ययान्तादिभ्यः वक्तव्यः । पाकेन निर्वृत्तं पाकित्वम् । त्यागित्वम् ॥

1570. The affix मप् comes invariably after the words ending in the affix त्रि, in the sense of 'completed thereby,'

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root दुपच् takes त्रि and forms पक्वि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पच् + त्रि + मप् = पक्विमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. From दुकृच् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

Note :—The word निश्च in the sūtra indicates that the affix त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Var. :—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं = पाकित्वम् (पच् + घञ् III. 3. 18 + इमप्), so also त्यागित्वम्, सेकित्वम् कृत्रिमम् ॥

१५७१ । अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ । ४ । ४ । २१ ॥

अपमित्येति ल्यबन्तम् । अपमित्य निर्वृत्तं आपमित्यकम् । याचितेन निर्वृत्तं याचितकम् ॥

1571. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita,' when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'.

Note :—The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and इ substituted for अ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

१५७२ । संसृष्टे । ४ । ४ । २२ ॥

दध्ना संसृष्टं दाधिकम् ॥

1572, The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्टं = दाधिकम् 'smeared with curd.'

Note :—The word 'sanskṛitam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'samsṛṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

१५७३ । चूर्णादिनिः । ४ । ४ । २३ ॥

चूर्णेः संसृष्टाश्चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः ॥

1573. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrṇa' when the sense is 'mixed therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णेः संसृष्टाः = चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder'.

१५७४ । लवणाल्लुक् । ४ । ४ । २४ ॥

लवणेन संसृष्टो लवणः सूपः । लवणं शाकम् ॥

1574. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word 'lavāṇa'.

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt'. as लवणः सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं शाकं, लवणा यवागूः ' (I. I. 51).

Note :—The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

१५७५ । मुद्गादण् । ४ । ४ । २५ ॥

मौद्ग ओदनः ॥

1575. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga', when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars डक् ॥ Thus मौद्ग ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga pulse'.

१५७६ । व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्तं । ४ । ४ २६ ॥

डक् । दध्ना उपसिक्तं दाधिकम् ॥

1576. The affix डक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्तं = दाधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd.'

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकनोपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

१५७७ । ओजः सहोऽम्भसा वर्तते । ४ । ४ । २७ ॥

ओजसा वर्तते औजसिकः शूरः । साहसिकश्चोरः । आम्भसिको मत्स्यः ॥

1577. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'it exists', after the words 'ojas', 'sahas', and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish'.

१५७८ । तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् । ४ । ४ । २८ ॥

द्वितीयान्तादस्माद्वर्तते इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे डक् स्यात् । क्रियाविशेषणत्वाद्वितीया । प्रतीपं वर्तते प्रातीपिकः । आन्वीपिकः । प्रातिलोमिकः । आनुलोमिकः । प्रातिकूलिकः । आनुकूलिकः ॥

1578. The affix डक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'îpa,' 'loma,' and 'kûla,' preceded by 'anu' and prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपं वर्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3 97), retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः ॥ 'favorable.' प्रातिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' प्रातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः ॥ The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

१५७९ । परिमुखं च । ४ । ४ । २६ ॥

परिमुखं वर्तते परिमुखिकः । चात्पारिवर्धिकः ॥

1579. The affix **उक्** comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present.'

The word **च** in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As पारिवर्धिकः ॥

Note:—The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (11. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (1. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्तते" ॥

१५८० । प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् । ४ । ४ । ३० ॥

द्वियुगार्थं द्वियुगं तत्प्रयच्छति द्वैयुगिकः । त्रैयुगिकः ॥

वृद्धेर्वृधुषिभावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वार्धुषिकः ।

1580. The affix **उक्** comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्वियुगं प्रयच्छति = द्वैयुगिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double, i, e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्वियुग means द्वियुगार्थं 'for the sake of double'. Similarly त्रैयुगिकः ॥

Vart:—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुषि before this affix. As, वृद्धि प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase'. Or the word वृधुषि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Note:—Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्वियुगं प्रयच्छति अधमर्णः 'the debtor gives double'.

१५८१ । कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्छचौ । ४ । ४ । ३१ ॥

गर्ह्यार्थाभ्यामाभ्यामेतौ स्तः प्रयच्छतीत्यर्थः । कुसीदं वृद्धिस्तदर्थं ब्रूयं कुसीदं तत्प्रयच्छतीति 'कुसीदिकः । कुसीदिकी । एकादशार्थत्वादेकादश ते च ते वस्तुतो दश चेति विप्रवेऽकारः समासान्त इदं सूत्रे निपात्यते । दशैकादशिकः । दशैकादशिकी । दशैकादशान्प्रयच्छतीत्युत्तमर्ण एवेहापि तद्विनार्थः ॥

1581. The affixes **छन्** and **छच्** come respectively after the words 'kusīda' and 'daśaikādaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीर means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशोकादश ॥ This sūtra debars डक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes डक् and डक् is in the accent (VI. I. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीर + डक् = कुसीरिक्; fem. कुसीरिक्नी (IV. I. 41). So दशोकादशिकः; fem. क्ली ॥

१५८२ । उज्जति । ४ । ४ । ३२ ॥

बदराण्युज्जति बादरिकः ॥

1582. The affix डक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleanes that'.

Thus बदराण्युज्जति = बादरिकः 'who picks up jujubes'.

Note:—To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उज्ज ॥

१५८३ । रक्षति । ४ । ४ । ३३ ॥

समाजं रक्षति सामाजिकः ॥

1583. The affix डक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'.

१५८४ । शब्दवर्तुनं करोति । ४ । ४ । ३४ ॥

शब्दं करोति शाब्दिकः । शब्दुरिकः ॥

1584. The affix डक् comes after the words 'Śabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes words' i. e. a grammarian. So शब्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

१५८५ । पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति । ४ । ४ । ३५ ॥

स्वस्त्वस्य पर्यायाणां विरोधाणां च ग्रहणम् । मत्स्यपर्यायेषु मीनस्यैव । पक्षिणो हन्ति पक्षिकः । शाकुनिकः । मायुरिकः । मात्स्यिकः । नैनिकः । शाकुनिकः । मार्गिकः । हारीनिकः । सारङ्गिकः ॥

1585. The affix डक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. I. 68).

Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मादुरिकः, ॥ So also with मस्त्व, as, मोस्त्विकः, मेनिकः, शाकुनिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मोगिकः, हारिणिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

१५८६ । परिपन्थं च तिष्ठति । ४ । ४ । ३६ ॥

अस्माद्वितीयान्तासिष्ठति हन्ति चेत्यर्थे ठक् स्यात् । पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा व्याप्य वा तिष्ठति पारिपन्थिकश्चौरः । परिपन्थं हन्ति पारिपन्थिकः ॥

1586. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of “who stays”, after the word ‘paripantham’, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थाने वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति ‘a thief’ lit. “who stays at roads, a high way man”.

Note :— The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति ‘who kills’ of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction ‘and’. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase ‘being in the second case in construction’ is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity ? No, it shows the classical form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

१५८७ । माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

दण्डाकासे माथः पन्थाः दण्डमाथः । दण्डमाथं धावति दण्डमाथिकः । पादविकः । आनुपदिकः ॥

1587. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of “who runs”, after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words ‘padavi’ and ‘anupada’.

Thus a road (mātha) straight like a stick (daṇḍa) is called दण्डमाथः । From it दण्डमाथं धावति = दण्डमाथिकः ‘who runs on a high way’. Similarly पादविकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means ‘a way’.

१५८८ । आक्रन्दद्वाहुञ्च । ४ । ४ । ३८ ॥

अस्माद्वस्त्वाबाहुञ्च धावतीत्यर्थे । आक्रन्दं दुःखिनां रोदनस्थानं धावति आक्रन्दिकः ॥

1588. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes after the word ‘ākrandā’, being in the second case in construction, in the sense of ‘who runs’.

The word आक्रन्द means ‘a place where persons weep’ e. g. a battle-field. It also means ‘weeping’ ‘invoking’ &c. The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दं धावति = आक्रन्दिकः or आक्रन्दिकः, i. आक्रन्दिकी ‘a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard’.

१५८८ पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति । ४ । ४ । ३९ ॥

पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति पूर्वपदिकः । औत्तरपदिकः ॥

1589. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पूर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥

Note :—The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule, when पद is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

१५९० प्रतिकण्ठार्थललाभं च । ४ । ४ । ४० ॥

एभ्यो गृह्णात्यर्थे ठक् स्यात् । प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति प्रातिकण्ठिकः । आर्थिकः । लालामिकः ॥

1590. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikanṭha', 'artha', and 'lalāma' being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, लालामिकः ॥

Note :—The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayī-bhāva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगतः कण्ठं = प्रातिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

१५९१ धर्मं चरति । ४ । ४ । ४१ ॥

धार्मिकः ॥ अधर्माच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अधार्मिकः ॥

1591. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practises that'.

Thus धर्मं चरति = धार्मिकः "religious".

Vārtika :—It must be stated that the affix ठक् comes after adharma also. As अधार्मिकः "irreligious, undutiful",

१५९२ प्रतिपथमेति ठक्च । ४ । ४ । ४२ ॥

प्रतिपथमेति प्रातिपथिकः ॥

1592. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes.'

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रातिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vridhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not.

१५९३ । समवायान्समवैति । ४ । ४ । ४३ ॥

सामवायिकः । सामूहिकः ॥

1593. The affix डक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there.'

Thus समवायात् समवेति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामञ्जिकः, सामूहिकः, सामिवेशिकः ॥

Note :—The word समवाय means combination, collection &c. The word समवायात् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply ; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवेति means coming together.

१५९४ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । ४४ ॥

परिषदं समवेति परिषद्यः ॥

1594. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus परिषदं समवेति = परिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

१५९५ । सेनाया वा । ४ । ४ । ४५ ॥

ण्यः स्यात्पक्षे डक् । सैन्याः । सैनिकाः ॥

1195. The affix ण्य comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word senā.

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus सेनां समवेति = सैन्यः or सैनिकः 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

१५९६ । संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यो पश्यति । ४ । ४ । ४६ ॥

ललाटं पश्यति ललाटिकः सेवकः । कुक्कुटीशब्देन तस्यासार्हः स्वल्पदेशो लक्ष्यते । कौक्कुटिको भिक्षुः ॥

1596. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalāṭa' and 'kukkuṭi', in the second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus ललाटं पश्यति = ललाटिकः 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also कौक्कुटिकः 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word कुक्कुटी ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the

ground, and hence he is called कौवकुट्टकः ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

१५९७ । तस्य धर्म्यम् । ४ । ४ । ४७ ॥

आपणस्य धर्म्यमापणिकम् ॥

1597. The affix टक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्य means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word तस्य shows the case of the word. Thus शुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं = शौल्कशालिकः 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also आकारिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौल्मिकम् ॥

१५९८ । अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । ४८ ॥

महिष्या धर्म्यं माहिषम् । याजमानम् ॥

1598. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law', after the word 'mahishî' &c.

This debars थak. Thus महिष्या धर्म्यं = माहिषम् 'the usages of queens.' So याजमानम् ॥

1 महिषी, 2 प्रजापति, 3 प्रजावति, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतु 11 यजमान ॥

१५९९ । ऋतोऽञ् । ४ । ४ । ४९ ॥

यातुर्धर्म्यं यात्रम् ॥ नराद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नरस्य धर्म्या नारी ॥ विशासितुर्दिलोपश्चाञ्च वक्तव्यः * ॥ विशासितुर्धर्म्यं वैशाखम् ॥ विभाजयितुर्दिलोपश्चाञ्च वाच्यः * ॥ विभाजयितुर्धर्म्यं वैभाजिकम् ॥

1599. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law', after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars टक् ॥ Thus यातुर्धर्म्यम् = यात्रम् 'the office of a Yâtri, i. e. a pilgrim'.

Vart:—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vart:—So also after the word विशासितु, the इद् affix being elided. Thus विशासितु + अञ् = वैशाखम् ॥

Vart:—So also after the word विभाजयितु its यि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अञ् = वैभाजिकम् ॥

१६०० । अवक्रयः । ४ । ४ । ५० ॥

वृत्तवन्तादटक् स्वाध्वक्रयेऽर्थे । आपणस्यावक्रय आपणिकः । राजमाणा इत्यवक्रयः ॥

1600. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'its tax', after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means, 'Government-tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent &c coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase., Thus आपणस्य अवक्रयः = आपणिकः ॥

Note :—Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same ? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

१६०१ । तदस्य पण्यम् । ४ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपूपाः पण्यमस्य आपणिकः ॥

1601. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपाः पण्यं अस्य = आपणिकः 'a cake-vendor.'

१६०२ । लवणाट्ठक् । ४ । ४ । ५२ ॥

लावणिकः ॥

1602. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavāṇa.'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

१६०३ । किसरादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । ५३ ॥

किसरं पण्यमस्य किसरिकः । चित्वाङ्गीष् । किसरिकी । किसर, उशीर, नलद इत्यादि । किसरादयः सर्वे सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषवाचिनः ॥

1603. The affix छन् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किसर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किसराः पण्यमस्य = किसरिकः f किसरिकी (IV. 1. 41) नरदिकः f नरदिकी ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicative ष ॥

1 किसर (किसर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्यागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उशीर 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी ॥ All these words denote different kinds of sweet scents.

१६०४ । शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५४ ॥

छन्स्यात् पठे ठक् । शालालुकः । शालालुकी । शालालुकः । शालालुकी । शलालुः सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषः ॥

1604. The affix छन् comes optionally, in the case of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'śalāḷun'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. शलालु is a kind of

sweet scent. Thus चालालु पण्यमस्य = चालालुकः / चालालुकी ॥ In the alternative with ठक्, चालालुकी; / चालालुकी ॥

१६०५। शिल्पम् । ४ । ४ । ५५ ॥

शृङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य मार्शङ्गिकः ॥

1605. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose art', after a word denoting art, in the first case in construction.

Thus शृङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मार्शङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mṛdaṅga drum".

१६०६। मङ्गुलकर्मकरादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५६ ॥

मङ्गुलकवादनं शिल्पमस्य माङ्गुलकः । माङ्गुलिकः । झार्जरः । झार्जरिकः ॥

1606. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose art', after the words 'maṅḍuka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मङ्गुलक नं शिल्पमस्य = माङ्गुलकः or माङ्गुलिकः, so also झार्जरः and झार्जरिकः ॥

१६०७। प्रहरणम् । ४ । ४ । ५७ ॥

तत्स्थेत्येव । असिः प्रहरणमस्य आसिकः । धातुष्कः ॥

1607. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the first case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणमस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So धातुष्कः ॥

१६०८। परश्वधाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ५८ ॥

पारश्वधिकः ॥

1608. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च्, the difference being in accent. Thus पारश्वधिकः or पारश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

१६०९। शक्तियष्टयोरीक् । ४ । ४ । ५९ ॥

शक्तीकः । याष्टीकः ॥

1609. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'śakti' and 'yaṣṭi'.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus वाक्किः ग्रहणमस्य = वाक्किः, So also वादीकेः ॥

१६१० । अस्ति नास्ति दिष्टं मतिः । ४ । ४ । ६० ॥

तदस्येत्येव । अस्ति परलोक इत्येवं मतिर्यस्य स आस्तिकः । नास्तीति मतिर्यस्य स नास्तिकः । दिष्टमिति मतिर्यस्य स देष्टिकः ॥

1610. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nāsti' and 'dishta',

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिकः 'who believes that it is' i. e. the here-after exists.' नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no here after', an athiest. देष्टिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = देव 'fate'.

Note :—The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called देष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

१६११ । शीलम् । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

अपूपमक्षयं शीलमस्य आपूपिकः ॥

1611. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपमक्षयं शीलमस्य = आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'.

Note:—The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

१६१२ । छात्रादिभ्यो णः । ४ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गुरोर्बोधागामावरणं छात्रं तच्छीलमस्य छात्रः ॥

1612. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this' after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus छात्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the weaknesses of the teacher'.

Note:—The word स्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga ; thus आस्या संस्था, अवस्था &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुश्छात्रवत् गुरुणा सिष्यश्छात्रवत् छात्रः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or सिष्येण च गुरुश्छात्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छात्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 गुरोह (गुरोह), 4 स्या (आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था), 5 बुधुसा, 6 बुरा, 7 तितिक्षा*, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (कृषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विभ्रधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अद्वत,

15 विशिका*, 16 विशिका (शिविका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 वस्त्रान*, 19 पुरोडा (!)*, 20 विशा*, 21 बुधा*, 22 मन्त्र ।

१६१३ । कर्मस्ताच्छील्ये । ६ । ४ । १७२ ॥

कर्म इति ताच्छील्ये जे दिलोणे निपात्यते । कर्मशीलः कर्मः । नस्तद्धिते इत्येव सिद्धे भयकार्ये ताच्छीलिके षोऽपि । तेन चौरी तापसीत्यादि सिद्धम् । ताच्छील्ये किम् । कर्मणः ॥

1613. कर्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or proficient therein'.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144 S. 679 the form कर्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण् and ण affixes, in the sense of tãchchhīlika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim :—ताच्छीलिके षोऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ " The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix ण्, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though डीप् is added to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण—formed words, in the feminine : as चौरी ; तापसी &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101 S. 1908 and III. 1. 140, S. 2902 is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that ? Observe कर्मण इवम् = कर्मणम् ॥

१६१४ । कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

प्रथमान्तात्पद्यर्थे ठक् स्यादध्ययने वृत्ता या क्रिया सा चेत्प्रथमान्तस्यार्थः । ऐकान्यिकः । अस्याध्ययने प्रवृत्तस्य परीक्षाकाले विपरीतोच्चारणरूपं स्थलितमेकं जातं सः ॥

1614. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of " this is his act, occurring in study " after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vṛittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यवध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्यिकः ' a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading ', &c. literal translation being something like " one errorist ". He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading, is called ऐकान्यिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्यिकः &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

१६१५ । बहुवचनपूर्वपदादठक् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

प्रतिषेधे । द्वावशाब्दानि कर्माध्ययने वृत्तान्यस्य द्वावशाब्दान्यिकः । द्वावशाब्दानां अस्य जाता इत्यर्थः ॥

1615. The affix डक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus :—*द्वावशास्त्रानि कर्मण्यध्वजेन वृत्तानि अस्व* = *द्वावशास्त्रिकः* 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So *च्योवशास्त्रिकः चतुर्वशास्त्रिकः* ॥ The word अस्व in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udatta, or *vice versa*.

१६१६ । हितं भक्षः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अपूपभक्ष्यं हितमस्मै आपूपिकः ॥

1616. The affix डक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

Thus *अपूपभक्ष्यं हितमस्मै* = *आपूपिकः* 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also *शाक्कुलिकः*, *मौदिकः* ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as *आपूपिकः* &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

Note :—The words *सद्* and *अस्व* (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (11. 3. 13, S. 570 Vart). But the sūtra is *तदस्य हितं भक्षः*, the word *अस्व* being in the genitive case, how is this? Here *अस्व* should be changed to dative viz. *तदस्मै हितं भक्षः* 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way, however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise:

65 हितं भक्षः तदस्मै and 66 दीयते नियुक्तं ॥

१६१७ । तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अभोजनं नियतं दीयते अस्मै आभोजनिकः ॥

1617. The affix डक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given rightfully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. *अप्यभिचारेण दीयते* 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus *अभे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते* = *आभोजनिकः* 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'.

Note :—Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नित्यं 'always'. According to them *आपूपिकः* would mean *अपुषा नित्यमस्मै दीयन्ते* 'to whom always cakes are given'.

१६१८ । आणामासौदनाद्विद्वन् । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

आया नियुक्तं दीयतेऽस्यै आधिकः । आधिकी । मांसोदनमपहणं संघातचिह्नदीवार्यम् । मांसोद-
निकः । मांसिकः । ओदनिकः ॥

1618. The affix टिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आया and मांसोदन ॥

This टिठन् debars डक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the इ indicates that the feminine is formed by - डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आया नियुक्तमस्यै दीयते = आधिकः f. आधिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥ The affix टिठन् applies to मस्ति and ओदन separately also. (But डक् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which टिठन् does not). Thus ओदन + टिठन् = ओदनिकः f. ओदनिकी ॥ With डक् the form would have been ओदनिकः which is not wanted.

Note :—The difference between डक् and टिठन् is in accent, the former having udātta on the final (VI. 1. 165); the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of डक् and टिठन् will both be formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix डक् resembles टिठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not डक् used instead of टिठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same form? True, as regards the words आया and मांसोदन the affix डक् might have been employed instead of टिठन् ॥

The words आया is Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook.' The आ is not changed to भू as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nighṭhā is changed to ण (VII. 2. 43). The form आया is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is कृतं = क्षीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

१६१६ । भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम् । ड । ड । ६८ ॥

पक्षे डक् । भक्तमस्यै नियुक्तं दीयते भक्तः । भक्तिकः ॥

1619. The affix डक् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्यै दीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' 'i. e. a retainer.'

१६२० । तत्र नियुक्तः । ड । ड । ६६ ॥

आकरे नियुक्तः आकरिकः ॥

1620. The affix डक् comes, in the sense 'of appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus आकरे नियुक्तः = आकरिकः 'a superintendent of the mines'

Note :—The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by 11. 1. 43.

S. 723. The word *niyukta* here has a different meaning from that in IV. 4. 66, S. 1617 hence its repetition here.

१६२१ । अगारान्ताद्ठन् । ४ । ४ । ७० ॥

देवागारे नियुक्तो देवागारिकः ॥

1621. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of “appointed there,” after a word ending with ‘agāra.’

This debars ठक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vṛiddhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः ॥

१६२२ । अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् । ४ । ४ । ७१ ॥

निषिद्धदेशकालवाचकाद्ठक् स्यादध्येतरि । श्मशानेऽधीते श्माशानिकः । चतुर्दश्यामधीते चातुर्दशिकः ॥

1622. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of “who studies there,” after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्माशानिकः ‘who reads in a funeral ground.’ So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातुर्दशिकः, ‘who reads on the 14th lunar day.’

Note :—Why do we say ‘improper time and place?’ Observe दुष्टेऽधीते, पूर्वार्द्धेऽधीते ॥

१६२३ । कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति । ४ । ४ । ७२ ॥

सत्तेलेव । वंशकठिने व्यवहरति वांशकठिनिकः । वंशा वेशवः कठिना यस्मिन्देशे स वंशकठिनस्तस्मिन्देशे वा क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठतीत्यर्थः । प्रास्तारिकः । सांस्थानिकः ॥

1623. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of “who transacts business there in,” after compounds ending in ‘kaṭhina,’ and after ‘prastāra’ and ‘sansthāna,’ being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिकः ‘whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket.’ or ‘who does what is proper to be done in such a place’ i. e. तस्मिन्देशे वा क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठति ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

१६२४ । निकटे वसति । ४ । ४ । ७३ ॥

नैकटिको निष्ठुः ॥

1624. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who dwells’, after the locative word ‘nikaṭa.’

Thus निकटे वसति = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic, because a sannyâsi lives *near* the city, and enters the city only for the sake of begging, but does not live therein."

Note :—This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus वारण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations.

१६२५ । आवसथात् छल् । ४ । ४ । ७४ ॥

आवसथे वसति आवसथिकः । वित्वाऽङीष् आवसथिकी ।

आकर्षात्पर्षादिर्भक्षादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।

आवसथात्किसरादेः वित् वडेते ढगधिकारे ॥

वडिति सूत्रपदकेन विहिता इत्यर्थः । प्रत्ययास्तु सन्त ॥

1625. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The छ् of छल् is for accent (VI. I. 193 S. 3676), the ष् is for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a house-holder as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1 S. 1548. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

The ष् of छल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra IV. 4. 7 S. 1555. To remove the doubt where ष् is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् पर्षादिर्भक्षादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च, आवसथात् किसरादेः वित् वडेते ढगधिकारे ॥ In the six sūtras IV. 4. 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, S. 1557, 1558, 1566, 1581, 1625, and 1603 the affixes have indicatory 'sh' i. e. they are part of the affix.' Though the sūtras are six, the number of affixes taught therein is seven. Here ष् being इत्, the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. I. 41).

Here ends the chapter on Thagadhikāra.

अथ तद्धित प्राग्वितीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXI.

PRĀG-GHITĪYA AFFIXES.

१६२६ । प्राग्विताद्यत् । ४ । ४ । ७५ ॥

तस्मैहितमित्यतः प्राक् यत्प्रतिक्रियते ॥

1626. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V. 1. 5. S. 1665), the affix यत् bears rule.

Note :—Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथः, युगः, प्रासङ्गः ॥

१६२७ । तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् । ४ । ४ । ७६ ॥

रथं वहति रथः । युगः । वस्तानां वननकाले स्कन्धे यत् काष्ठमासज्यते स प्रासङ्गः । तं वहति प्रासङ्गः ॥

1627. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsaṅga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युगः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्गः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्गः is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking.

Note :—This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as परमरथः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 S. 1501, 1503. also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वाहः, therefore रथस्य वाहः will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. S. 1500 read with IV. 3. 121. S. 1501 Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 88 1. S. 1080.

Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. S. 1501. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III. 1. 121, S. 2873), that युग्य differs from the present in accent, when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by ल्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156 S. 3890, अयुग्यैव will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति राजा कालं द्वापरं वा ॥

१६२८ । घुरो यद्दुहको । ४ । ४ । ७७ ॥

हति चति दीर्घे प्राप्ते ॥

1628. The affixes षक् and डक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', alter the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction.

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by षक्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 S. 354. is prevented by the next sūtra, because धुर is a Bha-stem, or धौरेय (formed by डक् VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'a beast of burden'.

Note :—This sūtra might have stood as धुरो डक् च, for धन् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75. S. 1626.

१६२६ । न भ कुर्क्षुराम् । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

नस्य कुर्क्षुरोऽपधाया दीर्घो न स्यात् । धुर्यः । धौरेयः ॥

1629. The lengthening of the vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77. S. 354, when the Nominal stem ending in र or व् is called Bha (i. e. when a च् follows), and also not in कुर and क्षुर ॥

- Thus धुर्यः (धुरं वहति IV. 4, 77. S. 1628 or धुरि साधुः) ॥ Or धौरेयः with ḍhak.

Note :—Why have we qualified the word न by saying that it must end in र or व् ? Observe प्रतिदीक्षा, प्रतिदीक्षे ॥ For here the stem which ends in व् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in व् but in क्ष् ॥

१६३० । खः सर्वधुरात् । ४ । ४ । ७८ ॥

सर्वधुरं वहतीति सर्वधुरीणः ॥

1630. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurā', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475).

Note :—The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49 S. 726), the samāsanta ख being added by V. 4. 74 S. 940. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26 S. 812. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulating the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal stem or pratipadika equal to सर्वधुरा ॥

१६३१ । एकधुराल्लुक्च । ४ । ४ । ७९ ॥

एकधुरं वहति एकधुरीणः । एकधुरः ॥

1631. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhura' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरश्च वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥

Note:—The compounding is taddhitārtha (एकां धुरां वहति) to which is added the samāsānta च् and then the affix ख् ॥

१६३२ । शकटादण् । ४ । ४ । ८० ॥

शकटं वहति शकटो गोः ॥

1632. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car.

Note:—This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शकटस्य वोढुः = शकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्विशकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88 .S. 1080)

१६३३ । हलसीरादृढक् । ४ । ४ । ८१ ॥

हलं वहति हलिकः । सैरिकः ॥

1633. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'hala' and 'sīra', in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हलिकः 'a ploughman,' सैरिकः 'a plough ox'.

Note:—The ढक् would have come by IV. 3. 124. S. 1504 the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वेहलिकः, द्वेसैरिकः ॥

१६३४ । सङ्गायां जन्त्या । ४ । ४ । ८२ ॥

जनी वधुः तां वहति प्रापयति जन्त्या ॥

1634. The affix यद् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janī,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus जनी वहति = जन्त्यः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्त्या 'a bride's-maid.' The word जनी means 'bride.' जन्त्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c.

Kālidāsa has used it in the sense of the bearers of the vehicle in which the bride goes. As यामेति जन्त्यानवधुः कुमारी ॥

१६३५ । विध्यत्यधनुषा । ४ । ४ । ८३ ॥

द्वितीयान्नाद्विधुनीत्यर्थं यस्मात्तन् चेत्यत्र धनुःकरणम् । पाशौ विध्यन्ति पद्माः शर्कराः ॥

1635. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it', after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पद्याः (VI. 3. 53, S. 991) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles.

Note :—Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुवा" ? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here This exclusion of धनुस् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुविध्यति ॥

१६३६ । धनगणं लब्धा । ४ । ४ । ८४ ॥

तृन्तमेतत् । धनं लब्धा धन्यः । गणं लब्धा गण्यः ॥

1636. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gaṇa,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्धु is formed from $\sqrt{\text{लभ्}}$ by तृन्, hence it takes the accusative.

१६३७ । अन्नारणः । ४ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अन्नं लब्धा अन्नः ॥

1637. The affix ए comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = अन्नः 'fed,' 'who has obtained food.'

१६३८ । वशं गतः । ४ । ४ । ८६ ॥

वश्यः परेच्छातुषारी ॥

1638. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vaśa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वंशगतः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छातुषारी ॥

१६३९ । पदमस्मिन्दृश्यम् । ४ । ४ । ८७ ॥

पद्यः कर्षणः । नातिशुष्क इत्यर्थः ॥

1639. The affix यत् comes after the word 'pada,' in the sense of 'in it is visible,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पृथु हृद्यमस्मिन् = पृथुः कर्मन्: 'mud' literally, soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot.

Note:—So पृथाः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word हृद्यम् means शक्यते द्रष्टुम् this having the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

१६४० । मूलमस्यावर्हि । ४ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आवर्हणमावर्हि उत्पादनं तस्यास्तीत्यावर्हि । मूलमावर्हि येषां ते मूल्या मुक्ताः ॥

1640. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आवर्हि from √वृह् 'to uproot,' means 'uprooting,' = उत्पादनं ॥ मूलनेषामावर्हि = मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. माषा मुक्ताः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant.

Note:—According to Padamañjari the word should be आवर्हि and not आवर्हि, with a व and not ब ॥

१६४१ । संज्ञायां धेनुष्या । ४ । ४ । ८९ ॥

धेनुष्यस्य पुगागमो यत् प्रत्ययश्च स्वार्थे निपात्यते संज्ञायाम् । धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता ॥

1641. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding युक् and च to धेनु ॥ It has udātta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतदुग्धा ॥ As धेनुष्या भवते दद्यामि ॥ See Amarakosha II. 9. 72. " धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता " ॥

१६४२ । गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ज्यः । ४ । ४ । ९० ॥

गृहपतिर्यजमानस्तेन संयुक्तो गार्हपत्याग्निः ॥

1642. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'grihapati' in the third case in construction.

The word grihapati means 'sacrificer'. Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder.

Note:—The word संज्ञायां of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in

which husband (gṛīhapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshināgni. Or that fire in which Gṛīhapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

१६४३ । नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यस-
मसमितसम्मिनेषु । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

नावा तार्यं, नाव्यम् । वयसा तुल्यो वयस्यः । धर्मेण प्राप्यं धर्म्यम् । विषेण वध्यो विध्यः । मूलेन
आनाम्यं मूल्यम् । मूलेन समो मूल्यः । सीतया समितं सीत्यं क्षेत्रम् । तुलया सम्मितं तुल्यम् ॥

1643. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that they should be so. Thus :—

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', literally, what can be crossed by a boat.

2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit, one alike in age.

3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma'.

Note :—Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मादिनपेते (IV. 4. 92 S. 1644) ? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.

4. विषेण वध्यः = विध्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.

5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् 'price' lit. or "to be overpowered or bent by the root".

Note :—The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix ण्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 S. 2844 which required यत्), means अभिभवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.

6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं = सीत्यं 'a field', lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne.

Note:—The word सन्निभ is equivalent to संगत 'united with' according to Kāśikā. सीत्ति therefore, literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्तं उत्तमसीत्तं, द्विसीत्तं ॥

8. तुलया सन्निभ = तुल्यम् "equal" lit, 'meted out by the balance'. सन्निभ means समानं, सदृशं ॥

१६४४ । धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते । ४ । ४ । ९२ ॥

धर्मादनपेतं धर्म्यम् । पथ्यम् । अपथ्यम् । न्याय्यम् ॥

1644. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रियात् पथो यदनपेतं तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतद्वयोरः 'wholesome diet,' अपथ्यम् 'fit', न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.'

Note:—The word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89 S 1641) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

१६४५ । छन्दसो निर्मिते । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

छन्दसां निर्मितं छन्दस्यम् । इच्छया कृतमित्यर्थः ॥

1645. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

१६४६ । उरसोऽण्च । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

आद्यत् । उरसा निर्मितः पुत्र औरसः । उरस्यः ॥

1646. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras,' in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = औरसैः 'own son, not an adopted son,' lit. "produced through the loins." With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89.) governs this sūtra also.

१६४७ । हृदयस्यप्रियः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

हृद्यो देशः । हृदयस्य हृत्तेः खेति हृत्प्रदेशः ॥

1647. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hṛidaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः (VI. 3. 50 S. 988) 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देशः हृद्यं वनम् ॥

Note :—But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99 S. 1641) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

१६४८ । बन्धने चर्षो । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

हृदयशब्दात् षष्ठ्यन्ताबन्धने यत् स्वाह्वेऽभिधेये । हृदयस्य बन्धनं हृद्यो वशीकरणमन्त्रः ॥

1648. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hṛidaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनं ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vaidic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनऋषिः = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

१६४९ । मतजनहलात्करणजल्पकर्षेषु । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मतं ज्ञानं तस्य करणं भावः साधनं वा मत्यम् । जनस्य जल्पो जन्यः । हलस्य कर्षो हल्यः ॥

1649. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the sense respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं = मत्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. Mata means knowledge. जनस्य जल्पः = जन्यः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः = हल्यः 'ploughed'.

Note :—So also द्विहल्यः, त्रिहल्यः the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

१६५० तत्र साधुः । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अत्र साधुः भगवः । सामसु साधुः सामन्यः । ये आभावकर्मणोरिति प्रकृतिभावः । कर्मण्यः । शरण्यः ॥

1650. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard hereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः = सामन्थः (The अन् remains unchanged by VI. 4. 168 S. 1154) ' conversant with the Sâma-Veda '. So also कर्मण्यः, शरण्यः &c. The साधुः here means प्रवीणः, or योग्य, ' expert ' and ' fit ', and does not mean उपकारकः ' a benefactor or a good person '.

Note :—When the sense is that of ' good ', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

१६५१ । प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

प्रतिजनं साधुः प्रतिजनीनः । सांयुगीनः । सार्वजनीनः । वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1651. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of ' excellent in regard thereto,' after the word ' pratijana ' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः = प्रतिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) ' suitable against an adversary ' or ' who is excellent for every person '. So also सांयुगीनः, सार्वजनीनः, वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इत्युग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन ॥

१६५२ । भक्ताण्यः । ४ । ४ । १०० ॥

भक्ते साधवो भक्ताः शालयः ॥

1652. The affix ण comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the word ' bhakta ',

This debars यत् । Thus, भक्ते साधवः = भक्ता शालयः ' rice,' lit. suitable or excellent for food '.

१६५३ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । १०१ ॥

पारिषद्यः । परिषद् इति योगविभागाणोऽपि । पारिषदः ॥

1653. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the word ' parishad ' (as well as ण).

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here by the method of splitting up a single sūtra into two. Thus (1) परिषदः and (2 , ण्यः ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषदः ' one versed in the affairs of a council ', ' a minister '.

१६५४ । कथादिभ्यष्टक् । ४ । ४ । १०२ ॥

कथायां साधुः काथिकः ॥

1654. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the words ' kathâ ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः = काथिकः (कथा + ठक् = कथ् + ठक् VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = काथ + इक् (VII. 2. 116 S. 2282) ' a narrator of stories '.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा *, 4 संकथा *, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ठविद्, कुष्ठचिन्त) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 आनोवाद * (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संग्रह (सद्ग्रह), 12 गुण 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेदः ॥

१६५५ । गुडादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४ । ४ । १०३ ॥

गुडे साधुगौडिक इक्षुः । साक्तुकां यवः ॥

1655. The affix **उञ्** comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guḍa &c.'

This debars **यत्** ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः = गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संग्राम, 9 संघात, 10 संक्राम *, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास ॥

१६५६ । पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् ॥ ४ । ४ । १०४ ॥

पथि साधु पाथेयम् । आतिथेयम् । वसनं वसतिस्तत्र साधुवासतेथी रात्रिः । स्वापतेयं धनम् ॥

1656. The affix **उञ्** comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars **यत्** ॥ Thus पथि साधुः = पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयं 'habitable' as वासतेथी रात्रिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

१६५७ । सभाया यः ॥ ४ । ४ । १०५ ॥

सभ्यः ॥

1657. The affix **यत्** comes after the word 'sabhā' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars **यत्** the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3 S. 3708 and VI. 1. 185). Thus सभायां साधुः = सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

१६५८ । समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ ४ । ४ । १०७ ॥

साधुरिति निवृत्तम् ॥ वसतीति वासी । समाने तीर्थे गुरो वसतीति सतीर्थ्यः ॥

1658. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'resident therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛitti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थ्यः (VI. 3. 87 S. 1015)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

१६५९ । समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ ४ । ४ । १०८ ॥

समाने उदरे शयितः स्थितः समानोदर्यो भ्राता ॥

1659. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'सामानोदरा' in the locative construction, and the udatta falls on the letter **ओ** ॥

The word **शयितः** is equal to **स्थितः** 'remain'. Thus **समानोदरे शयितः** = **समानोदर्यः** 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88 S. 1016.

१६६० । सोदराद्यः । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

सोदर्यः । अर्थः प्राग्बन् ॥

1660. The affix **य** comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 **समान** is optionally changed to **स** before the word **उदर** when **यत्** follows. Thus **समानोदरे शयितः** = **सोदर्यः** ॥ Here **ओ** is not udatta, as it was in the last ; the udatta here falls on **य** ॥

Here ends the chapter on Pragghitiya.

अथ तद्धितव्यद्विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE AFFIXES छ and यत् ।

१६६१ । प्राक् क्रीताच्छः । ५ । १ । १ ॥

तेन क्रीतमित्यतः प्राक् छोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1661. From this sūtra forward up to 'tena-kṛitam' V. 1. 37 S. 1702 the affix 'chha' bears rule.

Note :—The affix छ has the various senses taught in these thirty-seven Sūtras V. 1. 1 to 37 S. 1702. Thus in the Sūtra तस्मैहितं 'suitable for that', V. 1. 5 S. 1665 the word छ must be read to complete the sense. Thus वत्संभ्योहितो = वत्सीयो गोधुक्; करभीय उष्ट्रः, अकरभीयः, अवत्सीयः ॥ The limitation of the jurisdiction of छ has been indicated in the sūtra with regard to the meaning of the affix, and not with regard to the affix. As an affix, छ has no force beyond V. 1. 17, S. 1679 the affix डम् being the ruling affix thereafter.

१६६२ । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । २ ॥

प्राक् क्रीतादित्येव । उवर्णान्ताद्गवादिभ्यश्च यत्स्याच्छस्यापवादः । नाभि नभं च * ॥ नभ्योऽक्षः । नभ्यमञ्जनम् । रथनाभाविषेदम् ॥ शुनः संप्रसारणं वा च शीर्षत्वम् * ॥ शून्यम् । शून्यम् । ऊधसोऽनङ् च * ॥ ऊधन्यः ॥

1662. The affix 'yat' comes after a prātipadika ending with उ (long or short), and after the words गो and the rest, the senses of the affix being those taught upto Sūtra V. 1. 37 S. 1702.

The senses of Prāk-kṛīṭya affixes are three, viz those taught in sūtras V. 1. 5, S. 1665 V. 1. 12 S. 1674 and V. 1. 16 S. 1678. This यत् debars छ ॥

Note :—the words सनङ्ग्यः meaning 'a kind of leather', and चरुः 'a kind of हविः offering', and सक्तुः 'a kind of food', all end in उ and are governed by this sūtra, in spite of V. 1. 15 S. 1677 which applies especially to leathers, and V. 1. 4 S. 1664, and its vārtika which applies especially to 'offerings' and 'food modifications'. This is an example where a subsequent sūtra does not debar a prior sūtra (I 4. 2). Thus सनङ्ग्य + यत् = सनङ्ग्यं चर्म, 'leather fit for making Sanangu', चरु + यत् = चरुया स्तण्डुलाः 'rice fit for making charu', सक्तु + यत् = सक्तुया धानाः 'barley fit for making Saktu',

Gaṇa Sūtra :—नाभि is replaced by नभ when the affix यत् is added. Thus नाभये हितः = नभ्यः meaning अक्षः 'axis, axle' lit. 'fitted for the navel of the wheel'; or a wood fit to be made the navel of a wheel or अञ्जनम् the grease.

Note:—When the word नाभि means 'the navel' of a living being, then it will not take this यत्, but it will take the यत् of V. 1. 6 S. 1666. In that case, नभ will not replace नाभि; e. g. नाभि + यत् = नाभ्यम् 'suitable for navel' i. e. oil.

Gaṇa Sūtra :—The word हवन् takes samprasāraṇa, व being changed to ङ, and optionally this ङ is lengthened; and the udātta accent falls on the final. As श्वन् + यत् = शुन्यैश्च or श्वन् + यत् = शुन्यैश्च fit for a dog. Contrary to VI. 4. 144, the न् of हवन् is not elided before the taddhita affix यत् ॥

Gaṇa Sūtra :—The final of the word ऊधस् is replaced by अनङ्; e. g. ऊधस् + यत् = ऊध् + अन + य = ऊधन्यः कूपः 'a well'.

1 गो, 2 हविस्, 3 अक्षर, 4 विष, 5 बर्हिस्, 6 अटका, 7 स्वरा (स्वरा), 8 युग, 9 मेधा 10 लुच् (लक्), 11 नाभि नभं च, 12 शुनः संप्रसारणं वा च दीर्घत्वं तत्संनिधौ चान्तोक्तम् 13 ऊधसोऽनङ्, 14 कूप*, 15 खद*, 16 दर (उदर), 17 खर 18 अमुर*, 19 अध्वन (अध्वन; अध्वा) 20 लर*, 21 वेद*, 22 बीज*, 23 वीत* (वीत) 24 स्कन् ॥

१६६३। कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ३ ॥

यस्यात् । कम्बल्यमूर्णापलसतम् । संज्ञायां किम् । कम्बलीया ऊर्णा ॥

1663. The affix यत् comes in the Prāk-kṛitīya senses, after the word 'kambala', when a name is meant.

This debars 'chha'. Thus कम्बल + यत् = कम्बल्यं 'A kambalya-measure of wool' = 100 Palas of wool. This is the name of a measure, such as कम्बल्यमूर्णापलसतम् ॥

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe कम्बलीया ऊर्णा "wool" lit. 'fit for making blanket', which is formed by छ ॥

१६६४। विभाषा हविरपूपादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ४ ॥

आमिक्ष्यं हवि । आमिक्षीयम् । पुरोडाश्यास्तण्डुलाः । पुरोडाशीयाः । अपूप्यम् । अपूपीयम् ॥

1664. The affix यत् comes optionally after the words denoting, 'offering,' and after "apūpa &c," in the sense of Prak-kṛitīya.

Thus आमिक्ष्यं हवि, "fit for making आमिक्षा" i. e. curd :—or आमिक्षीयं with छ ॥ So also पुरोडाश्याः or पुरोडाशीयास्तण्डुलाः, 'suitable for making Purodāśa' i. e. a kind of rice.

Note:—The word हवि occurs in the गवादि class (V. 1. 2. S. 1662) and it necessarily take यत् there being no option. The हवि here, therefore, means things denoting sacrificial offerings, and not the word-form 'havi.'

So also after अपूपगदि: as अपूप्यम् or अपूपीयम् ॥

1 अयूप, 2 तण्डुल, 3 (अभ्युष), 4 अभ्योष, 5 अवोष, 6 अभ्येष, 7 पृथुक, 8 ओदन, 9 खूप, 10 पूष, 11 कृष्ण, 12 महीष, 13 घुसल, 14 कटक, 15 कर्णवटक, 16 इर्गल,* 17 अर्गल, 18 अन्नविकारेभ्यश्च, 19 यूप,* 20 स्थूणा, 21 शीष (पीष), 22 अभ्य, 23 यष, 24 कट, 25 अयः स्थूण,

Gana Sūtra :—The affix यत् comes optionally after words denoting modifications of food : such as सक्तु ॥ In the case of 'saktu' however, no option is allowed. See V. 1. 2 S. 1662.

१६६५ । तस्मै हितम् । ५ । १ । ५ ॥

वस्सेभ्यो हितो वस्सीयो गोघुक् । चाङ्गवे हितं चाङ्गव्यं वारु । गव्यम् । हविष्यम् ॥

1665. An affix comes after a word in the fourthⁿ case in construction, in the sense of 'good for that.'

Thus वस्सेभ्यो हितो गोघुक् = वस्सीयः 'fit for calves' i.e. a cow-milker. So also चाङ्गवे हितं = चाङ्कु + यत् = चाङ्गव्य (VI. 4. 146, S. 847. VI. 1. 79 S. 63). As चाङ्गव्यं वारु, 'wood', 'fit for a stake' गव्यम् ; हविष्यम् ॥

१६६६ । शरीराद्यवाद्यत् । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

दन्यम् । कण्वम् । * नस् नासिकायाः ॥ नस्यम् । नाभ्यम् ॥

1666. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after a word denoting a part of the body.

The word शरीर means animal organism. This debars छ, thus, दन्यम् 'good for the teeth.' कण्वम्, औष्ठ्यम्, नाभ्यम्, नैस्यम् such as dentrifice, snuff, oil &c. See VI. 1. 213.

Vart :—The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and तस्, and the word ध्रुव follow : as, नस्यम्, नस्तः, नस् ध्रुवः ॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3. 55 S. 1430 and V. 1. 6 S. 1666 ; तस् is taught in V. 4. 45 S. 2126.

The word शिरस् 'head', is also governed by this rule, but शिरष् is replaced by शीर्षन् before यत् by the next sūtra.

१६६७ । ये च तद्धिते । ६ । १ । ६१ ॥

यावो तद्धिते परे शिरश्चावस्य शीर्षन्नादेशः स्यात् । शीर्षण्यः । तद्धितं किम् । शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति ॥ वा केशेषु * ॥ शीर्षण्याः शिरस्याः वा केशाः । अग्निं शीर्ष इति वाच्यम् * ॥ अजावो तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षादेशः । स्थूलशिरस इदं स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥

1667. There is the substitution of शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here, from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यां हि मुखयो भवान्, शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix यत् is here added

by V. I. 6 S. 1666. The word शीर्षन् retains its original form before this affix यन्, the final न् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vart :—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्षयः केशाः or शिरस्याः केशाः ॥

Vart :—There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हस्तिशीर्षिः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इप् (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096). So also स्थूलशिरस इवम् = स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥

Note :—Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154)- Again in forming the feminine of हस्तिशीर्षिः by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198), arises this difficulty :—व्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हस्तिशीर्षिः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61 S. 1667). The form which we get will be this, हस्तिशीर्षिः + व्यङ् = हस्तिशीर्षिण् + य (VI. 1. 61 S. 1667) = हस्तिशीर्षिण्या (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154) But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हस्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हस्तिशीर्षि + व्यङ् = हस्तिशीर्षि + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लोपदिक्) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthānivat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्षि, because this zero intervenes, शीर्षि is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, S. 1667, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthānivat to इङ् affix.

१६६८ । खलयवमाषतिलवृषब्रह्मणश्च । ५ । १ । ७ ॥

खलाय हितं खल्यम् । यव्यम् । माष्यम् । तिल्यम् । वृष्यम् । ब्रह्मण्यम् । चाद्वय्या ॥

1668. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the word 'khala,' 'yava,' 'māsha,' 'tila,' 'vr̥sha' and 'brahmana.'

This debars छ ॥ Thus खल्यम् "suitable for threshing floor'. So also यव्यम्, माष्यम्, तिल्यम्, वृष्यम्, or ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥

Note :—No secondary derivatives can, however, be formed of the following वृष्यो हितम् । ब्रह्मण्यो हितम्; the full phrases must be used in these cases, for these words take neither छ nor यत् though वृष is = वृषन् and ब्रह्मन् is = ब्रह्मण ॥

The word च in the sūtra indicates that the rule applies to words other than those enumerated. Thus रयाय हितम् = रथ्या ॥

१६६९ । अजाविःश्यां ध्यन् । ५ । १ । ८ ॥

अजय्या यूथिः । अविद्या ॥

1669. The affix *य्यन्* comes in the senses of 'good for that,' after the words 'aja' and 'avi.'

This debars 'chha.' Thus अजय्या यूथिः 'the yellow jasmine called yûthi.' अविद्या यूथिः ॥

१६७० । आत्मन्विश्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात्तः । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

1670. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the words 'âtman,' and 'viśvajana' and after-compounds having the word 'bhoga' as their second term.

This debars क्ख ॥ In the sūtra, the न् of आत्मन् has not been elided, indicating that it should not be compounded with the word भोग which would have been the case otherwise. It therefore follows from this irregular construction of the sūtra, that the word भोगोत्तरपद does not apply to the words आत्मन् and विश्वजन, but these words are themselves prakṛiti. Thus आत्मन् + ख = आत्मनीन् 'suitable for one's self' the न् of âtman, which required to be elided by VI. 4. 149 S 679, is saved by the next sūtra.

१६७१ । आत्माध्वानौ खे । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

एतौ खे प्रकृत्या स्तः । आत्मने हितमात्मनीन् । विश्वजनीन् । कर्मधारयोदेष्यने * ॥ षष्ठी-तत्पुरुषाद्बहुव्रीहिश्च क्ख एव । विश्वजनीयम् ॥ पञ्चजनादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चजनीन् ॥ सर्वजनादुप-
ख्यम् * ॥ सावजनिकः । सर्वजनीनः । महाजनादुप * । माहाजनिकः । मातृभोगीणः । पितृ भोगीणः । राजभोगीणः ॥ आचार्याणस्त्वं च * ॥ आचार्यभोगीणः ॥

1671. The final of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीन् : (V. 1. 9. S. 1670).

Note :—अध्वानमलङ्कामी (V. 2. 16 S. 1817) अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samâsânta affix टच् added to the avyayibhâva (V. 4. 108 S. 678), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85 S. 953).

So also विश्वजनीन् 'suitable for all men.' The word विश्वजन must be a karmadhâraya compound, meaning 'all men,' for the application of this rule; when it is a Tatpuruṣa or a Bahuvrîhi compound, it will take क्ख ॥ As, विश्वजनाय हितं = विश्वजनीयम् 'beneficial for man-kind.'

Vart :—So also after Karmadhâraya Compound पञ्चजन, e, g, पञ्चजनीन्, otherwise पञ्चजनीयम् ॥

Vart :—After the Karmadhâraya compound सर्वजन, there are the affixes टच् and ख, as सर्वजनीन् and सर्वजनिकम् ; otherwise सार्वजनीयम् ॥

Vart :—The affix टच् comes always after the word महाजन whether it be a Karmadhâraya or a Tatpuruṣa, but not so when it is a Bahuvrîhi Com-

pound. As महाजनाय हितं माहाजनिकं ॥ In a Bahuvrīhi it will be महाजनीयः with छ ॥

Compounds having भोग as their final term also take the affix ख, as, मातृभोगीयः and पितृभोगीयः ॥ The word भोग means 'body'. But माभीयः and पित्रीयः with छ, when the word भोग does not follow.

Vart :—The words राजा and आचार्य followed by 'bhoga' take always the affix ख, as राजभोगीनः and आचार्यभोगीनः ॥

Gaṇa sūtra :—In the case of आचार्यभोगीनः the न is not changed into ञ (VIII. 4. 2.) The words do not take the affix ख when used singly. As, राज्ञोहितम्, आचार्याद्यहितम्, no affix being employed.

१६७२ । सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णट्ञौ । ५ । १ । १० ॥

सर्वाणामेति वक्तव्यम् * सर्वस्मै हितं सार्वम् । सर्वथिम् ॥ पुरुषादधविकारसमूहेनकृतेषु * ॥ भाष्यकारप्रयोगान्तेत्यस्य इन्द्रमण्ड्ये निवेशः । पुरुषस्य वधः पौरुषेयः । तस्यदमित्यणि प्राप्ते । पुरुषस्य विकारः पौरुषेयः । प्राणिरजतादिव्योऽञ् इत्याजि प्राप्ते । समूहेऽप्याणि प्राप्ते । एकाकिनोऽपि परितः पौरुषेयवृत्ता इवेति माधः । तेनकृतमन्येऽणि प्राप्ते अमन्यं तु प्रासादादवप्राप्त एवेति विवेकः ॥

1672. The affixes ण and ट्ञ come respectively in the sense of 'good for that' after the words 'sarva' and 'puruṣa'.

Vart :—The affix ण comes optionally after सर्व as सर्वस्मै हितं = सर्वथिम् or सार्वम् ॥

Vart :—The affix ट्ञ comes after पुरुष when the word so formed means : 'slaughter', 'modification', 'a crowd', or 'made by him'.

The word तेन is placed in the middle of the Dvandva, according to the employment of the author of Mahābhāṣya.

Thus पुरुषस्यवधः = पौरुषेयः 'man-slaughter.' Here अण् (IV. 3. 120. S. 1500). is debarred. So also पुरुषस्य विकारः = पौरुषेयः "human." Here अञ् (IV. 3. 154. S. 1532) is debarred.

Similarly in the sense of समूहः "crowd," as in the following line of Māgha ;—

एकाकिनोऽपि परितः पौरुषेयवृत्ता इव ॥ Here also the अण् of तस्य समूहः is debarred.

So also in the sense of "the book composed," the affix अण् would have come, but this debarbs it. When the thing made is not a book but "place" &c then no other sūtra applies, and this ordains ट्ञ as a vidhi. Thus पौरुषेयो ग्रन्थः "a human book", as opposed to अपौरुषेया वेदाः "the non-human Vedas". So also पौरुषेयः प्रासादः "a man-built palace."

१६७३ । माणवचरकाभ्यां खञ् । ५ । १ । ११ ॥

माणवाय हितं माणवीनम् । चारकीणम् ॥

1673. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'good for that', after the words 'māṇava', and 'charaka'.

This debars छ ॥ As माणवाय हितं = माणवीनम् ॥ So also चारकीणम् ॥

१६७४ । तदर्थविकृतेः प्रकृतौ । ५ । १ । १२ ॥

विकृतिवाचकाच्चतुर्थ्यन्तान्नदर्यायां प्रकृतौ वाच्यायां छप्रत्ययः स्यात् । अङ्गारेभ्य एतानि अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि । प्राकारीया इटकाः । शङ्ख्यं दारु ॥

1674. After a word being the name of a product, the above-mentioned affix छ comes, to denote a thing which is the primitive that is serviceable for that.

Note:—The word प्रकृति means primitive or the material cause of a product. The word विकृति means 'the product' or 'modification of such primitive'. तदर्थे 'serviceable for that' i. e. the primitive being serviceable for the product. The word तदर्थे shows that the primitive must be serviceable for that particular product and nothing else. That is to say, an affix will not come to denote any product in general, but only when the primitive is serviceable for a particular product and nothing else. The word तदर्थे shows also that the word must be in the 4th case when the affix is added. Some read the words तस्मै हितं also into this sūtra.

Thus अङ्गारेभ्यो हितानि एतानि काष्ठानि = अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि 'wood serviceable for making charcoal,' so also प्राकारीया इटकाः 'bricks serviceable for making a wall'. Here अङ्गारीय and प्राकारीय are formed by छ V. I, 1. S. 1661 Similarly शङ्ख्यं दारु 'wood serviceable for a spear'.

Note:— Why do we say तदर्थम् 'serviceable thereto' ? Observe यवानां धानाः, धानानां सक्तवः ॥ Here there is modification of primitive, but सक्तु is the product also of other things than धानाः such as लाजा &c.

Why do we say विकृतेः 'after a product' ? Observe उदकार्थः कूपः, there is no affix. For कूपः 'a well' and उदक 'water' do not stand in the relation of प्रकृति and विकृति i. e. material cause and effect. As 'water' is not the modification or product of 'the well' though it is found in the well, and therefore the affix is not employed.

Why do we say प्रकृतौ 'to denote a primitive.' Observe अस्यर्था कोशी 'a sheath serviceable for a sword. The sword is a product of iron, but a sheath is not the primitive of the sword.

By using the words प्रकृति and विकृति it is further shown that the प्राकृति is liable to modification or vikāra.

१६७५ । छदिरुपधिबलेर्देञ् । ५ । १ । १३ ॥

छादिवेश्याणि नृणानि । बालेयास्तण्डुलाः ॥ उपधिशब्दास्त्वार्ये इष्यते * ॥ उपधीयेत इत्युपधीः रयाङ्गं तदेव औपधेयम् ॥

1675. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'chhadis,' 'upadhi,' and 'bali' denoting the product.

This debars छ. Thus छादिवेश्याणि नृणानि, बालेयस्तण्डुलाः ॥

Ishti :—The affix comes after the word उपधि without changing the sense. उपधीयत इत्युपधिः=रथांगम् part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference or the wheel itself. The word औपधेयम् also means the same.

१६७६ । ऋषभोपानहोऽर्थः । ५ । १ । १४ ॥

ऊरुदापवारः । भार्बभ्यो वत्सः । औपानहो घुञ्जः । चर्मण्यन्त्यमेव पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ।
ओपानह्यं चर्म ॥

1676. The affix ऊय comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'rishabha' and 'upānah' denoting the products.

This debars छ ॥

Thus भार्बभ्यो वत्सः, औपानहोः घुञ्जः ॥ Even when the primitive is 'leather चर्म,' the affix 'nya' will come after उपानह् debarring by anticipation the अञ् of V. I. 15. S. 1677. Thus औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

१६७७ । चर्मणोऽञ् । ५ । १ । १५ ॥

चर्मणो या विकृतिस्तद्वाचकादञ् स्यात् । वध्र्यै इदं वार्धं चर्म । वारत्रं चर्म ॥

1677. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after a word expressing the product of leather.

The word चर्मणः in the aphorism is in the genitive case. This अञ् debars छ ॥ Thus वार्धं चर्म and वारत्रं चर्म a leather serviceable for making a 'vārdhra' and 'vāratra' i. e. a leather thong.

१६७८ । तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति । ५ । १ । १६ ॥

प्राकार आसामिष्टकानां स्यात्प्राकारीया इष्टकाः । प्रासादीयं वाह । प्राकारोऽस्मिन् स्यात् प्राकारीयो वेशः । इनिशब्दो लौकिको विवक्षामनुसारयति । तेनेह न । प्रासादां देवदत्तस्य स्यादिति ॥

1678. The above mentioned affixes come after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive or a locative, when the word in the first case is agent of the verb 'syāt';—in other words—the above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of 'very well sufficient there to' and 'very well sufficient to be made therein'.

Note :—The word तद् shows that the word in construction must be in the first case, the words अस्य 'of it' and अस्मिन् 'in it' show the senses of the affix, the word स्यात् 'it can be' qualifies the primitive, the word इति, is for the sake of distinctness.

Thus प्राकार आसाम् इष्टकानां स्यात्=प्राकारीया इष्टकाः 'the bricks sufficient to raise a wall'. So also प्रासादीयं वाह ॥ Similarly प्राकारोऽस्मिन्नेव स्यात्=प्राकारीयो वेशः 'place sufficient to make a wall therein'. प्रासादीया भूमिः ॥

Note :—The word स्यात् being in the Potential Mood (विधिलिङ्) of अस् 'to be', has the force of संभावन् 'potentiality, sufficiency' as given in Sūtras III. 3. 154. S. 2811 &c. Such as when the large number of bricks makes it *possible* to raise a wall, we say प्राकार आसामिटकानां स्यात् ॥ Similarly when the quality (गुण) of a land, such as its area, situation &c, makes it *possible* to erect a palace therein, we say, प्रासादाऽस्मिन्नेषे स्यात् ॥

In the examples under this sūtra, there is no modification (विकार) of the primitive (प्रकृति) into a product, as was the case under sūtra V. 1. 12. S. 1674. The examples under this sūtra show merely the 'adequacy, fitness or sufficiency' of a thing for a certain purpose. Herein lies the difference between this sūtra and the previous ones.

The repetition of the word तद् twice in this sūtra shows the existence of the Grammatical maxim: अनेकस्मिन् प्रत्ययार्थे प्रत्येकं समर्थं विभक्तिः संबन्धनीयः 'when the sense of an affix is more than one, the case in construction to which the affix must be added must be shown in each case.'

Why there is no affixing in this case : प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यात् ? The use of इति in the Sūtra would prevent this, the force of इति being that the classical usage must be looked to in forming these derivatives.

१६७९ । परिखाया ढञ् । ५ । १ । १७ ॥

परिखेयी भूनिः ॥

1679. The affix ढञ् comes, after the word 'parikhâ' in the above senses of 'this is sufficient for that', and 'this is sufficient therein'.

This debars छ ॥ Thus परिखेयी भूनिः 'land sufficient to make a mote thereon'.

Up to this Sūtra was the governing force of the affixes छ and यत्. Hereafter another affix will be taught.

Here ends the chapter on छ and यत् affixes.

अथ तद्धितार्हीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ARHIYA AFFIXES.

१६८० । प्राग्वतेष्टञ् । ५ । १ । १८ ॥

तेन तुल्यमिति वति वक्ष्यति ततः प्राक् ङप्रधिक्रियते ॥

1680. Upto Sûtra V. 1. 115 S. 1778. (excluding that) the affix ङ् bears rule.

Note :—The affix ङ् governs all the succeeding sūtras upto तेन तुल्यक्रिया चेद्वाति, and has the senses given to it in Sūtras V. 1. 37 S. 1702 &c. Strictly speaking the affix ङ् governs only upto V. 1. 110 S. 1773 and not upto 115. Thus in V. 1. 72, the affix ङ् must be read ; as पारायणिकः, सौरायणिकः, चाम्नायणिकः ॥

१६८१ । आर्हादगोपुच्छसंख्यापारिमाणदृक् । ५ । १ । १९ ॥

तदर्हतीत्येतदभिध्याप्य ङाधिकारमध्ये ङोऽपवादवृत्तगधिक्रियते गोपुच्छादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

1681. Upto Sûtra V. 1. 63 S. 1728 inclusive, the affix दृक् bears rule, 'with the exception of the word 'gopuchchha', or a Numeral, or a word denoting a measure of capacity.

Note :—Strictly speaking दृक् governs upto sūtra V. 1. 65. S. 1730. The word आर्हाद् is made up of आ + अर्हात् । The force of आ here is अभिनिधि or inclusive, so that in the Sûtra तदर्हति (V. 1. 63.) also, the दृक् will be employed. The affix दृक् debars ङ् ॥ The sense will be the same as given in V. 1. 37 S. 1702. &c. the difference between दृक् and ङ् being in accent only. Thus निष्कया कृतिं = नैष्किकम् । So also पाणिकम् ॥

१६८२ । असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । २० ॥

आर्हादित्येतत्तेन क्रीतमिति यावत्सप्तदश सङ्ख्यामनुवर्तते । निष्कादिभ्योऽसमासे दृक् स्यादार्हीयेष्वर्थेषु । नैष्किकम् । समासे । तु ङ् ॥

1682. The affix दृक् comes after the words निष्कं &c. when they are not parts of a compound, the sense of the affix being that taught in the subsequent sūtras upto V. 1. 63, S. 1702.

The word आर्हाद् is understood in the sūtra also. This दृक् debars ङ् Thus नैष्किकम् ॥

But when it is a part of a compound, then the word निष्क will take the affix डञ् ॥

Thus परमनिष्क + डञ् ॥ Here applies the following rule.

Note :—The following seven are nishkādi words :—1 निष्क, 2 पण, 3 पाद, 4 भाष, 5 बाह; 6. क्षोण; 7. षटि ॥ Droṇa denotes measure, ṣhaṣṭi denotes numeral and would have taken डञ् ॥

१६८३ । परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाण्यो । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धिः स्यात् मिदार्थे ॥ परमनैष्किकः । असमासग्रहणं ज्ञापकं भवति । इतः प्राक् तदन्तविधिरिति । तेन सुगम्यम् । यवापूप्यमित्यादि ॥ इत ऊर्ध्वं तु संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तग्रहणं प्राग्वतेरिष्यते तच्चास्तुकि ॥ पारायणिक; । द्वेपारायणिकः । अलुकीति किम् । द्वाभ्यां शर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं द्विशर्पम् । द्विशर्पेण क्रीते शर्पादञ् ना भुम् । किं तु डञ् । द्विशौर्षिकम् ॥ 'असंज्ञा' इति किम् । पञ्चकलापाः परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकलापिकम् । तदस्य परिमाणमिति डञ् ॥

1683. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

Thus परमनैष्किकः ॥

The words 'asamāse etc when they are not parts of a compound' of the last sūtra are jñāpaka, indicating that in the preceding sūtras the tadanta-vidhi applied. Thus we have not only गम्यं, but सुगम्यम् also (V. 1. 2. S. 1662), not only अपूप्यम् but यवापूप्यम् also (V. 1. 4. S. 1664). But in the sūtras that follow, the tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member of the compound is a numeral, and that too when there is no luk-elision of the affix. As पारायणिकः and द्वेपारायणिकः ॥ (But when not preceded by a numeral, the tadanta-vidhi does not apply : as परमपारायणम् वर्तयति ।). Why do we say 'when there is no luk'. Observe द्वाभ्यां शर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विशर्पम् ॥ द्विशर्पेण क्रीते = द्विशौर्षिकम् with डञ् not अञ् ॥ V. 1. 26 S. 1691).

Why do we say 'when it is not a name?' Observe पञ्चकलापिकम् ॥ It has taken the affix डञ् by V. 1. 57 S. 1723.

Note :—The word परिमाण in this sūtra has its technical signification, and not its etymological sense. Technically परिमाण does not include संख्या, etymologically it does. Pāṇini has used this word परिमाण in some sūtras in its technical sense, in others in its etymological sense. Thus in sūtras IV. 1. 22. S. 480, and V. 1. 19. S. 1681 the technical sense is taken, while in sūtras IV. 3. 156. S. 1534 and V. 1. 57. S. 1723 the etymological sense is meant. Technically परिमाण means सर्वतोमानं or a measure of capacity, and surface, namely length and breadth and height or depth, such as ग्रहः &c. i. e. a cubic measure and a square measure. In this sense it is to be distinguished from the measures of length or lineal measure, technically

called प्रमाण such as a वितस्त्र 'a cubit' &c, on the one side, and the measures of weight, technically called हन्मान such as पल, &c on the other side. In short हन्मान means a measure of weight or gravity, परिमाण means a measure of volume or capacity, प्रमाण means a lineal measure, and a संख्या is beyond all these.

Note :—Q. Is not the employment of the word असमासे in the Sūtra redundant? For by the maxim अहण्यता प्रतिपदि केन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika, does not, contrary to I. 1. 72, S. 26, denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself;" the prātipadika निष्क being especially mentioned in the sūtra, the rule will apply to the word निष्क and not to a word ending with निष्क ॥

A. The employment of the word असमासे in this Sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that in spite of the above maxim, the तदन्तविधिः I. 1. 72. S. 26 applies to the previous sūtra, while in the subsequent sūtras it does not. As उगवादिभ्यो यत् (V. 1. 2, S. 1662) the यत् applies not only to गो &c but to words ending in गो &c. As गव्यम् and सुगव्यम्, अतिसुगव्यम् ॥ Not only अपत्यम्, अपूपीयम् (V. 1. 4. S. 1664) but also यवापत्यम् यवापुपीयम् ॥ Not only इन्ध (V. 1. 6. S. 1666) but also राजदन्त्यम् ॥

While in the sūtras subsequent to this V. 1. 20, S. 1682 the tadanta-vidhi applies only to words preceded by a Sankhyā and that also in Sūtras upto V. 1. 115. S. 1778 and not there after as, द्वैपारायणिकः and त्रैपारायणिक (V. 1. 72. S. 1726. Even in this latter case, when an affix is elided by लुक् the tadanta-vidhi does not apply. Thus द्वाभ्यां शर्पाभ्यां क्रीते = द्वि शर्प + टम् (V. 1. 18. S. 1680) = द्विशर्पम्, (the affix being elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693). Now in forming a tertiary derivative from this word द्विशर्पम्, the tadanta-vidhi will not apply. Thus द्विशर्पेण क्रीते, here what affix are we to subjoin? If tadanta-vidhi applied, we get the affix अच् (V. 1. 26 S. 1691) in the alternative. But tadanta-vidhi not applying, we get the general affix टम् V. 1. 8. S. 1660, and have द्विशोर्षिकम् ॥ Here the affix टम् is not elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693 as there is no Dvigu compounding. The above rule is summarised in the following *ishti* प्राप्तवतेः संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तमहणमलुकि ॥

१६८४। अर्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा । ७ । ३ । २६ ॥

अर्धात्परिमाणवाचकस्योत्तरपदस्यैरेचो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा मिति णिति किति च अर्धद्वौणेन क्रीतम् आर्धद्वौणिकम् । अर्धद्वौणिकम् ॥

1684. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्ध ॥

As अर्धद्वौणिकम् or आर्धद्वौणिकम्, with टम् (V. 1. 18.).

*Note :—*Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धकोशिकम् on (= अर्धकोशः प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

१६८५ । नातः परस्य । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

अर्धपरस्य परिमाणकारस्य वृद्धिर्न पूर्वपदस्य तु वा भिदासौ । अर्धप्रस्थिकम् । आर्धप्रस्थिकम् ॥
अतः किम् अर्धकौडविकम् । तपरः किम् । अर्धखार्यो भवा अर्धखारी । अर्धखारीभार्य इत्यत्र
वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति पुंवज्ञावनिषेधो न स्यात् ॥

1685. When the first vowel of the second member preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण्, or क्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. I. 18 S. 1680) ॥ अर्धकंसिक. or आर्धकंसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe अर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भव = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vṛiddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛiddhi in forming a Bahuvrīhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. S. 840 as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यास्य) (वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c.)

Notg :—Wherever Vṛiddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrīhi compound referring to a male person वैयाकरण्यी भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणाभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by prohibition of Vṛiddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

१६८६ । शताच्च ढन्यतावशते । ५ । १ । २१ ॥

शतेन क्रीतं शतिकम् । शत्यम् । अशते किम् । शतं परिमाणस्य शतकः सङ्खः । इह प्रत्ययार्थो
वस्तुतः प्रकृत्यर्थान्नभिद्यते । तेन ढन्यतौ न किंतु कनेव । असमास इत्येव । द्विशतेन क्रीतं द्विशतकम् ॥

1686. The affix ढन् and यन् come in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word शत when it is not a part of a compound, and when it does not mean merely a 'hundred'.

The word आर्हीत् V. I. 19 S. 1681 is understood here also. These affixes ढन् and यन् debar the affix कन् V. I. 22 S. 1687. Thus शतेन क्रीतम् = शत्यम् or शतिकम् 'purchased for a hundred gold coins'.

Why do we say अशते 'when not meaning merely 'a hundred'? Observe शतपरिमाणस्य = शतकं निशानम् 'a band whose measure is hundred'. The word अशते qualifies the sense of the affix, and not that of the base, the latter not being possible; for the word शत as a base must always mean 'a hundred'. The following examples will illustrate the meaning; शतमध्याया परिमाणस्य ग्रन्थस्य

शतकः 'a book consisting of hundred Adhyayas'. In this case there is essentially no difference between the base (prakṛiti) and the sense of the affix (pratyayārtha), though there is apparent difference, for the sake of applying the affix. For शतकः is a book essentially consisting of hundred, while शतं 'a carriage purchased for a hundred coins,' does not contain hundred as its essential part. Similarly शतको गोसंघः 'a herd of cows hundred in number'. Here the संघः essentially consists of शत and so there is the affix कन् and not ङ् or यन् (V, 1. 58). But not so in the case of शतं शतकशतं, शतिकं शतकशतं, for here the sense of the affix is formed by the sentence, and not discovered merely from the word. Hence the following Vārtika शतप्रतिषेधेऽन्यशतत्वेऽप्रतिषेधः ।

The word च in the sūtra draws in the word असमासे from the previous sūtra. Thus द्वौ च शतं च = द्विशतं, द्विशतेन क्रीतं = द्विशतकम् 'purchased for a hundred and two coins'. Here the affix is कन् V. 1. 22 S. 1687. So त्रिशतकम् ॥ According to the Iṣṭi given in the Sūtra VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 the tadanta-vidhi applies here.

१६८७ । संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन् । ५ । १ । २२ ॥

संख्यायाः कन् स्यादार्हियेऽर्थे नतु त्यन्तशदन्तायाः । पञ्चभिः क्रीतः पञ्चकः । बहुकः ।
त्यन्तायास्तु साम्निकः । शब्दन्तायाः चात्वारिश्चकः ॥

1687. The affix kan comes after a Numeral, when it does not end with ति or शन्, the sense of the affix being that taught hereafter upto V. 1. 63. S. 1728.

The word आर्हियन् is to be read into this sūtra also. The word संख्या is defined in I. 1. 23 S. 258. This कन् debaras ङम् ॥ Thus पञ्चभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चकः, बहुकः, गणकः ॥

Why do we say 'when it does not end in ति or शन्'? Observe साम्निकः, चात्वारिश्चकः formed by ङम् ॥

१६८८ । वतोरिङ्गा । ५ । १ । २३ ॥

वत्यन्तात्कन इङ्गा स्यात् । तावत्कः । तावत्कः ॥

1688. The affix, Kan' coming after a Numeral ending with वन् takes optionally the augment इङ्, the sense of the affix being those given upto V. 1. 62.

The words ending in वन् are संख्या ; see I. 1. 23 : and would consequent take कन् by V. 1. 22. The present sūtra ordains the optional affixing of इङ् to this कन् ॥ Thus तावत्कः or तावत्कः ॥

१६८९ । विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां ड्वुनंसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २४ ॥

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । अस्यां कन् स्यात् । असंज्ञायां ड्वुनं स्यात्कनोऽपवादः । विंशकः
त्रिंशकः । संज्ञायां तु विंशतिकः । त्रिंशत्कः ॥

1689. The affix ड्बुन् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the words 'Viñsati' and 'triñsat' when it does not denote a Name : ann the ति and अन् of the base are dropped before this affix.

The affix कन् will be added by dividing the sūtra into two : viz : (1) विंशतिर्विंशद्भ्यां (2) ड्बुनसंज्ञायाम् ; the meanings being (1) the affix 'Kan' is added to viñsati and triñsat ; (2) The affix ḍvun is added to the same words, when not denoting a name:

Thus विंशति + ड्बुन् = विंश + भक्त (VI. 4. 142 S. 844) = विंशक्तः, विंशत् + ड्बुन् = विंश + भक्त (VI. 4. 143 S. 316) = विंशक्तः ॥

When not denoting a Name विंशतिकः विंशक्तः formed by affix कन् V. 1. 22.

१६९० । कंसाट्टिठन् । ५ । १ । २५ ॥

दो डीबर्थः । इकार उच्चारणार्थः । कंसिकः । कंसिकी ॥ अर्धाद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अधिकः । अधिक्ती ॥ कार्षापणाट्टिठन्वक्तव्यः प्रातिविशब्ध वा * ॥ कार्षापणिकः । कार्षापणिकी । प्रतिकः । प्रतिकी ॥

1690. The affix टिठन् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word कंस ॥

This debars ठञ्, the anubandha टि of टिठन् shows that the feminine of the word will be formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470). The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the न् of टिठन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686). Thus कंसिकः fem कंसिकी ॥

Vart :—So also it must be stated after the word अर्थः, e. g. अर्थिकः अर्थिकी ॥

Vart :—So also after the word कार्षापण, e. g. कार्षापणिकः fem. कार्षापणिकी ॥ Sometimes the word प्राति is substituted for कार्षापण before this affix, as प्रातिकः, fem. प्रातिकी ॥

१६९१ । शूर्पादञ्जन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । २६ ॥

शौर्षम्, शौर्षिकम् ॥

1691. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the senses taught upto VI. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the word 'śūrpa'.

This debars ठञ् which comes in the alternative. As, शूर्पेण क्रीतं = शौर्षेण or शौर्षिकम् ॥

१६९२ । शतमानविंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण् । ५ । १ । २७ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्यादङ्मूढकनामपवादः । शतमानेन क्रीतं शतमानम् । वैशतिकम् । साहस्रम् । वासनम् ॥

1692. The affix अण् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the words 'śatamāna', 'viṇśatika', 'sahasra', and 'vasana'.

This debars ढम्. ढक् and कम् ॥ Thus शतमानेन क्रीतं = शतमानम्, so also वैशतिकम्, साहस्रम् and वासनम् ॥

१६९३ । अध्यर्धपूर्वाद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २८ ॥

अध्यर्धपूर्वाद्विगोश्च परस्यार्धस्य लुक् स्यात् । अध्यर्धकंसम् । द्विकंसम् । संज्ञायां तु पाञ्चकलापिकम् ॥

1693. The affix having the senses taught upto V. 1. 63. S. 1728, is elided by लुक्, after a stem beginning with the word adhyardha, and after a Dvigu compound, when it is not a Name.

The word आर्हन् is understood here also. Thus अध्यर्धकंसम्, द्विकंसम्, अध्यर्धशूर्पम्, द्विशूर्पम्, त्रिकंसम्, त्रिशूर्पम् ॥ Here the affixes टिठन् and अम् are elided.

Note :—Though in the word द्विशूर्पम् &c. the affix is elided, it is only so when the affixing of the taddhita occasions a Dvigu compounding (II. 1. 51. S. 728) such as in द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विशूर्पम् ॥ Here the resultant is a Dvigu compound. But in forming tertiary derivatives the affix is not elided, as द्विशूर्पेण क्रीतं = द्विशौर्पिकम् ॥ Hence the following rule : द्विगोर्लुकि तन्निमित्तग्रहणम् ॥ See IV. 1. 88, V. 1. 20.

Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् 'when not a Name'? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम् or पञ्चलीहितिकम् and पाञ्चकलापिकम् being names of certain measures. The feminine word लोहिनी is changed into the masculine by the Vārtika भस्याडे तद्धिते given under VI. 3. 35. The lohini is the red seed with which gold &c. is weighed.

Note :—The word अध्यर्धे is a Sāṅkhyā (See I. 1. 23. S. 258) and a word beginning with it will be a Dvigu compound. Its separate mention in this sūtra may appear superfluous. It is however so mentioned, in order to indicate (jñāpaka) that this word is not always a Sāṅkhyā. Thus for the purposes of the application of the affix कृत्वसूच् (V. 4. 17. S. 2085) this word is not a sāṅkhyā.

१६९४ । विभाषा कार्षापणसहस्राभ्याम् । ५ । १ । २९ ॥

लुक्वा स्यात् । अध्यर्धकार्षापणम् । अध्यर्धकार्षापणिकम् । द्विकार्षापणम् । द्विकार्षापणिकम् । औपसंख्यानिकस्य टिठनां लुक् । पञ्चे अध्यर्धमातिकम् । द्विपतिकम् । अध्यर्धसहस्रम् । अध्यर्धसाहस्रम् । द्विसहस्रम् । द्विसाहस्रम् ॥

1694. The affix having the senses taught up to V. 1. 63. S. 1728 is optionally luk-elided, after the words kārshāpana, and sahasra, when they are preceded by adhyardha or are members of a Dvigu compound.

This sūtra makes the elision optional, when it was compulsory by the last sūtra. Thus अर्ध्याकार्षणम् or अर्ध्याकार्षणिकम्, द्विकार्षणम् or द्विकार्षणिकम्, here the affix टिठन् (V. 1. 25 S. 1690) is elided in one case, and not elided in the other. When it is not elided, प्रति may be substituted for कार्षण (V. 1. 25. S. 1690) अर्ध्याप्रतिकम्, द्विप्रतिकम् ॥

So also after the word सहस्र, e. g. अर्ध्यासहस्रम् or अर्ध्यासहस्रम्, द्विसहस्रम् or द्विसहस्रम् ॥ When the affix is not elided, the forms above shown with the irregular Vṛiddhi of the second stem, are evolved by sūtra VII. 3 15. S. 1752.

१६६५ । द्वित्रिपूर्वाभिष्कात् । ५ । १ । ३० ॥

लुग्व स्यात् । द्विनिष्कम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । त्रिनिष्कम् । त्रिनैष्किकम् ।

बहुपूर्वाच्चैति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ बहुनिष्कम् । बहुनैष्किकम् ॥

1695. The Ârĥīya-affix (V. 1. 63. S. 1728) is optionally elided after a Dvigu occasioning compound, of the word nishka, preceded by dvi and tri.

The word द्विगोः 'a taddhita occasioning a Dvigu compound' of V. 1. 28. S. 1693 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus द्विनिष्कम् or द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनिष्कम् or त्रिनैष्किकम् (VII. 3. 17. S. 1683).

Vṛt:—So also when nishka is preceded by बहु e. g. बहुनिष्कम् or बहुनैष्किकम् ॥ The irregular Vṛiddhi of the second term is caused by VII. 3. 17.

१६६६ । बिस्ताच्च । ५ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वित्रिबहुपूर्वाद्विस्तासार्ह्यस्य लुग्व स्यात् । द्विबिस्तम् । द्विबिस्तिकमित्यादि ॥

1696. The ârĥīya-affix (V. 1. 37-63) occasioning a Dvigu compound is optionally elided after the word bista, preceded by dvi or tri.

The word च in the sūtra draws in the words द्वित्रिपूर्वात् ॥ Thus द्विबिस्तम् or द्विबिस्तिकम् ॥

Note :—The separation of this sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

१६६७ । विंशतिकात्खः । ५ । १ । ३२ ॥

अर्ध्यापूर्वाद्विगोरित्येव । अर्ध्याविंशतिकीनम् । द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

1667. The affix kha (ईन्) comes in the ârĥīya senses (V. 1. 37-63) after the word viṅśatika when preceded by the word adhyarddha or a Numeral, occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अर्ध्याविंशतिकीनम्, द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

Note :—Being especially ordained, this affix ख is not elided by V. 1. 28.

१६६८ । खार्या ईकन् । ५ । १ । ३३ ॥

अध्यर्धखारीकम् । द्विखारिकम् ॥ केवलाभावेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ खारिकम् ॥

1698. The affix *īkan* comes in the *Ārhiya* senses (V. 1. 37-63), after the word *khārī*, when preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अध्यर्धखारीकम्, द्विखारिकम् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word *खारी* alone, as *खारिकम्* ॥

१६६९ । पणपादमाषशताद्यत् । ५ । १ । ३४ ॥

अध्यर्धपण्यम् । द्विपण्यम् । अध्यर्धपाद्यम् । द्विपाद्यम् । इह पादः पाति न । यस्येति लोपश्च स्थानिवद्भावात् । पद्यत्यतर्धे इत्यपि न । प्राण्यङ्गार्यस्थिव तत्र ग्रहणात् ॥

1699. The affix *yat* comes in the *ārhiya* senses (V. 1. 37-63) after the words *paṇa*, *pāda*, *māsha* and *śata* when preceded by the word *adhyardha*, or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अध्यर्धपण्यम्, द्विपण्यम्, so also अध्यर्धपाद्यम्, द्विपाद्यम् ॥ Here पाद is not changed to पद् by VI- 4. 130. S. 414 ; because the elided अ of पाद is *sthānivat*.

Thus द्विपाद + यत् = द्विपाद् + ० (अ लोपे by यस्येतिच VI. 4. 148. S. 311) + यत् ॥ This lopa elided अ becomes *sthānivat* and द्विपाद is not considered as ending in पाद् but पाद and so VI. 4. 130 S. 414 does not apply.

Nor is पाद not changed into पद्, by VI. 3. 53. S. 991. The substitution enjoined by VI. 3. 53 takes place when पाद means the *foot* of a living being, while here it means a measure of capacity.

१७०० । शाणाङ्गा । ५ । १ । ३५ ॥

यस्यात्यक्षे ङम् । तस्य लुक् । अध्यर्धशाण्यम् । अध्यर्धशाणम् ॥

1700. The affix *यत्* comes optionally after the word *śāṇa* in the *ārhiya*-senses (V. 1. 63), when it is preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu.

This debars ङम् which also comes in the alternative, and is then elided by V, 1. 28 S. 1693 Thus अध्यर्धशाण्यम् or अध्यर्धशाणम् ।

१७०१ । द्वित्रिपूर्वाद्यन् च । ५ । १ । ३६ ॥

शाणादित्येव । चाद्यत् । तेन षेरुच्यम् । परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोपपत्तिं पशुशसावादिबुद्धिरेव । द्वेष्टायम् । द्विष्टायम् । द्विष्टायम् । इह ङमादयस्योदशप्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषां समर्थविभक्त्योऽर्थाभावात्किं तास्त इदानीमुच्यन्ते ॥

1701. The affix **अय** as well as 'yat' optionally also comes after the word **śāṇa**, in the **ârhiya**-senses (V. 1. 37-63) when preceded by the words **द्वि** and **त्रि** .

The **यत्** comes optionally by the last sūtra and is also drawn into this by the word **च**. Thus we have three forms, **द्विषाण्यम्**, **द्विषाणम्** and **द्विषाण्यम्** ॥

Note :—The irregular Vṛiddhi of the second term in cases of compounds of numerals, taught in VII. 3. 15-17 S. 1752, 1754, 1683, does not however take place in the case of **षाण** this word being especially excluded from the operation of those rules, see VII. 3. 17. The Vṛiddhi here is regular as taught by the general rule VII. 2. 117.

Thus in the preceding sūtras V. I. 18. to V. I. 36. thirteen affixes have been taught, but the meaning of those affixes have not been given, nor the construction of the words to which they are to be added. In the following sūtras are given the meanings and the construction.

१७०२ । तेन क्रीतम् । ५ । १ । ३७ ॥

उम् । गोपुच्छेनक्रीतं गोपुच्छिकम् । सामातिकम् । प्रास्थिकम् । ठक् । नैष्किकम् ॥

1702. The thirteen affixes taught in V. 1. 18-36, have the sense of “ purchased with this price ”, and are added to a word in the third case in construction.

The thirteen affixes **उम्**, **ठक्**, **ठन्**, **यन्**, **कन्**, **ड्डुन्**, **टिठन्**, **अम्**, **अण्**, **ख**, **ईकन्**, **यत्**, and **षण्** have already been taught. Now is taught their sense, and the case construction of the word to which they should be added. The **तेन** shows that the words must be in the 3rd case in construction : and **क्रीतम्** shows that the sense is that of ‘ purchased ’. The illustrations have already been given in the previous sūtras. Some more may be mentioned here. Thus **गोपुच्छेन क्रीतम्** = **गोपुच्छिकम्** (the accent falling on **गौ**); so also with words denoting Numbers and Measures, as **सप्तत्याक्रीतम्** = **सामातिकम्**, **प्रास्थिकम्**, **नैष्किकम्** ॥

१७०३ । इङ्गोण्याः । १ । २ । ५० ।

गोण्या इत्त्यात्तद्धितलुकि । लुकोऽपवादः । पञ्चभिर्गोणीभिः क्रीतः पटः पञ्चगोणिः ।

1703. The short **इ** is substituted in the place of **गोपी**, when the Taddhita affix is elided by **luk**.

By the sūtra I. 2. 49. S. 1408 when a Taddhita is elided, the long **ई** of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word **गोपी** in which under similar circumstances the short **इ** replaces the long **ई**, as in the compound **पञ्चगोषिः** purchased for five **goṇis**. Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of “ purchased,” has been

rejected after गोपो by V. I. 28. S. 1693 therefore by the previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ ॥

Note :—This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of a Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ ॥ Thus purchased with five needles = पञ्चाभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चसूचिः दशसूचिः ॥ This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

१७०४ । तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातो । ५ । १ । ३८ ॥

संयोगः संबन्धः । उत्पातः शुभाशुभसूचकः । शक्तिकः शत्रो वा धनपतिसंयोगः । शक्तिकं शत्र्वं वा दक्षिणाक्षिप्त्स्वन्दनम् । शतस्य निमित्तमित्यर्थः ॥ वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शमनकोपनबोरूपसंख्यानम् * ॥ वातस्य शमनं कोपनं वा वातिकम् । पैत्तिकम् । श्लेष्मिकम् ॥ सन्निपाताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सान्निपातिकम् ॥

1704. The above affixes have further the sense of “for its sake”, when the meaning is a relation or an unwonted appearance.

The word तस्य shows that the word in construction must be in the 6th case, the word निमित्तं ‘cause or occasion’ gives the sense of the affix ; संयोग means ‘a connection, or relation’ : उत्पातः means ‘a portent indicative of good or bad luck.’ Thus शतस्य निमित्तं धनपतिना संयोगः = शत्रुः ‘a connection with a rich man for the sake of getting a hundred.’ So also शक्तिकः, साहस्रः ॥ So also शतस्य निमित्तशुत्पातो दक्षिणाक्षिप्त्स्वन्दनम् = शत्रुम्, शक्तिकम्, साहस्रम् “the twitching of the right eye for the sake of a hundred” i. e. indicative of acquiring or losing a hundred, a thousand &c.

Vart :—The above affixes come after the words वात, पित्त, and श्लेष्म in the senses of allaying or vitiating. As वातिकम् ‘allaying or vitiation of windy humour.’ So also पैत्तिकम्, श्लेष्मिकम् ॥

Vart :—Also after the word सन्निपात, as, सान्निपातिकम् ॥

१७०५ । गोद्यच्चोऽसंख्यापरिमाणाश्वादेर्यत् । ५ । १ । ३९ ॥

गोर्निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा गव्यः । ह्यचः, धन्यः । यशस्यः । स्वर्ग्यः । गोद्यचः किम् । विजयस्य वैजयिकः । असंख्येत्यादि किम् । पञ्चानां पञ्चकम् । सप्तकम् । प्रास्थिकम् । खारीकम् । भन्वादि, आधिकम् । आदिमकम् ॥ ब्रह्मवर्चसादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ब्रह्मवर्चस्यम् ॥

1705. After the word गो and after a word having two syllables, with the exception of a Numeral, or a Measure of capacity, or aśva &c, the affix yat (य) is added, in the above sense of ‘a relation or a portent for the purpose of that’.

This debars डम् ॥ As गो निमित्तं संयोग उत्पाति वा = गैव्यः 'a connection or a portent for the sake of a cow.' So also after a word of two syllables, as, वैव्यः, स्वैव्यः, यद्यस्यः ॥

Why do we say "when not a word denoting a Numeral or a Measure of capacity or अश्व &c"? Observe पंचानां निमित्तं = पंचकम्, सप्तकम्, अष्टकम्; प्रास्थिकम्, क्षारीकम्, आश्विकः formed by V. 1. 22, 18, 19.

Vart:—The word ब्रह्मवर्चस should be enumerated: e. g. ब्रह्मवर्चसस्य निमित्तं गुरुणा संयोगः = ब्रह्मवर्चस्यम् "relationship with a teacher in order to acquire Brahmavarchasa."

1 अश्व, 2 अश्वम्, 3 गण, 4 ऊर्णा, 5 उमा, 6 गङ्गा (भङ्ग भङ्गा), 7 वर्षा (वर्ष), 8 वसु ॥

१७०६ । पुत्राच्छ च । ५ । १ । ४० ॥

चाद्यत् । पुत्रीयः । पुत्र्यः ॥

1706. After the word putra, the affix chha (ईय) also comes, as well as yat (य), in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that.'

The word पुत्र being a dissyllabic word would always have taken यत् by the last aphorism. This ordains छ also. Thus पुत्रस्य निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा = पुत्रीयः or पुत्र्यः ॥

१७०७ । सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणजौ । ५ । १ । ४१ ॥

सर्वभूमेर्निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा सार्वभौमः । पार्थिवः । सर्वभूमिश्चोऽनुवृत्तिकारिषु पठ्यते ॥

1707. The affixes अण् and अञ् are respectively added to the words sarvabhūmi and prithivī, in the above mentioned sense of "a connection or a portent for its purpose".

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus सर्वभूमिनिमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा = सार्वभौमः, so also पार्थिवः ॥ In सार्वभौमः there is Vṛiddhi of both members of the compound by VII. 3. 20. S. 1438.

१७०८ । तस्येश्वरः । ५ । १ । ४२ ॥

1708. To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivī, are added the same affixes अण् and अञ् respectively, in the sense of "lord thereof".

Note:—Thus सर्वभूमेरीश्वरः = सार्वभौमः 'the lord of the whole earth', पार्थिवः 'the lord of the earth'.

Note:—The word तस्य, showing the genitive construction of the base, has been repeated in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was running into it from V. 1. 38 S. 1704 in order to show that the senses given in V. 1. 38 do not extend further.

Had तस्य not been repeated here, the word ईश्वरः would have been an attribute, like the words संबोध and उत्पात, of the word निमित्तः ॥

१७०९ । तत्र विदित इति च । ५ । १ । ४३ ॥

सर्वभूमीश्वरः सर्वभूमौ विदितो वा सार्वभौमः । पार्थिवः ॥

1709. To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivī, being in the 7th case in construction, are added the same affixes an and añ respectively, when the sense is that of “known therein”.

The word विदितः means known, published &c. सर्वभूमौ विदितः = सार्वभौमः “known in the whole world.” So also पार्थिवः ॥

१७१० । लोकसर्वलोकादृञ् । ५ । १ । ४४ ॥

तत्र विदित इत्यर्थे । लौकिकः । अनुशासिकादित्वादुभयपदवाञ्छिः । सार्वलौकिकः ॥

1710. The affix thañ comes in the sense of ‘known therein’, after the words loka and sarvaloka, in the 7th case in construction.

Thus लोके विदितः = लौकिकः, सार्वलौकिकः ॥ The irregular Vṛiddhi of both members takes place by VII. 3. 20 S. 1438.

१७११ । तस्य वापः । ५ । १ । ४५ ॥

उप्यते अस्मिन्निति वापः क्षेत्रम् । प्रत्यस्य वापः प्रास्थिकम् । द्वौगिकम् । खारीकम् ॥

1711. The above mentioned affixes (V. 1. 18 &c) come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of ‘sown with so much’.

The word वापः means ‘sown therein’ i. e. a field. Thus प्रत्यस्य वापः क्षेत्रम् = प्रास्थिकम् ‘sown with a Prastha’, द्वौगिकम्, खारीकम्, i. e. a field sown with a quantity of grain measuring a Prastha or a Droṇa or a Khāri.

१७१२ । पात्रात् छन् । ५ । १ । ४६ ॥

पात्रस्य वापः क्षेत्रं पात्रिकम् । पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

1712. The affix shṭhan comes in the sense of ‘sown with so much’, after the word pātra.

This debars ढञ् ॥ The ञ् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197, S. 3686) the ष् is for ढीष् (IV. 1. 41). The word पात्र denotes a measure of capacity. Thus पात्रस्यवापः = पात्रिकं क्षेत्रम्, fem पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

१७१३ । तदस्मिन्नुच्चायतामशुल्कोपदा दीयते । ५ । १ । ४७ ॥

वृद्धिर्दीयते इत्यादि क्रमेण प्रत्येकं संबन्धादेकवचनम् । पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धिः आयः लाभः शुल्कश्च उपदा वा दीयते पञ्चकः । शतिकः । शत्यः । साहस्रः । उत्तमर्णेन मूलातिरिक्तं माह्यं वृद्धिः । ग्रामादिषु स्वानि-
ग्राह्यो भाग आयः । विक्रेषा मूल्यावधिकं माह्यं लाभः । रक्षानिर्वेशो राजभागः शुल्कः । उत्कोच उपदा ॥
चतुर्थ्यर्थ उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चास्मै वृद्ध्यादिदीयते पञ्चको देवदत्तः । सममब्राह्मणे दानमिति वधिकृत्य-
स्वविषया वा ॥

1713. The above mentioned affixes have also the sense of “an interest, or a rent, or a profit, or a tax, or a bribe given thereby or in that”.

The affix is added to a word in the first case (तद्) in construction. The sense of the affix is that of a locative (अस्मिन्). The word दीयते ‘is given’ in the singular number joins with each one of the word वृद्धि, आय &c. The sum paid by a debtor to his creditor over and above the principal, is called वृद्धि or interest. The share of profit taken by the landlord in villages &c. is called आय or rent. The increase over the capital by sale of cloth &c. is called लाभ or profit. The share of the king for protection &c. is called शुल्क or tax. The present or bribe is called उपदा ॥ Thus पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धि र्वा आयो वा लाभो वा शुल्को दीयते = पञ्चकः ‘that transaction &c. in which five percent is given as interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe’. Similarly शत्यः, शतिकः, साहस्रः &c.

Vart :—So also in the sense of a Dative. As पञ्चास्मै वृद्धिर्वा आयो वा लाभो वा उपदा दीयते = पञ्चको देवदत्तः “Devadatta to whom five per cent is given as Interest &c”. This Vārtika may be redundant, if we take the locative as some-
time having the force of dative also. As in the sentence सममब्राह्मणे दानम् ॥

१७१४ । पूरणाधीट्टन् । ५ । १ । ४८ ।

यथाक्रमं ङक् ङितनोरपवादः । द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते द्वितीयिकः । तृतीयिकः । अर्थिकः ।
अर्थशब्दो रूपकस्यार्थे रूढः ॥

1714. The affix than comes in the same sense of “an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein” after a word denoting an ordinal, and after the word ardha.

This debars ङक् and ङितन् ॥ Thus द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते = द्वितीयिकः, तृती-
यिकः, पञ्चमिकः, सप्तमिकः, अष्टमिकः ॥ The word अर्द्ध is technically the name of रूपकार्थः ॥

१७१५ । भागाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ४९ ॥

चाट्टन् । भागशब्दोऽपि रूपकस्यार्थे रूढः । भागो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते भाग्यं भागिकं शतम् ।
भाग्या भागिका विंशतिः ॥

1715. The affix yat (य) comes after the word bhāga in the sense of “an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein.”

By the word च in the sūtra इन् also comes. This debars इन् ॥ Thus भागो वृद्धादिरस्मिन् दीयते = भाग्यं or भागिकं शतम्; भाग्या or भागिका विंशतिः ॥ The word भाग also denotes रूपकार्थं ॥

१७१६ । तद्धरति वहत्यावहति भाराद्वंशादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ५० ॥

वंशादिभ्यः परा यो भाराद्वस्तवन्तं यस्यातिपदिकं तत्प्रकृतिकाद्द्वितीयान्तादित्यर्थः । वंशभारं हरति वहत्यावहति वा वांशभारिकः । ऐशुभारिकः । भाराद्वंशादिभ्य इत्यस्य व्याख्यानान्तरं भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्य इति । भारभूतान्वंशान् हरति वांशिकः । ऐशुकः ॥

1716. The above mentioned affixes, after the word भार preceded by the word वंश &c, have the sense of 'who carries away, or conveys or brings that'.

The case in construction here is accusative (तद्) ॥ Thus वंशभारं हरति, वहति आवहति वा वांशभारिकः, ऐशुभारिकः ॥

According to another explanation, the phrase भाराद् वंशादिभ्यः is explained as भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्यः ॥ Then the sūtra will mean "the above named affixes come after वंश &c. when they denote a load". Thus भारभूतान् वंशान् हरति = वांशिकः, ऐशुकः ॥

Note :—The word हरति means 'to carry to another place or to steal'; वहति means 'to carry on ones back or head,' आवहति means, 'to produce or bring.'

1 वंश, 2 कुटज, 3 बल्वज, 4 मूल, 5 स्थुणा, (स्थुण) 6 अक्ष, 7 अक्षमन्, 8 अम्भ, 9 लक्षण, 10 उक्षु, 11 खट्वा ॥

१७१७ । वज्रद्रव्याभ्यां टन्कनौ । ५ । १ । ५१ ॥

यथासंख्यं स्तः । वज्रं हरति वहत्यावहति वा वज्रिकः । द्रव्यिकः ॥

1717. The affixes ṭhan and kan come respectively after the words vāsna and dravya, in the second case in construction, in the same sense of 'who carries &c'.

Thus वज्रं हरति वहति वा = वज्रिकः, द्रव्यिकः ॥

१७१८ । संभवत्यवहरति पचति । ५ । १ । ५२ ॥

प्रस्थं संभवति प्रास्थिकः कटाहः । प्रस्थं स्वस्मिन्समावेशयतीत्यर्थः । प्रास्थिकी ब्राह्मणी । प्रस्थमवहरति पचति वेत्यर्थः ॥ तत्पचतीति श्रोणादण् च * ॥ चाडन् । श्रोणं पचतीति श्रोणी । श्रोणिकी ॥

1718. The above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of "what is capable of holding that; or takes away that, or cooks that."

The word तद् is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the accusative. The word संभव means the capacity to hold the exact quantity; अवहार means 'taking

away, or containing'. Thus *प्रस्थं संभवति* = *प्रास्थिकः* 'a vessel capable of holding a prastha measure.' So *प्रस्थमवहरति* or *पचति* = *प्रास्थिकः* 'a vessel or a person that takes away, holds or cooks a Prastha measure.' Similarly *कौडविकः* and *खारीकः* ॥ The word *संभव* does not govern the word *पचति*, thus *प्रस्थं पचति ब्राह्मणी* = *प्रास्थिकी* Brāhmanī who cooks a Prastha.'

Vart:—The affix *अञ्* also comes after the word *होय* in the sense of 'who cooks that.' e. g. *होयं पचति ब्राह्मणी* = *होयी* or *होयिकी* ॥

१७१९ । आढकाचितपात्रात्खोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । ५३ ॥

पक्षे ङञ् । आढकं संभवति अवहरति पचति वा आढकीना । आढकिकी । आचितीना । आचितिकी । पात्रीणा । पात्रिकी ॥

1719. The affix *kha* (ईन) may optionally be added in the above sense of 'being capable of holding &c,' after the word *âdhaka*, *âchita*, and *pâtra*.

This ख debars ङञ् which comes in the alternative. Thus *आढकं संभवति*, *अवहरति*, *पचति* वा = *आढकीना* or *आढकिकी*, *आचितीना* or *आचितिकी*, *पात्रीणा* or *पात्रिकी* ॥

१७२० । द्विगोः छञ् । ५ । १ । ५४ ॥

आढकाचितपात्रादिव्येव । आढकाद्यन्ताद्द्विगोः संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु छञ्खौ वा स्तः । पक्षे ङञ् । तस्याध्यर्थेति लुक् । बित्वान्ङीष् । आढकिकी । आढकीना । द्विगोरिति ङीप् । आढकी । आचितिकी । आचितीना । अपरिमाणेति ङीप्निषेधात् आचिता । द्विपात्रिकी । द्विपात्रीणा द्विपात्री ॥

1720. The affix *shṭhan* as well as the affix *ख* (ईन) may optionally come, after the same words *âdhaka*, *âchita*, and *pâtra*, being final of a Dvigu compound, the sense being that of 'what can hold,' &c.

The ख is read into the sūtra by the word च of the aphorism. These two affixes ख and छञ् being especially ordained, are not to be elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. But when, in the alternative, we add the general affix ङञ्, then it is elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. The ञ् of छञ् is for accent (VI. 1. 19 S. 2645), and the प् for ङीष् ॥ Thus we have 3 forms;—*आढकिकी*, *आढकीना*, or *आढकी*; *आचितिकी*, *आचितीना*, *आचिता* ॥ In this case of *आचिता* the feminine is not formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 21. S. 479) because of the specific prohibition contained in IV. 1. 22. S. 480. So also *द्विपात्रिकी*, *द्विपात्रीणा* and *द्विपात्री* ॥

१७२१ । कुलिजाल्लुक्खौ च । ५ । १ । ५५ ॥

कुलिजान्ताद्द्विगोः संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु लुक्खौ वा स्तः । चात् छञ् । लुगभावे ङञ् : अवयवञ् । द्विकुलिजी । द्विकुलिजिकी । द्विकुलिजीना । द्विकुलिजिकी ॥

1721. After the word *kulija*, being the final of a Dvigu, there is optionally the elision of the above affixes, or

the adding of the affix ख (इन्), in the sense of 'what can hold that &c'

By ख the affix इन् is also added. The elision being optional, the affix इन् V. 1. 18 S. 1680 may *optionally* be elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. Thus we get *four* forms : द्विकुलिजिकी (इन्), द्विकुलिजिना (ख), द्विकुलिजो (इन् लुक्), द्विकुलिजिकी ('इन्) ॥ In the last example, there is not viddhi of the second term, though it was so required by VII. 3. 17.S. 1683. The anomaly is explained by holding that the word कुलिज should be included in the exception along with संज्ञा and बाण of VII. 3. 17.

१७२२ सोऽस्यांशवस्त्वभृतयः । ५ । १ । ५६ ॥

अंशो भागः । वस्त्वं मूल्यम् । भृतिर्वेतनम् । पञ्च अंशो वस्त्वो भृतिर्वस्य पञ्चकः ॥

1722. The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have also the sense of 'this is his portion, price or pay.'

The सः shows that the case in construction is nominative. The word अंश means 'share,' वस्त्व means 'price.' भृति means 'wages.' Thus पञ्च अंशो वस्त्वो वा भृतिर्वस्य = पञ्चकः 'whose portion, price or pay is five.'

१७२३ । तदस्य परिमाणम् । ५ । १ । ५७ ॥

प्रस्थं परिमाणमस्य प्रास्थिको राशिः ॥

1723. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have the sense of "this is its measure."

The word तद् shows that the word in construction should be in the nominative case. Thus प्रस्थः परिमाणमस्य = प्रास्थिको राशिः 'a heap whose mass is a Prastha.' So also खारीकः, वास्यः, वातिकः, साहस्यः, द्वैजिकः, कौडविकः, वार्षशतिकः, वार्षसहस्रिकः ॥ So also षष्ठिजीवित परिमाणमस्य = षाष्टिकः, द्विसप्ततिकः ॥

Note:—Why the words तदस्य have been repeated in this sūtra, when their anuvritti could have been drawn from the last aphorism, the word सोऽस्य and तदस्य being the same ? The repetition shows that the affixes are again ordained, so that the elision taught in V. 1. 28 S. 1693 does not apply. Thus द्वेषणीजीवितपरिमाणमस्य = द्विषाष्टिकः, द्विसप्ततिकः, ॥ Here the affix is not elided by V. 1. 24.

१७२४ । संख्यायाः संज्ञासङ्गसूत्राध्ययनेषु । ५ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रमनुवर्तते । तच्च संज्ञायां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययो वाच्यः । यद्वा द्व्येकयोरितिवत्संख्यामात्रवृत्तेः परिमाणाणि प्रत्ययः । पञ्चद्वे पञ्चकाः सङ्कुनयः । पञ्च परिमाणमेषामिति वा । सङ्गं पञ्चकः । सङ्गे अष्टकं पाणिनीयम् । सङ्गसङ्गस्य प्राणिसमूहे रूढत्वात्सङ्गं पूययुपात्तम् । पञ्चकमध्ययनम् ॥ स्तोत्रे ङविधिः * ॥ पञ्चदश मन्त्राः परिमाणमस्य पञ्चदशः । सप्तदशः । एकविंशः । सोमवाग्नेषु छन्दोगैः क्रियमाणा पृथ्वाविसंज्ञिका स्तुतिः स्तोमः ॥

1724. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1893 &c come after a word denoting a numeral, in the sense of "this is its measure,"

when the word so formed means a Name, a Multitude, a Book, or a fixed way and mode of study.

The phrase **सप्तस्य परिमाणम्** is understood here. The word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case. When it is a Name, the affix does not change the sense of the radical. Thus **पंचकाः** = **पंच**: 'the Five' as **पंचका शकुनकः**; **त्रिकाः** 'the Three' '**त्रालङ्कारयनः** ॥ The sense of the primitive is changed when it means a **संघ** 'a multitude or flock' as **पंचकः संघः**, **अष्टकः** ॥ So also when it means a **सूत्र** 'a Book', as **अष्टाव-ध्यायाः परिमाणमस्य सूत्रस्य** = **अष्टकं पाणिनीयम्** 'The Ashtaka of Pānini viz a Book comprising Eight Adhyāyas'. So also **दशकं वैद्याग्रपरीयम्**, **त्रिकम काशकृत्स्नम्** ॥ Is not a collection of Adhyāyas the same as **संघः**? No, the word **संघः** is confined to a collection of living beings only.

The word **अध्ययन** means 'study'. Its numerical measure (**संख्या परिमाण**) means the particular number of times, or ways in which it should be read. Thus **पंचकोऽधीतः** 'what is studied five-times, or in five modes **सप्तकोऽधीतः** so also **अष्टकः** or **नवकः** ॥

Vart :—The affix **ड** comes after the words **पंचदश** &c, when the word means a Stoma. As, **पंचदश मन्त्राः परिमाणमस्य** = **पंचदशः स्तोमः**, **सप्तदशः स्तोमः** &c. The indicatory **इ** causes the elision of final (**दि**) by VI. 4. 143, S. 316 in the cases of words like **एकविंशः** &c. In the case of **पंचदशः** the **व** is elided by VI. 4. 144. S. 679. Stoma is the praise-hymn sung by the Chhandoga priests at the soma-sacrifice. A triad of verses by repetition becomes 15, 17 &c. Thus in **sapta-daśa stoma** the last verse of the triad is repeated seven-times, the other two five times each, thus we have seventeen verses. Similarly when every verse of the triad is recited five times, we have **pancha-daśa stoma**. When every verse of the triad is recited seven times, it becomes **eka vimśa-stoma** &c.

१७२५ । पङ्क्तिर्विंशतित्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम् ।
५ । १ । ५६ ॥

एते रुडिशब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

1725. The following words are anomalous : **pañkti** 'a verse', **viṁśati** 'twenty', **triṁśat** 'thirty', **chatvâriṁśat** 'forty', **pañchâśat** 'fifty', **shashṭhi** 'sixty', **saptati** 'seventy', **aśīti** 'eighty', **navati** 'ninety', and **śata** 'a hundred'.

Note :—The words **सप्तस्य परिमाणम्** are understood here also : **पंक्ति** is formed by adding **ति** to **पंच**, the final being elided, meaning 'a verse the measure of which is five', i. e. a half quarter consisting of 5 syllables. The word **विंशति** is formed by adding **शतिच** to the word **विन्** which replaces the two word **द्वयो-**

इक्षतः as हो इक्षती परिमाणस्य संघस्य-विक्षतिः ॥ So the affix क्षत् comes after चिन् representing चक्षोश्चक्षतः ; so for चक्षुष्यो इक्षतां we have चक्ष्वारिक् and then add क्षत्, similarly with दंष्ट्राक्षत् ॥ Similarly with the rest.

Note :—All the rest appears to be the conjectural etymology of Patanjali and Kāśikā Kāra, and hence it is omitted.

Note :—The word पंक्ति also means 'a line'. As ब्राह्मणपङ्क्तिः, पिपीलिका पंक्तिः ॥ Here the sense has no relation to its etymology.

१७२६ । पञ्चदशतौ वर्गे वा । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

पञ्च परिमाणस्य पञ्चवर्गः । दशत् । पक्षे पञ्चकः । दशकः ॥

1726. The word pañchat and daśat in combination with varga, may be anomalously so formed, in the sense of 'this is its measure'.

This ordains इति instead of कन् V. 1. 22, which also comes in the alternative. As पञ्चवर्गः, दशवर्गः or पञ्चकोवर्गः, दशकोवर्गः ॥

१७२७ । त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतो ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ६२ ॥

त्रिंशदध्यायाः परिमाणेषां ब्राह्मणानां त्रैशानि । चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥

1727. The affix ण comes after the words trīṁśat and chatvāriṁśat, in the sense of 'this is its measure', when it is the Name denoting a Brāhmaṇa-book.

The word वर्ग does not govern this sūtra. The indicatory इ causes the elision of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it (VI. 4. 143. S. 316). The force of the locative case in ब्राह्मणे is that of अभिधेय and not विषय, i. e. when the word means a Brāhmaṇa itself. Had the force been that of विषय, it would have meant, 'in the Brāhmaṇa literature'. As त्रिंशदध्याया परिमाणेषां ब्राह्मणानां = त्रैशानि ब्राह्मणानि The Brāhmaṇa containing thirty Adhyāyas'. So चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥ These are the names of certain Brāhmaṇas.

१७२८ । तद्वर्हति । ५ । १ । ६३ ॥

लङ्घुं योग्यो भवतीत्यर्थे द्वितीयान्ताद्भाष्यः स्युः । श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति श्वेतच्छत्रिकः ॥

• 1728. The affixes V. 1. 18. S. 1680 &c, have also the sense of 'who deserves that'.

The case in construction here is accusative. Thus श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति = श्वेत-च्छत्रिकः "who deserves the White Umbrella".

१७२९ । छेदादिभ्यो नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ६४ ॥

नित्यमाभीक्ष्यर्थः । छेदं नित्यमर्हति छेदिको वेतसः । छिन्नप्रकृतत्वात् ॥ विरागं विरगं च ॥ विरगं नित्यमर्हति विरगिकाः ॥

1729. After the words छेद &c in the second case in construction, the above-mentioned affixes have the sense of "who deserves that under all circumstances".

Thus छेदं नित्यमर्हति = छेदिकः, so also वैरज्जिकः ॥

1 छेद, 2 भेद, 3 ब्रह्म, 4 दोष, 5 नर्त (वर्त), 6 कर्ष, 7 तीर्थ*, 8 संप्रयोग, 9 विप्रयोग, 10 प्रयोग*, 11 विप्रकर्ष, 12 प्रेषण, 13 संप्रभ, 14 विप्रभ*, 15 विकर्ष*, 16 प्रकर्ष*, 17 विराग विरज्जं च (from विराग is formed वैरज्जिकः). ॥

१७३० । शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

शीर्षच्छेदं नित्यमर्हति शीर्षच्छेद्यः । शीर्षच्छेदिकः । यद्यकोः सन्नियोगेन शिरसः शीर्षभावा निपात्यते ॥

1730. The affix yat as well as the above affixes come after the word Śirshachchheda in the accusative, in the sense of 'who deserves that under all circumstances'.

Thus शिरश्छेदं नित्यमर्हति = शीर्षच्छेद्यः, or शीर्षच्छेदिकः ॥ The word शिरस् is changed irregularly into शीर्ष before the affix.

१७३१ । दण्डादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

एभ्यो यत् स्यात् । दण्डमर्हति दण्ड्यः । अर्ध्यः । वध्यः ॥

1731. After the words danda &c in the accusative, the affix ya comes in the sense of 'who deserves that'.

The word नित्य does not govern this sūtra. This य debars ढक् V. I. 19. S. 1681. Thus दण्डमर्हति = दण्ड्यः 'deserving to be killed'. अर्ध्यः, वध्यः ॥

1 दण्ड, 2 दुसल, 3 मधुपर्क, 4 कथा, 5 अर्घ, 6 मेघ, 7 मेधा, 8 सुवर्ण*, 9 उदक, 10 वध, 11 युग, 12 युहा, 13 भाग, 14 इम, 15 भङ्ग*, ॥

Note :—The Kāśikā gives the sūtra as दण्डादिभ्यो यः ; another version gives the sūtra as दण्डादिभ्यः only drawing the affix यत् from the last sūtra.

१७३२ । पात्राद् घञ्च । ५ । १ । ६८ ॥

आयत् तद्वर्तीत्यर्थे । पात्र्यः । पात्र्यः ॥

1732. The affix ghan together with yat comes in the sense of "deserving that", after the word pātra.

This debars ढक् and ढम् ॥ The word पात्र denotes measure also. Thus पात्रमर्हति = पात्र्यः or पात्र्यः ॥

१७३३ । कडङ्कुरदक्षिणाच्छ च । ५ । १ । ६९ ॥

आयत् । कडं करोतीति विमहे अत एव निपातनात् खच् । कडङ्कुरं माषमुद्रादिकाष्ठमर्हतीति कडङ्कुरीयो गौः । कडङ्कुर्यः । दक्षिणामर्हतीति दक्षिणीयः । दक्षिण्यः ॥

1733. The affix chhan (ईय) as well as yat (य) comes in the sense of 'deserving that', after the words kaḍaṅkara and dakṣhiṇā.

This debars ढक् ॥ Thus कडङ्कुरमर्हति = कडङ्कुरीयः or कडङ्कुर्यः 'one deserving straw' such as a cow. So also दक्षिणीयः or दक्षिण्यो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana deserving alms.'

१७३४ । स्थालीबिलात् । ५ । १ । ७० ॥

स्थालीबिलमर्हति स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुलाः । स्थालीबिल्याः । पाकयोग्या इत्यर्थः ॥

1734. The affixes *chā* (ईय) and *yat* (य) come in the sense of 'deserving that', after the word *sthālībīla*.

This debars ढक् ॥ Thus स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुलाः or स्थालीबिल्याः 'rice deserving the pot' i. e. cookable rice.

१७३५ । यज्ञत्विग्भ्यां यज्जौ । ५ । १ । ७१ ॥

यथासंख्यं स्तः । यज्ञमृत्विजं वाऽर्हति यज्ञियः । आत्विजीनो यजमानः ॥ यज्ञत्विग्भ्यां तत्कर्माह-
सीत्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ यज्ञियो देशः । आत्विजीन ऋत्विक् ॥

1735. The affixes *gha* and *यज्* come respectively after the words *yajña* and *ritvija*, in the sense 'of deserving that.'

This debars ढक् ॥ Thus यज्ञियो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana worthy of honor at a sacrifice.' आत्विजीनो ब्राह्मणः ॥

Var :—After the words *yajña* and *ritvija*, these affixes have also the sense of "deserving the performance thereof". Thus यज्ञकर्माहति = यज्ञियो देशः 'a place fit for the performance of sacrifice.' ऋत्विक् कर्माहति = आत्विजीन ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Here ends the governing power of ढक् V, 1. 19. S. 1681 hence forward is the government of यज् V. 1. 18.

अथ तद्धित ठञधिकार प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE AFFIX ठञ् ।

१७३६ । पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायणं वर्तयति । ५ । १ । ७२ ॥

पारायणं वर्तयति पारायणिकश्छात्रः । तुरायणं वर्तयति तुरायणिको यजमानः ।

1736. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of 'who performs this', after the words *pârâyana*, *turâyana* and *chân-drâyana* being in the 2nd case in construction.

The force of *भर्हति* ceases. Thus पारायणिक-श्छात्रः, a pupil, who reads under a teacher': तुरायणिको यजमानः, चान्द्रायणिकस्तपस्वी ॥ the word पारायण means a teacher, (परस्य करोति) ॥

१७३७ । संशयमापन्नः । ५ । १ । ७३ ॥

संशयविषयीभूतोऽर्थः सांशयिकः ॥

1737. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after the word *sañśaya* in the accusative construction, the sense being "fallen into this, or thrown into it".

Thus संशयमापन्नः प्राप्तः = सांशयिकः स्यात्तुः " a doubtful pillar", i. e. in a precarious state.

१७३८ । योजनं गच्छति । ५ । १ । ७४ ॥

योजनिकः । क्रोशशतयोजनशतयोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ क्रोशशतं गच्छति क्रोशशानिकः । योजन-शतिकः ॥ ततोऽभिगमनमर्हतीति च वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ क्रोशशताशभिगमनमर्हतीति क्रोशशतिकोभिष्टुः । योजनशतिक आचार्यः ॥

1738. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of 'who goes', after the word *yojana* in the accusative construction.

Thus योजनं गच्छति = योजनिकः ॥

Vart :—So also after the words क्रोशशत and योजनशत ॥ As क्रोशशतिकः योजनशतिकः ॥

Vart :—The affix after these two words means also "who is worthy to be approached from so far". As क्रोशशताशभिगमनमर्हति = क्रोशशतिको भिष्टुः. योजनशतिक आचार्यः ॥

१७३९ । पथः पथिकः । ५ । १ । ७५ ॥

पथो डीपर्थः । पन्थानं गच्छति पथिकः । पथिकी ॥

1739. The affix *ṣhkan* comes in the same sense of 'who goes there', after the word *patha*, being in the 2nd case in construction.

Of the affix *क्न*, *ङ्* is for *ङीप्* (IV, 1. 41 S. 498). and *क्* for accent (VI.1. 197 S. 3686). As *पन्थानं गच्छति = पथिकः* fem *पथिकी* ॥

१७४० । पन्थो ण नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति पान्यः । पान्या ॥

1740. The affix *ṇa* comes after the word *pantha* which becomes the substitute of *pathin*, the sense of the affix being "who always goes".

The word *नित्य* qualifies the sense, of the affix. Thus *पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति = पान्यः* as *पान्यो भिक्षां याचते* ॥ Why *नित्यं* ? See *पथिकः* ॥

१७४१ । उत्तरपथेनाहतं च । ५ । १ । ७७ ॥

उत्तरपथेनाहतं औत्तरपथिकम् । उत्तरपथेन गच्छति औत्तरपथिकः ॥ आहतप्रकरणे वारिजङ्गल-स्थलकान्तारपूर्वादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ * वारिपथिकम् ॥

1741. The affix *ठञ्* comes, after the word *uttara-patha* in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who passes by that way' 'what is conveyed by that way.'

The construction of the *sūtra* shows that the base must be in the 3rd case. The word *ञ* shows that the word *गच्छति* 'who passes by that way' should also be read into the aphorism. Thus *उत्तरपथेनाहतं = औत्तरपथिकम्* or *उत्तरपथेन गच्छति = औत्तरपथिकः* ॥

Vdt :—So also after the word *पथ* preceded by the words *वारि*, *जङ्गल*, *स्थल*, *कान्तार* the affix has the sense of 'conveyed by that way' or passing by that way. As *वारिपथेनाहतः = वारिपथिकम्*, *वारिपथेन गच्छति = वारिपथिकः* masculine or neuter according as the affix means conveyed or passing.

१७४२ । कालात् । ५ । १ । ७८ ॥

प्युदादिभ्योऽनित्यतः प्रागधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1742. In the following *sūtras*, the phrase "after a word denoting time" should be supplied to complete the sense.

The word *कालात्* bears rule in the following aphorisms upto V. 1. 97. S. 1761 *exclusively*. Thus the next *sūtra* *तेन निर्वृतम्* means 'accomplished by means thereof'. We must read the word *काल* into it. As *मासेन निर्वृतम् = मासिकम्* &c.

१७४३ । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

अद्वा निर्वृत्तमाहिकम् ॥

1743. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after a word denoting time, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of "to be accomplished by that time".

Thus अद्वा निर्वृत्तं = आहिकम् "to be accomplished in a day." i.e. a certain portion of reading &c, आर्धमासिकम्, सांस्वरिकम् ॥

१७४४ । तमधीष्टोभूतोभावी । ५ । १ । ८० ॥

अधीष्टः सत्कृत्य व्यापारितः । भूतो वेतनेन क्रीतः । भूतः स्वसत्तया व्याप्तकालः । भावी तादृशएवा नागतः कालः । मासमधीष्टो मासिकोऽध्यापकः । मासं भूतो मासिकः कर्मकरः । मासं भूतो मासिको व्याधिः । मासं भावी मासिक उत्सवः ॥

1744. The above-named affixes come after a word expressing time, in the accusative case in construction, in the sense of "solicited to instruct for such a period," "hired for such a period," "which had lasted for such a period," or "which will last so long".

The word अधीष्टः means "honorary office", therefore 'one solicited to teach, but who accepts no pay' III. 3. 161, भूतः means "engaged on wages", भूतः means 'the time pervaded or occupied by its existence', and भावी the same as last in the future. The word denoting time will be in the second case by II. 3. 5 S. 558. Thus मासमधीष्टः = मासिकोऽध्यापकः, so also मासंभूतः = मासिकः कर्मकरः, मासंभूतः = मासिको व्याधिः, मासंभावी = मासिक उत्सवः ॥

१७४५ । मासाद्वयसि यत्नञौ । ५ । १ । ८१ ॥

मासं भूतो मास्यः । मासीनः ॥

1745. The affixes *yat* and *khañ* come after the word *māsa*, in denoting 'age'.

This debars डम् ॥ The word भूतः of the previous sūtra should be read into this. Thus मासंभूतः = मास्यः or मासीनः 'a month old'.

Note :—Why do we say when denoting 'age' ? Observe मासिकः ॥

१७४६ । द्विगोर्यप् । ५ । १ । ८२ ॥

मासाद्वयसीत्यनुवर्तते । द्वौ मासौ भूतो द्विमास्यः ॥

1746. The affix *yap* comes after the word *māsa* when forming a Dvigu compound ; and meaning 'age'.

Thus द्वौ मासौ भूतः = द्विमास्यः, त्रिमास्यः ॥

१७४७ । वयसास्मात्पञ्च १५ । १ । ८३ ॥

वयस्येत्येव । अथ चतुर्वर्तते । चाडम् । वयमास्वः । वयमास्वः । वयमासिकः ॥

1747. After the word *shapmāsa*, come the affixes *nyat* as well as *वप्* and *डम्*, in the sense of 'age'.

The word *vayasi* is understood here. So also the affix *वप्* ॥ By force of *च* we draw in *डम्* also.

Thus *वयमास्वः*, *वयमास्वः*, and *वयमासिकः* ॥

१७४८ । अवयसि षष्ठ ५ । १ । ८४ ॥

वयमास्वः ॥ वयमासिको व्याधिः । वयमास्वः ॥

1748. The affix *than* comes also after the word *shapmāsa*, when 'age' is not meant.

The *च* draws in the affix *षष्ठ* also. Thus *वयमासिको व्याधिः* or *वयमास्वः* 'a disease lasting six months'.

१७४९ । समायाः खः ५ । १ । ८५ ॥

समानधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा सनीनः ॥

1749. The affix *kha* (ख) comes in the fourfold senses of "solicited," "hired", "lasted", and "will last," after the word *samā*.

This debars *डम्* ॥ Thus *समानधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा* = *सनीनः* ॥ Some say, the sense of the affix is *तेन निर्वृत्तं* V. 1. 79, S. 174; as *समया निर्वृत्तः* = *सनीनः* ॥

१७५० । द्विगोर्वा ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

समायाः ख इत्येव । तेन परिज्येत्यसः प्राद्विर्बुत्तादिषु पञ्चत्वर्थेषु प्रत्ययाः । द्विसनीनः । द्विसनिकः ॥

1750. The affix *kha* comes optionally in the fivefold senses taught in V. 1. 79. 80 S. 1743 and 1744 after the word *Samā*, forming a *Dvigu*.

In the alternative *डम्* will also apply. Upto *sūtra* V. 1. 93. S. 1757, the affixes have the fivefold senses of, to be accomplished by that time (S. 1743) 'solicited', 'hired', 'lasted' and 'will last' (S. 1744). Thus *द्विसनीनः* or *द्विसनिकः* ॥ Then *Vārtika* taught in V. 1. 20 (प्राग्वर्तते संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तमहणमल्लङ्घि) applies here also. Thus *द्विसनीनः* or *द्विसनिकः*, *त्रिसनीनः*, or *त्रिसनिकः* ॥

१७५१ । राड्यहः संघत्सराख ५ । १ । ८७ ॥

द्विगोरित्येव । द्विगोर्वाणः । द्वेराधिकः । द्विहीनः । द्वेयद्विकः । समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वान्न टच् । द्विसंघत्सरीयः ॥

1751 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses (V. 1. 79, 80 S. 1743 and 1744) after the words rātri, ahan, and samvatsara, occasioning a Dvigu.

The word dvigu is understood in this sūtra.

In the alternative क्ख will also come. Thus द्विसांस्त्रिकः, द्विसांस्त्रिकः, द्विसांस्त्रिकः VI. 4. 145 S. 789 or द्विसांस्त्रिकः ॥ The samāsanta affix not being universally applicable, we have no क्ख ॥ द्विसांस्त्रिकः, द्विसांस्त्रिकः VII. 3. 15. S. 1752. This form gets the irregular vṛiddhi by the following.

१७५२ । संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च । ७ । ३ । १५ ॥

संख्याया उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः स्याद् अत्रादौः द्विसांस्त्रिकः । द्वे षटी भूतो द्विसांस्त्रिकः । संख्यायाः परिमाणान्तस्येव सिद्धे संवत्सरमह्यं परिमाणमह्ये कालपरिमाणस्यामह्यमर्थः । तेन द्विसांस्त्रिकः इत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिर्न ॥

1752. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसांस्त्रिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टो भूतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1, 80 S. 1744) द्विसांस्त्रिकः = द्वे षटी अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ The words द्वि, षटी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16 S. 1754). and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kaḍdhikāra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though) this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sūtra VII. 3. 17 S. 1683 implies that the word परिमाण in that sūtra does not mean the measure of time, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vṛiddhi takes place in the regular way : as द्विसांस्त्रिकः ॥

Note :—Similarly in sūtra IV. 1. 22, S. 480 the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा मायविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sūtras (and elsewhere III. 2, 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means “mass or bulk”, and not a measure in general.

१७५३ । वर्षास्तुक् च । ५ । १ । ८८ ॥

वर्षास्तुक् च द्विगोर्वा खः । पक्षे क्ख वा च लुक् । जीणि क्वाणि । द्विवर्षाणि व्याधिः । द्विवर्षिकः । द्विवर्षः ॥

1753. The above affixes kha and ṭhañ may also be elided after a Dvigu ending in varshā.

The affix ख as well as क्ख come in the five fold senses V. 1. 79, 80, after the word वर्षा forming a Dvigu ; and these two affixes may also be elided optionally. Thus we have three forms ; द्विवर्षाणि, द्विवर्षिको or द्विवर्षो व्याधिः ‘a disease that lasted two years’. (Compare VII. 3. 16, S. 1754. but when the

sense is that of भावी, the form will be द्वैवर्षिकः ॥) To get this irregular vṛiddhi, the following sūtra applies.

१७५४ । वर्षस्याभविष्यति । ७ । ३ । १६ ॥

वसरपदस्य वृद्धिः स्यात् । द्विवर्षिकः । भविष्यति तु द्वैवर्षिकः । अधीष्टवृत्तयोरभविष्यतीति प्रतिषेधो न । गम्यते हि तत्र भविष्यत्ता न तु तद्वितार्थः । द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यतीति द्विवर्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

1754. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण् or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो वा = द्विवर्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिकः, त्रैवर्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भृत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विधेयं स सोमं पातुमर्हति ॥ (= श्रीयि वर्षाणि भावी) ॥ The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधीष्ट and भूत (V. I. 80 S. 1744), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the taddhita-affix : as द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवर्षिको मनुष्यः ॥ Here VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 applies and it causes the vṛiddhi of the second member. This sūtra is again given below for the sake of context.

१७५४ क । परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य द्विकौडविकः । द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं द्विसौवर्णिकम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । असंज्ञेति किम् । पञ्च कपालः परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकपालिकम् । तद्वितान्तः संज्ञा । द्वैशाणम् । कुलिज-वाच्यमपि केचित्पठन्ति । द्वैकुलिजिकः ॥

1754 A. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौडविकः (V. I. 109 S. 1772) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V. I. 37 S. 1702), त्रिसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. I. 29 S. 1694. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनैष्किकम् (V. I. 30 S. 1695). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पञ्चकपालानि परिमाणमस्य V. I. 30 S. 1695) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण ? Observe द्वैशाणम् ॥ द्वैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. I. 35 S. 1700 and 36 S. 1701). Some read the sūtra as असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. I. 55 S. 1721 द्वैकुलिजे वेद्यमाजनमर्ह ॥

१७५५ । चित्तवति नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

वर्षाद्वान्ताद्विगोः प्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लुक् स्यात् चेत्तने प्रत्ययार्थे । द्विवर्षो दारकः ॥

1755. The affixes meaning “accomplished &c V. 1. 79, 80” are necessarily elided after the word varshâ forming a Dvigu, when it refers to a being endowed with reason.

Here the elision is compulsory and not optional. Thus द्विवर्षो दारकः ‘a boy two years old’.

Note :—Why do we say चित्तवति “when meaning endowed with reason”? Observe द्विवर्षिणो व्याधिः ॥

१७५६ । षष्टिकाः षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

बहुवचनमतन्मन् । षष्टिको धान्यविशेषः । तृतीयान्तात्कन् रात्रिश्चोपपन्न निपात्यते ॥

1756. The anomalously formed word shashṭikâḥ has the meaning of “what are matured in six nights”.

The word is not necessarily always plural, though so exhibited in the sūtra.

The word षष्टिकाः may be said to be formed by adding कन् to षष्टिरात्रि in the 3rd case in construction, then eliding the word रात्रि, the force of the affix being ‘matured’. Thus षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते = षष्टिकाः ‘a kind of barley’. It is a name of barley and therefore does not apply to pulse, beans &c, though they may also ripen in six days.

१७५७ । तेन परिजड्यलभ्यकार्यसुकरम् । ५ । १ । ६३ ॥

मासेन परिजड्यो जेतुं शक्यो मासिको व्याधिः । मासेन लभ्य कार्यं सुकरं वा मासिकम् ॥

1757. The affix ṭhañ comes after a word denoting time, in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of “to be subdued”, “to be gained or attained”, “to be completed” and “to be easily completed in that time”.

Thus मासेन परिजड्यः (लभ्यते जेतुं) = मासिको व्याधिः, मासेन लभ्यम् कार्यं or सुकरम्, मासिकम् ॥

१७५८ । तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् । ५ । १ । ६४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तात्कालवाचिनोऽस्त्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । मासं ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य स मासिको ब्रह्मचारी । भार्यमासिकः । यद्वा प्रथमान्तादस्त्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः । मासोऽस्त्येति मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्यम् ॥ महानाम्नादिभ्यः षष्ठ्यन्तेभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ महानाम्न्यो नाम विदामघबन्तित्याद्या ऋचः । तासां ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य माहानाम्निकः । हरदत्तस्तु भस्वाढ इति पुंवङ्गावान्माहानाम्निक इत्याह ॥ चतुर्मासाराण्यो यज्ञे तत्र भव इत्यर्थे * ॥ चतुर्षु मासेषु भवन्ति चातुर्मास्यानि यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ संज्ञायामण् * ॥ चतुर्षु मासेषु भवन्ति चातुर्मासी भाषाढी । अण्णन्तान्ताङ्गीप् ॥

1758. The affix *than* comes after a word of time in the sense of “an abstinence that lasts so long” or “who practises abstinence so long”.

The word *सह* shows that the word must be in the accusative case : *अस्य* shows the force of the affix. *ब्रह्मचर्यः* joins both. Thus *मासं ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य* = *मासिको ब्रह्मचारी* “who practises abstinence for a month”. So also *आर्धमासिकः*, *सांवत्सरिकः* ॥ The second case is by II. 3. 5. S. 558.

Another explanation is, the affix *than* comes after a word in the *first* case in construction, in the sense of an abstinence which lasts for such a period. As *मासोऽस्य ब्रह्मचर्यस्य* = *मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्यम्* “an abstinence lasting for a month”. *आर्धमासिकं*, *सांवत्सरिकं* ॥

In the first case the affix relates to a person, in the second, to the vow itself. Both these explanations are valid, as the structure of the aphorism is open to both constructions.

Vart :—So also after the words *महानाम्नी* &c in the genitive construction. As *महानाम्निकः* । *Mahānāmni* are certain *Rik* verses. But *Haradatta* gives the form *महानामिकः* by applying the rule of masculinisation of the *Vārtika* *अस्याडे* (VI. 3, 35. S. 836) In this case VI. 4. 144. S. 679 causes the elision of *दि* ॥

After these words, the affix means also ‘who practises that’. As *महानाम्नीचरति* = *महानामिकः*, *आदित्यव्रतकः*, *गौडानिकः* ॥ *महानाम्नी* + *उञ्* = *महानामन्* + *उञ्* (VI. 3. 35. S. 836 *Vart*) = *महानामिकः* (VI. 4. 144 S. 679).

Note :—The affix *डिनि* comes after the words *अवान्तरदीक्षा* &c, in the sense of ‘who practises’. As *अवान्तरदीक्षाचरति* = *अवान्तरदीक्षी*, *तिष्ठव्रतिन्* ॥

Note :—The affixes *उञ्* and *डिनि* come after the word *अष्टचत्वारिंशत्*, as *अष्टचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि व्रतंचरति* = *अष्टचत्वारिंशकः* or *अष्टचत्वारिंशन्* ॥

Note :—The same affixes comes after the words *चतुर्मास्य* &c, the final *ञ* being elided. As *चतुर्मास्यानि चरति* = *चतुर्मासकः* or *चतुर्मासिन्* ॥

Vart :—The affix *यञ* comes after *चतुर्मास*, in the sense of ‘produced there’. As *चतुर्थे मासेषु भवानि* = *चतुर्मास्यानि* ॥ It refers to a sacrifice.

Vart :—The affix *अण* comes, when it is a Name, as *चतुर्थे मासेषु भवा* = *चतुर्मासी षोडशमासी* ॥ So also *आषाढी*, *कार्तिकी*, *फाल्गुनी* ॥ The feminine *ङीप्* is added because it is an *अण्* formed word.

१७५९ । तस्य च दक्षिणा यज्ञाख्येभ्यः । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

द्वारवाहस्य दक्षिणा द्वारवाहिकी । आख्यामहयाकालादपि । आग्निहोत्रिकी । वाजपेयिकी ॥

1759. The affix *than*, comes after a word being the name of a sacrifice, in the sense of “the fee thereof”.

As *द्वारवाहस्य दक्षिणा* = *द्वारवाहिकी* । So also. *आग्निहोत्रस्य दक्षिणा* = *आग्निहोत्रिकी*, *वाजपेयिकी* ॥

The word **भाषया** in the sūtra implies that the affix comes even after those sacrifice-denoting words which do not express time (V. 1. 78 S. 1742). Had it not been used, the sūtra would have applied only to such sacrifice-denoting words as **एकाहः**, **द्वादशाहः** which are time-denoting words as well. The Vārtika in V. 1. 20. S. 1682 would apply to **द्वादशाहः**, &c. Some texts do not read **च** in the sūtra.

१७६० । तत्र च दीयते कार्ये भववत् । ५ । १ । ९६ ॥

प्रावृषि दीयते कार्ये वा प्रावृषेण्यञ् शारदम् ॥

1760. The affixes having the sense of **भव** (IV. 3. 53, S. 1428, IV. 3. 11 S. 1381) come after a time-denoting word, in the sense of “ what is given in that, and what is done in that ”.

As **प्रावृषि दीयते** or **कार्ये=प्रावृषेण्यञ्** (IV. 3. 17. S. 1388) **शारदम्** (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387). All these words mean also what is given or done in those seasons. The words **वत्** in **भववत्** means that all the rules of **तच्चभवः** (IV. 3. 53. S. 1428) apply here.

This sūtra should be divided into two parts, one joining with the previous sūtra, as **तत्र च दीयते, यज्ञाख्येभ्यः**, as **आग्निहोमिकं भक्तं, राजसूयिकम्, वाजपेयिकम्** ॥

Here ends the section on Time-affixes.

१७६१ । व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । ९७ ॥

व्युष्टे दीयते कार्ये वा वैद्यम् । व्युष्ट, तीर्थ, संग्राम, प्रवास इत्यादि ॥

1761. The affix **अण्** comes after the words **व्युष्ट** &c in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of “ being given therein or done therein ”.

Thus **व्युष्टे दीयते कार्ये वा=वैद्यम्, नैत्यम्** ॥

1 व्युष्ट, 2 नित्य, 3 निष्क्रमण, 4 प्रवेक्षण, 5 उपसंक्रमण, 6 तीर्थ, 7 अस्तरण (आस्तरण), 8 संग्राम, 9 संचाल; 10 आम्रिषद, 11 पीलुमूल (पीलु, मूल) 12 प्रवास, 13 उपवास, 13 संग्राम, 15 तीर्थ, ॥

१७६२ । तेन यथाकथाच्च हस्ताभ्यां ण्यतौ । ५ । १ । ९८ ॥

यथाकथाचेत्यव्ययसंचातात्तृतीयान्ताद्धस्तशब्दाच्च यथासंख्ये ण्यतौ स्तः ॥ अर्थाभ्यां तु यथासंख्ये नैत्यत् ॥ यथाकथा च दीयते कार्ये वा यथाकथाच्च । अनादरेण वयं कार्ये वैत्यर्थः । इस्तेन दीयते कार्ये वा हस्त्यम् ॥

1762. The affixes **ण** and **यत्** come respectively after the words **yathā-kathā-cha**, and **hasta**, being in the third case in construction, having the sense of what is “ given or is done in this way or with this ”.

The words *शीघ्रते* and *कार्ये* apply to both; the rule of *अथासंख्यः* (I. 3. 10 S. 128) not applying to it. The word *अथा कथाच* is an Indeclinable, meaning contempt. Of course this word cannot take any case-affix, it therefore only gives the sense of third case. As *अथाकथाच शीघ्रते कार्ये वा = अथाकथाचम्*; given with contempt or done with contempt, *इत्तेन शीघ्रते कार्ये वा = इत्त्यम्* ॥

१७६३ । संपादिनि । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

उम् । तेनेत्येव । कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि कार्यवेष्टकिकं दुस्त्रम् । कर्णासंकाराभ्यामवश्यं शोभत इत्यर्थः ॥

1763. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of "fitted for that".

The word *संपादिन्* means 'suitable, proper, fit.' The word *संपादिन्* is formed by adding *णिन्* to *संपद्*, the force of the affix being that of necessity (III. 3. 170 S. 3311). as *कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि दुस्त्रं = कर्णवेष्टकिकं दुस्त्रं* 'a fact fit for ear-rings' which becomes beautified by ear ornaments &c. *वाक्त्रयुगिकम् शरीरम्* i. e. *वस्त्रयुगम्* विशेषतः शोभते ॥

१७६४ । कर्मवेषाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०० ॥

कर्मणा संपादि कर्मण्यं शौर्यम् । वेषेण संपादि वेष्ट्यो नटः । वेषः कृत्रिम आकारः ॥

1764. The affix *yat (य)* comes in the sense of "being fitted with that", after the words *karma* and *vesha*, in the third-case in construction.

This debar *ṭhañ*. *कर्मणा संपद्यते = कर्मण्यं शौर्यम्*, *वेष्टेण संपद्यते = वेष्ट्यो नटः* ॥ 'Vesha' means artificial appearance, i. e. disguise.

अ।

१७६५ । तस्मै प्रभवति सन्तापादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । १०१ ॥

bei

सन्तापाय प्रभवति सन्तापिकः । सांप्रानिकः ॥

1765. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after the words *santāpa* &c in the dative construction, in the sense of "what is able to effect that".

The word *प्रभवति* means 'able, capable'. The dative here has the force of *अलम्* (II. 3. 16 S. 583). As, *सन्तापाय प्रभवति = संतापिकः*; *सांप्रानिकः*:

1 संताप, 2 संनाह, 3 संग्राम, 4 संयोग, 5 संपराय, 6 संवेदान, 7 संपेय, 8 निषेध, 9 सर्ग, 10 निवर्ग, 11 विसर्ग, 12 उपसर्ग, 13 प्रवास, 14 उपवास, 15 संघात, 16 संवेष्ट, 17 संवास, 18 संमोदन, 19 सकृत्, 20 मांसौदनादिगृहीतादयि, 21 असर्ग, ॥

१७६६ । योगाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । १०२ ॥

चाहुम् । योगाय प्रभवति योग्यः । योगिकः ॥

1766. The affix yat (य) is also added in this sense of 'able to effect that', to the word yoga.

By force of the word य 'and' the affix इञ् also applies. Thus योगाय प्रभवति - योग्यः or योगिकः ॥

१७६७ । कर्मण उक्ञ् । ५ । १ । १०३ ॥

कर्मणे प्रभवति कार्मुकम् ॥

1767. The affix ukañ comes after the word karman, in the same sense of 'able to effect that'.

This debars इञ्. As कर्मणे प्रभवति - कार्मुकं धनुः ॥ This word कार्मुकम् means always a 'bow', and is never employed to designate anything else.

१७६८ । समयस्नदस्य प्राप्तम् । ५ । १ । १०४ ॥

समयः प्राप्तोऽस्य सामयिकम् ॥

1768. The affix thañ comes after the word samaya, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "that has arrived for it".

Thus सामयिकं कर्म = 'a work for which the time has come'.

१७६९ । ऋतोरण् । ५ । १ । १०५ ॥

ऋतुः प्राप्तोऽस्य आर्तवम् ॥

1769. The affix aṇ comes after the word ritu, meaning "that has come for it".

As ऋतुः प्राप्तोऽस्य = आर्तवं पुष्पम् (Gūṇa by VI. 4. 146 S. 847) "the flower for which the season has arrived".

१७७० । कालाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०६ ॥

कालः प्राप्तोऽस्य काल्यं वीतम् ॥

1770. The affix yat (य) comes after the word kâla, in the same sense of 'time for it'.

As काल्यं वीतं ॥ See VI. 1. 213. S. 3701.

१७७१ । प्रकृष्टे ठञ् । ५ । १ । १०८ ॥

प्रकृष्टोऽस्य कालिकश्चैव । प्रकृष्टो वीर्यः कालोऽस्येति कालिकं वैरम् ॥

1771. The affix thañ comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of "longstanding".

As प्रकृष्टो कालोऽस्य = कालिकश्चैव "long-standing debt". कालिकम् वैरम् "long-standing enmity".

'In this sūtra काल and तदस्य are understood, but not so the word प्राप्तम् ॥

१७७२ । प्रयोजनम् । ५ । १ । १०६ ॥

तदस्येत्येव । इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य ऐन्द्रमहिकम् । प्रयोजनं फलं कारणं च ॥

1772. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of "that whose occasion or purpose is this".

As इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य=ऐन्द्रमहिकम्, the word प्रयोजन means fruit or cause.

१७७३ । विशाखाषाढादगमन्यदण्डयोः । ५ । १ । ११० ॥

आश्यामण् स्यात्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थे क्रमान्मन्यदण्डयोरर्थयोः । विशाखा प्रयोजनमस्य वैशाखो मन्यः । आषाढो दण्डः ॥ चूडादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चूडा, चौडम् । अङ्गा, आङ्गम् ॥

1773. The affix *an* comes in the sense of 'that whose purpose is this', after the words *viśākhā*, and *ashādhā*, when the derivative of the first is combined with *मन्य* and that of the second with *दण्ड* ॥

As वैशाखो मन्यः, आषाढो दण्डः ॥

Var :—So also after the words चूडा &c. As चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य=चौडम्, अङ्गा प्रयोजनमस्य=आङ्गम् ॥

१७७४ । अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यश्छः । ५ । १ । १११ ॥

अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1774. The affix *Chha* (ईय) comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the words अनुप्रवचन &c.

This debars छम् ॥ Thus अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य=अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1 अनुप्रवचन, 2 उत्थापन, 3 उपस्थापन, 4 संवेदान, 5 प्रवेदान, 6 अनुप्रवेदान, 7 अनुवासन, 8 अनुवचन, 9 अनुवाचन, 10 अन्वारोहण, 11 प्रारम्भण, 12 आरम्भण, 13 आरोहण, 14 अनुवेदान, 15 अनुवादन, 16 प्ररोहण ॥

१७७५ । समापनात्सपूर्वपदात् । ५ । १ । ११२ ॥

व्याकरणसमापनं प्रयोजनमस्य व्याकरणसमापनीयम् ॥

1775. The affix *Chha* comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the word *samāpana*, when it has a word in composition preceding it.

This debars छम् ॥ Thus व्याकरण समापनं प्रयोजनमस्य=व्याकरण समापनीयम् ॥

Notes—The specific mention of the word *पद* in the aphorism indicates that the rule will not apply when a word other than a 'pada,' such as the affix 'bahuch,' V. 3. 68. S. 2023 precedes the word *Samāpana*.

१७७६ । ऐकागारिकद् चोरे । ५ । १ । ११३ ॥

एकमसहायमगारं प्रयोजनमस्य ह्युच्यते स ऐकागारिकचोरः ॥

1776. The word ऐकागारिकद् is irregularly formed, in the sense of a 'thief'.

The feminine will be in डीप् ॥ Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य = ऐकागारिकः fem. ° की ॥

Note :—This word can be regularly formed by डम्, but it will always be restricted to mean a thief. When any other thing is designated, it will not take this affix. Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य भिक्षाः, here there will be no affixing. The feminine moreover will be in डीप् ॥ Some say the word is formed by adding the affix इकद् with the irregular Vṛiddhi of the first syllable.

१७७७ । आकालिकडाद्यन्तवचने । ५ । १ । ११४ ॥

समानकालावाद्यन्तौ यस्येत्याकालिकः । समानकालस्थाकाल आवेशः । आशु विनाशीत्यर्थः । पूर्वदिने मद्याह्नादाद्यस्य दिनान्तरे सैव नश्यति वा ॥ आकालाहंश * ॥ आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

1777. The word âkâlikat is irregularly formed in the sense of "what coincides with the beginning and the end. i. e. what lasts only an instant".

The word आकाल is substituted for समानकाल ॥ Thus आकालिकः स्तनविद्युः 'a thunder lasting for an instant'. आकालिकी विद्युत्—"a lightening lasting a twinkle". i. e. whose death is equal to its time of birth or dying as born.

Vart :—The affixes डन् and डम् also come after आकाल; as आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

So far is the governing power of the affix डम् V. I. 18.

अथ तद्धित तत्त्वजधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXV.

AFFIXES DENOTING CONDITION AND ACTION.

१७७८ । तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः । ५ । १ । ११५ ॥

ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं ब्राह्मणवदधीते । क्रिया चेद्वतिः किम् । पुत्रतुल्ये मा भूत् । पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्थूलः ॥

1778. The affix vati (वत्) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of “ like that ”, when the meaning is ‘ similarity of action ’.

As ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं वर्तते = ब्राह्मणवत् ; as in the sentence ब्राह्मणवदधीते ॥

Why do we say “ action ” ? The affix will not be joined when the similarity is in ‘ quality ’. As पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्थूलः “ as big as the son ”.

१७७९ । तत्र तस्येव । ५ । १ । ११६ ॥

मथुरायामिव मथुरावत् सुप्ते प्राकारः । चैवस्येव चैववन्मैवस्य गावः ॥

1779. The affix vati comes also in the sense of “ like what is there in or thereof ”.

As मथुरायामिव = मथुरावत् ‘ like that in Mathura ’. as मथुरावत् सुप्ते प्राकारः, चैवस्येव चैववन्मैवस्य गावः &c.

१७८० । तदहम् । ५ । १ । ११७ ॥

विधिमर्हति विधिवत् पूज्यते । क्रियामहं मण्डूकप्लुत्यानुवर्तते । तेनेह न । राजानमर्हति छत्रम् ॥

1780. The affix “ vati ” comes after a word in the second case in construction, in the sense of “ befitting that or suited to that ”.

Thus विधिमर्हति = विधिवत् पूज्यते “ respected as god ”. The word kriyā should be read into this sūtra from V. 1. 115, S. 1778, by ‘ frog-leap ’ anuvṛitti, for it is not to be read in S. 1779.

Therefore, not here राजानमर्हति छत्रम् “ the umbrella as befits a king ”.

१७८१ । तस्य भावस्त्वतलौ । ५ । १ । ११८ ॥

प्रकृतिजन्यबोधे प्रकारो भावः । गोर्भावो गोत्वम् । गोता । त्वान्तं क्लीबं, तलन्तं स्त्रियाम् ।

1781. The affixes tva and tal come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of “ the nature thereof ”.

As गोर्भावः = गोत्व or गोता ॥ The word formed by tva is of Neuter gender, that formed by tal is feminine.

१७८२ । आ च त्वात् । ५ । १ । १२० ॥

ब्रह्मणस्त्व इत्यतः प्राक् स्वतन्त्रावधिक्रियेते । अपवादैः सह समावेशार्थः । शुश्रूषणादिभ्यः कर्मणि विधानार्थं चेदम् । चकारो नञ्जम्भ्यामपि समावेशार्थः । स्त्रिया भावः स्त्रीणम् । स्त्रीत्वम् । स्त्रीतां । पौंलम् । पुंस्त्वम् । पुंस्ता ॥

1782. From this forward as far as the aphorism V. 1. 136, S. 1801 the affixes त्व and तल् bear rule.

Thus in V. I. 122, S. 1784 त्व and तल् are read, giving the forms वृथुत्वम् and वृथुता &c. This rule is intended to secure admission for these two affixes notwithstanding the bars in the shape of subsequent aphorisms directing the employment of other affixes. These affixes signify, in addition to भाव (nature), कर्म (action) also, in V. I. 124. S. 1788. The word च in the aphorism is intended to secure their admission notwithstanding the affixes नञ् and जम् (VI. I. 87 S. 69). Thus स्त्रियाः भावः = स्त्रीणम्, स्त्रीत्वम्, स्त्रीता 'the nature of a female'. पुंस्त्वम्, पुंस्ता, पौंलम् ॥

१७८३ । न नञ्पूर्वात्तत्पुरुषाच्चतुरसंगतलवणवट्युधकतरसलसेभ्यः । ५ । १ । १२१ ॥

इतः परं ये भावप्रत्ययास्ते नञ्तत्पुरुषान्न स्युश्चतुरादीन्वर्जित्वा । अपतित्वम् । अपटुत्वम् । नञ्पूर्वात्किम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । तत्पुरुषात्किम् । नास्य पटवः सन्तीत्यपटुत्वस्य भावः आपटवम् । अचतु-
रेति किम् । आचतुर्थम् । आसप्त्यम् । आलवण्यम् । आवड्यम् । आयुध्यम् । आकत्यम् । आरस्यम् । आलस्यम् ॥

1783. The affixes denoting 'nature', taught hereafter, do not come after a Tatpuruṣa compound formed by the negative particle नञ्, with the exception of the following :—chatura, saṅgata, lavaṇa, vaṭa, budha, kata, rasa, and lasa.

Thus the words अपति and अपटु will have two forms only i. e. अपतित्वम् or अपतिता, अपटुत्वम् or अपटुता ॥

Note :—While by V. I. 128, S. 1793 other compounds will have यक् also, as मैनापत्यम् ॥ An exception to this is आविदुर्ब (VII- 2. 25 S. 3065). as used by the author himself.

Why do we say नञ् पूर्वात् " a Tatpuruṣa whose first member is नञ्". Observe बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a Tatpuruṣa ?' Observe, when the word अपटु is a Bahuvrīhi compound meaning नास्व पटवः सन्ति, its derivative will be आपटवम्, ॥

So also the compounds of चतुर &c, with नञ् e. g. आचतुर्वन्, आसंगत्यन्, आलवण्यन्, आवदयन्, आबुध्यन्, आकृत्यन्, आरस्यन्, आलस्यन् ॥ In some texts, there is युध instead of बुध ॥

१७८४ । पृथ्वादिभ्य इमनिज्वा । ५ । १ । १२२ ॥

वाचचनमयादिसमावेशार्थम् ॥

1784. The affix imanich (इमन्) comes optionally in the sense of 'nature', after the words prithu &c.

The word वा 'optionally' is employed with the intention of securing admission for the affixes अण् &c. Thus पृथु + इमन् । Now applies the following

१७८५ । र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः । ६ । ४ । १६१ ॥

हलादेर्लघोर्लकारस्य रः स्यात् इष्टमेयस्तु ॥

1785. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and इयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when the ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus पृथु इमन् = प्रथु + इमन् । Now applies the following.

१७८६ । टेः । ६ । ४ । १५५ ॥

अस्य टेलोपः स्यादिष्टमेयस्तु । पृथोर्भावः प्रथिमा । पार्थवम् । अदिमा । मार्दवम् ॥

1786. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and इयस् follow.

Thus पृथोर्भावः = प्रथिमन् nom प्रथिमा (पृथु + इमन् = प्रथु + इमन् VI. 4. 161 = प्रथ् + इमन् VI. 4. 155 = प्रथिमा), or पार्थवम् by V. I 131. S. 1796. So also अदिमा or मार्दवम् ॥ The उ of पृथु and वृदु is elided by the present Sūtra and र is substituted for ऋ by VI. 4. 161. S. 1785. Of course, the affixes स्व and तल् come here also as, पृथुत्वम्, वृदुत्वम्, पृथुता, वृदुता ॥

1 पृथु, 2 वृदु, 3 महत्, 4 पट्, 5 तनु, 6 लघु, 7 बहु, 8 साधु, 9 आशु, (आसु !), 10 ऊरु (ऊरु), 11 गुरु 12 बहुल, 13 खण्ड, 14 दण्ड, 15 चण्ड, 16 अकिंचन, 17 बाल, 18 होड, 19 पाक, 20 वस्त्र, 21 मन्द, 22 स्वादु, 23 ह्रस्व, 24 दीर्घ, 25 प्रिय, 26 वृष, 27 ऋजु, 28 क्षिप्र, 29 क्षुद्र, 30 अशु, 31 वेणु (!).

१७८७ । वर्णदृढादिभ्यः श्यञ्च । ५ । १ । १२३ ॥

आदिमानिच । शौक्ल्येम् । शुक्लिमा । वा र्थम् । *

पृथुवृदुभ्याकृषादृढपरिवृढानामेव रत्वम् । * इदिमा । यो ङीवर्यः । शौचिती । यथाकामी ॥

1787. The affix shyañ also comes, as well as imanich after a word denoting colour, and after the words dridha &c, in the sense of 'nature thereof'.

Thus शुक्लस्य भावः = शौकल्यम्, शुक्लमन्, शुक्लत्व, शुक्लताः ॥ काण्ड्यम्, कुण्डिमन्, कुण्डल्यम्, कुण्डता; शङ्खस्य ब्रह्मिन् (nom. मा), दृढत्वम्, दृढता ॥

The ण् of ष्यञ् shows that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). As भौचित्यः fem. भौचिती (VI. 4. 148. and 150 S 311 and 472). So also यथाकामी ॥

Vart:—The following are the six words which substitute र for ऋ under VI. 4. 161. S. 1785 पृथु, वृद्ध, वृष, कृष दृढ, परिवृढ, ॥ Thus ब्रह्मिमा ॥

Note:—It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मातृ, भ्रातृ, &c. as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति, भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥ See. III. 1 21. S. 2677.

१७८८ । गुणवचनब्राह्मणादिभ्यः कर्मणि च । ५ । १ । १२४ ॥

चाङ्गवे । जडस्य कर्म भावो वा जाड्यम् । मूढस्य भावः कर्म वा मौढ्यम् । ब्राह्मण्यम् ॥ *

अर्हतो नुम् च ॥ अर्हतो भावः कर्म वा आर्हन्त्यम् । आर्हन्ती । ब्राह्मणादिराकृतिगणः ॥

1788. The same affix *ṣhyañ* has after a word expressive of quality, and after Brâhmaṇa &c, the sense of 'the activity or occupation of something or some one.'

The च in the aphorism is employed with the intention of including भाव or "nature". The word कर्म denotes activity. जडस्य भावः कर्म वा = जाड्यम् ॥ So also मौढ्यम्, ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम् ॥

This class of ब्राह्मण &c. is *ākṛitigaṇa* i. e. the fact of a word belonging to which is known only from the forms met with in writers of authority.

Vart:—The augment नुम् is added to अर्हन् when it takes the affix ष्यञ् ॥ Thus the activity or nature of अर्हन् will be आर्हन्त्यम् fem आर्हन्ती the ण् is elided by VI. 4. 150 S. 472.

The words यथा तथ and यथापुर preceded by the negative particle अ, i. e. the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर belong to the Brâhmaṇādi class. They also take ष्यञ्; the vṛddhi in their case is governed by the following sūtra.

१७८९ । यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण । ७ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नञः परयोरेतयोः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पर्यायेणादेरेचो वृद्धिर्निदाहो । अयथातथाभावः आयथातथ्यम्, अयथातथ्यम् । अयथापुर्वम् । अयथापुर्वम् । आपादसमाप्तभावकर्माधिकारः ॥ चतुर्वर्णादीनां स्वाय उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चत्वारो वर्णाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यम् । चातुराश्रम्यम् । त्रैवर्ण्यम् । षाड्गुण्यम् । सैन्यम् । सान्निध्यम् । सामीप्यम् । औपम्यम् । त्रैलोक्यमित्यादि । सर्वे वेदाः सर्ववेदान्तानधीते सर्ववेदः । सर्वादिरिति लुक् । स एव सार्ववेद्यः । चतुर्वेदस्योभयपदवृद्धिः * ॥ चतुरो वेदानधीते चतुर्वेदः स एव चातुर्वेद्यः । चतुर्विद्यस्थेति पाठान्तरम् । चतुर्विद्य एव चातुर्वेद्यः ॥

1789. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vṛddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛddhi, the words remain unchanged.; and when these words are vṛddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आद्यथातद्वन् or अद्यथातद्वन्, आद्यथापुर्वन् or अद्यथापुर्वन् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds are exhibited as दयातथ and दयापुर and are Avy-ayībhāvas (II. 1. 7. S. 661), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened.

The words भ्रातृ and कर्म bear rule upto the end of the seventh Book chapter three.

Vart :—The affix does not change the sense in चातुर्वर्ण्य &c, as चत्वार एव वर्णाः = चातुर्वर्ण्यम्, ॥ चतुराश्रम्यम्, वैश्वर्यम्, पाण्डुरूप्यम्, सैन्यम्, सान्निध्यम्, सानीप्यम्, औपम्यम् जैलोक्यम् ॥ &c.

So also सर्ववेदाः = सर्ववेदाः All-Vedas. One who studies All-Vedas is सर्ववेदः the affix is here luk-elided by the vārtika under IV. 2. 60. ३. 1270. This word सर्ववेद takes the affix व्यम् without any change of sense. As सार्ववेद्यः

Vart :—There is vṛddhi of both members in the compound चातुर्वेदः ' who studies four Vedas ' before श्यान्. As चातुर्वेद + व्यम् = चातुर्वेद्यः ॥ Instead of चातुर्वेदस्य, another reading of this Vārtika is चातुर्विद्यस्य thus चातुर्विद्य + व्यम् = चातुर्वेद्यः । चातुर्वेदः is formed from विद्या by अण् luk elision (IV. 1. 88. S. 1080), चातुर्विद्यः by इक् elision (IV. 2. 60 S. 1270. vart).

१७९० । स्तेनाद्यन्नलोपश्च । ५ । १ । १२५ ॥

नेति संचातग्रहणम् । स्तेन चौर्ये पचाद्यच् । स्तेनस्य भावः कर्म वा स्तेबन् । स्तेनादिति शोणं विभक्त्यं स्तेन्यमिति व्यञ्जनन्तपि केचिद्विच्छन्ति ॥

1790. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of " nature thereof or action thereof ", after the word stena, in the genitive, and न is elided before this affix.

The न in the sūtra is taken in its composite form, i. e. न् + य ॥ The elision herein taught is of न NA and not of न् N only. The word स्तेन is formed by णिच् of पचादि class.

Note :—Had न of the sūtra meant the single letter न्, there would arise the following anomaly स्तेन + व्यम् = स्तेन् + य (the य is elided by VI. 4. 148. S. 311). Here the elided य becomes sthānivat by I. 1. 57 S. 50 and so when न् is elided by the present sūtra, we have स्ते + • + • + य ॥ The elided य would cause the ए to be changed to अच् &c the form would be स्तच् ॥ Hence the whole syllable न is elided by this sūtra and not separately by the application of S. 311 and this sūtra.

As स्तेनस्य भावः कर्म वा = स्तेबन् ॥ Some divide the sūtra into two स्तेनाद्य व्यम् भवति (2) ततो यन्न लोपश्च, as स्तेन्यन् and स्तेबन् ॥

१७९१ । सख्युर्यः । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

सख्युर्भावः कर्म वा सख्यम् ॥ दूतवणिग्भ्यां च * ॥ दूतस्य भावः कर्म वा दूत्यम् । वणिज्यमिति काशिका ॥ माधवस्तु वणिज्याशब्दः स्वभावान् स्त्रीलिङ्गः । भाव एव चात्र प्रत्यया न तु कर्मणीत्याह । भाष्ये तु दूतवणिग्भ्यां चति नास्त्येव । ब्राह्मणादित्वाद्वाणिज्यमपि ॥

1791. 'The affix य comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word सखि ॥

As सख्यम् 'friendship'.

Vārtā:—So also after the words, दूत and वणिक्, as दूत्यम् ॥ According to Kāśikā we have वणिज्यम् ॥ Mādhava says "वाणिज्या is inherently feminine. The affix श्यान् is added to it in the sense of 'nature' and never in the sense of action." In the Bhāṣhya this vārtika is not at all found. The word वाणिज्यम् is formed by V. I. 124, S. 1788 वणिक belonging to ब्राह्मणादि class.

१७२२ । कपिज्ञात्योर्दक् । ५ । १ । १२७ ॥

कापेयम् । ज्ञातेयम् ॥

1792. 'The affix ḍhak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the words kapi and jñāti.

Thus कपेर्भावः कर्म वा = कापेयम्, ज्ञातेयम् ॥ The rule of यथासंख्य (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply any where under this head.

१७६३ । पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक् । ५ । १ । १२८ ॥

सैनापत्यम् । पौरोहित्यम् ॥ राजाऽसे * ॥ राजशब्दोऽसमासे यत्कं लभते इत्यर्थः । राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा राज्यम् । समासे तु ब्राह्मणादित्वान् व्यञ्ज । अधिराज्यम् ॥

1793. 'The affix yak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a compound ending with pati, and after purohita &c.

Thus सैनापतेर्भावः कर्म वा = सैनापत्यम्, पौरोहित्यम्, राज्यम् ॥

1 पुरोहित, 2 राजासे (असमासे, राजन् असे), 3 ग्रामिक (संघामिक), 4 पिण्डिक, 5 सुहित*, 6 बाल, 7 मन्द, 8 खण्डिक, 9 हण्डिक, 10 वर्मिक (वर्मिन), 11 कर्मिक, 12 धर्मिक*, 13 क्षालिक (क्षालिक), 14 क्षतिक, 15 मूलिक, 16 तिलक (तिलिका), 17 अञ्जलिक, 18 अञ्जनिक (अञ्जतिका), 19 कषिक, 20 पुषिक (पुषक), 21 अषिक*, 22 क्षात्तिक, 23 पर्विक*, 24 पथिक (पथिका), 25 चमिक, 26 प्रतिक, 27 सारथि (साराथक), 28 आस्तिक*, 29 स्राष्टिक, 30 संरक्ष*, 31 स्रष्टक (संरक्षस्रष्टक), 32 नास्तिक*, 33 अजानिक, 34 शक्वर (शक्वर), 35 नागर*, 36 चूडिक, 37 एषिक, 38 मिलिक, 39 स्तानिक, 40 चूडितिक, 41 कृषिक, 42 पृथिक, 43 पथिक, 44 सलनिक, 45 पक्षिक, 46 जलिक, 47 क्षमिक, 48 तिष्ठिक, 49 प्राष्टिक, 50 प्रथिक, 51 परिक्षिक, 52 पूजनिक, 53 मृष्टिक, 54 स्वरिक ॥

G Vārtā:—The word rājan gets yak augment when not in a compound. As राज्यम् "the nature or action of the king-royal". In the compound it will take श्यान् of the Brāhmanādi class." As अधिराज्यम् ॥

१७९४ । प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽञ् । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

प्राणभृज्जाति । आश्वम् । औष्ट्रम् । वयोवचनम् । कौमारम् । केशोरम् । औशाभम् । औनेभम् । औष्ट्रवम् । औष्ट्रवम् ॥

1794. The affix añ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after class names of animals, and words expressing age, as well as after udgâtri &c.

Thus अश्वस्य भावः कर्म वा = आश्वम्, औष्ट्रम्, कौमारम्, केशोरम्, औशाभम्, औनेभम् ॥ औष्ट्रवम्, औष्ट्रवम् ॥

1 उद्गात्र्, 2 उन्नेत्र्, 3 प्रतिहर्त्, 4 प्रशास्त्र्, 5 होत्र्, 6 पोत्र्, 7 हर्त्, (कर्त्), 8 रथगणक 9 पत्तिगणक (पत्तिगणक पत्तिगणक), 10 सुष्टु, 11 दुष्टु, 12 अघ्नर्त्, 13 वधू, 14 सुभग मन्त्रे ॥ In the Mantra literature subhaga takes अञ्, as महते सौभाग्य; sometimes there is no अञ् as सौभाग्य मस्ये दत्वाय ॥

१७९५ । हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । १३० ॥

हैहायनम् । वैहायनम् । यौवनम् । स्थविरम् । ओषिधस्य बलीपथ * ॥ औषधम् । कुशलचपल-
निपुणपिशुनकुतूहलक्षेत्रज्ञा युवादिषु ब्राह्मणादिषु च पठ्यन्ते । कौशल्यम् । कौशलमित्यादि ॥

1795. The affix aṇ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after compounds ending in hâyana, and after yuvana &c.

Thus हिहायनस्य भावः कर्म वा = हैहायनम्, वैहायनम्; यौवनम्, स्थविरम् ॥

Gana-Vârt :—The अ of ओषिध is elided, as ओषिधस्य भावः कर्म वा = औषधम् ॥

1 युवन्, 2 स्थविर, 3 होत्र्, 4 यजमान, 5 पुरुषासे (पुरुष असमासे), 6 भ्रात्र् (भ्रातृ), 7 कुतुक (कतक), 8 अमण (अणम), 9 कटुक*, 10 कमण्डलु, 11 कुल्ली, 12 सुल्ली, 13 दुःल्ली, 14 सुहृदय, 15 दुर्हृदय, 16 सुहृद्, 17 दुर्हृद् 18 सुभ्रात्र्, 19 दुभ्रात्र्, 20 वृषल, 21 परिव्राजक, 22 सब्रह्मचारिन्, 23 अनृषास, 24 हृदयासे (हृदय असमासे), 25 कुशल, 26 चपल, 27 निपुण, 28 पिशुन, 29 कुतूहल, 30 क्षेत्रज्ञ, 31 ओषिधस्य बलीपथ, 32 यात्र्, 33 कृतक, 34 कुचुक, 35 कन्दुक, 36 मिथुन, 37 कुल्ली, 38 महस्, 39 कितव, 40 पोतः ॥

The word कुशल, चपल, निपुण, पिशुन, कुतूहल and क्षेत्रज्ञ belong both to the Yuvâdi and Brâhmaṇâdi class. As कौशल्यम् of कौशलम् &c.

१७९६ । इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात् । ५ । १ । १३१ ॥

इत्येर्भावः कर्म वा औषधम् । मौनम् । कथं काव्यम् । कविशब्दस्य ब्राह्मणादित्वात्त्वम् ॥

1796. The affix aṇ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a stem ending in इक् (इ, ई, उ, ऊ, or ऋ or ए), when the preceding syllable is prosodially light.

Thus इत्येर्भावः कर्म वा = औषधम्, मौनम् (मुनि). (Why do we say लघुपूर्वात् 'the preceding syllable being light'? Observe कण्डुत्वम्, पण्डुत्वम्) ॥ Why काव्यम् from कवि? The word कवि takes अञ् as belonging to the Brâhmaṇâdi class V. 1. 124.

१७९७ । योपधाद्गुरुपोत्तमाद्वुञ् । ५ । १ । १३२ ॥

रामणीयकम् । आभिधानीयकम् ॥ सहायाद्वा * साहाय्यम् । साहायकम् ।

1797. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a polysyllabic stem whose penultimate letter is *ञ्*, and whose penultimate syllable is prosodially heavy.

Note :—The word *उपोत्तमं* means the last syllable but one in a word of three syllables or more. That word whose penultimate syllable is *गुरु* 'heavy' is called *गुरुपोत्तमम्*; the *योपधा* means 'having penultimate *ञ्*' ॥

Thus *रामणीयकम्* from *रमणीय*, *आभिधानीयकम्* ।

Note :—Why do we say "the penultimate-letter being *ञ्*." ? Observe *विमानस्त्वं* from *विमान* ॥

Note :—Why do say *गुरुपोत्तमं* "the penultimate syllable being heavy" ? Witness *क्षत्रियस्त्वम्* ॥

Vari :—Optionally so after the word *सहाय*; as *साहायकम्* and *साहाय्यम्* ॥

Note :—The words *उपोत्तम्* and *उपधा* should be distinguished: the first means *penultimate syllable* (implying thereby the word is of more than two syllables), and the second means *penultimate letter*.

१७९८ । द्वन्द्वमनोज्ञादिभ्यश्च । ५ । १ । १३३ ॥

शैव्योपाध्यायिका । मानोज्ञकम् ॥

1798. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a dvandva compound and after the words *manojña* &c.

Thus *गोपालपशुपालानां भावः कर्म वा* = *गोपालपशुपालिका* । *शैव्योपाध्यायिका*, *मानोज्ञकम्* ।

1 मनोज्ञ, 2 प्रियरूप, 3 अभिरूप, 4 कल्याण, 5 मेधाविन्, 6 आढ्य, 7 कुलपुत्र, 8 छान्दस, 9 छात्र, 10 श्रोत्रिय, 11 चोर, 12 धूर्त, 13 विश्वदेव (वैश्वदेव), 14 युवन्, 15 कुपुत्र *, 16 ग्रामपुत्र, 17 ग्रामकुलाल*, 18 ग्रामषण्ड (ग्रामखण्ड), 19 ग्रामकुमार, 20 सुकुमार, 21 बहुल, 22 अवश्यपुत्र, (अवश्य) 23 अमुष्यपुत्र, 24 अमुष्यकुल, 25 सारपत्र, *, 26 शतपुत्र, 27 कुशल, 28 अहोपुरुष ॥

१७९९ । गोत्रचरणाच्छ्लाघात्याकारतद्वेषेषु । ५ । १ । १३४ ॥

अत्याकारोऽधिष्ठेपः । तद्वेषेते गोत्रचरणयोर्भाविकर्मणीप्राप्तः । अवगतवान्वा । गार्गिकया श्लाघते । गार्ग्यत्वेन विकस्यत इत्यर्थः । गार्गिकयाऽस्याकुसते । गार्गिकामवेतः । काठकेन श्लाघते ॥

1799. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a family-name (Gotra), and after the Name of a Vaidic School, when one boasts thereby, or manifests his contempt thereby, or when it means one who has attained that (or has come for an inspection or inquiring thereof).

Note :—The word श्लाघा means boasting ; अत्याकार means 'contempt', तद् अवेतः means तद्वाप्तः 'who has gained that; or तद्भूतः 'who inquires that'. The word तन् refers to गोत्र and चरण ॥ The word तद्भवनः means "who has obtained that or who has known that".

To take first श्लाघा, as गार्गिकयाश्लाघते or काठिकयाश्लाघते "boasts of belonging to the family of Garga, or the school of Kaṭha". To take अत्याकारः, as गार्गिकयात्याकुर्वते, काठिकयात्याकुर्वते "he manifests contempt upon another, because of his belonging to the clan of Garga or School of Kaṭha". To take तद्भवेता as गार्गिकामवेतः or काठिकामवेतः = अवेतः or अवगतवान् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when it means boasting &c" Observe गर्ग्यस्वम्, कठस्वम् ॥ The य of गर्ग्य is elided in the above examples by VI. 4. 148 & VI. 4. 151.

१८०० । होत्राभ्यश्छः । ५ । १ । १३५ ॥

होत्राभ्यश्छः कात्स्विन्वाची स्त्रीलिङ्गः । बहुवचनविशेषमहणम् । अच्छावाकस्य भावः कर्म वा अच्छावाकीयम् । नैवावरुणीयम् ॥

1800. The affix chha (श्छ) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after words expressing Hotrā priests.

The word hotrā is feminine and denotes a kind of priest. होत्राभ्यः is plural, to prevent the application of I. 1. 68. S. 25; therefore the rule does not apply to the word-form 'hotrā derived from हु + तृन् meaning a ṛitvij.

Thus आच्छावाकीयम्, नैवावरुणीयम्, ब्राह्मणाच्छसीयम्, आग्नीध्रीयम्, प्रतिप्रस्थापीयम्, नेष्ट्रीयम्, पोषीयम् ॥

१८०१ । ब्रह्मणस्त्वः । ५ । १ । १३६ ॥

होत्रावाप्तिनो ब्रह्मणस्त्वात्स्यः स्यात् । छस्यापवादः । ब्रह्मस्वम् । नेति वाच्ये त्ववचनं तलो बाधनार्थम् । ब्राह्मणपर्यायायाद्ब्रह्मणस्त्वाच्च त्वतलो । ब्रह्मस्वम् । ब्रह्मता ॥

1801. The affix tva (त्व) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word Brahman, denoting a kind of Hotrā priest.

This debars छे ॥ Thus ब्रह्मणो भावः कर्म वा = ब्रह्मस्वम् ॥ This debars तह् ॥

When ब्रह्मण means a Brāhmaṇa, by caste, we have ब्रह्मस्वम् or ब्रह्मता ॥

So much for the province of the affixes नञ् and लञ् (IV. 1. 87).

अथ तद्धितमत्वर्थीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE AFFIX भवन् ।

१८०२ । धान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खञ् । ५ । २ । १ ॥

भवन्त्वस्मिन्निति भवनम् । धुन्नानां भवनं क्षेत्रं मौडीनम् ॥

1802. The affix *khañ* comes after the name of any particular corn, being in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of “a place of growing,” when that place is a field.

Note :—The word धान्यानां ‘of grains’, shows that the word in construction should be in the genitive case. The plural number shows that the affix is not to be added to the word-form धान्य, but to words which denote various kinds of dhānya (I 1. 63 S. 263) भवन means ‘the place where a thing is produced or grows (भवन्ति जायन्ते)’ ॥

Thus धुन्नानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = मौडीनम्, कौड्वीणम्, कौलस्थीनम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say “of grains”? There will be no affixing in a case like धुन्नानां भवनं क्षेत्रं ॥

Note :—Why do we say “when it is a field”? Observe धुन्नानां भवनं कुशालं ‘a granary where kidney-beans grow’.

१८०३ । त्रीहिशाल्योढक् । ५ । २ । २ ॥

त्रैहेयम् । शालेयम् ॥

1803. The affix *ḍhak* comes in the above sense of ‘a place of growing, when it is a field’, after the words त्रीहि and शालि ॥

Thus त्रीहिनां भवनं क्षेत्रे = त्रैहेयम्, शालेयम्, शालय ‘a field fit for growing rice’.

१८०४ । यवयवकषष्टिकाद्यत् । ५ । २ । ३ ॥

यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं यव्यम् । यवक्यम् । षष्ठीक्यम् ॥

1804. The affix *yat* comes in the same sense of ‘a place for growing, it being a field’, after the words yava, yavaka, and shashtika.

This debars खञ् ॥ Thus यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = यव्यम्, यवक्यम् षष्टिक्यम् ॥ See VI. 1 213 S. 3701 for accent.

१८०५ । विभाषा तिलमाषोमभङ्गाण्यः । ५ । २ । ४ ॥

तत् वा स्वात् । पक्षे खम् । तिल्यम् । तैलीनम् । माष्यम् । माषीणम् । उभ्यम् । औमीनम् । भङ्ग्यम् । भाङ्गीनम् । अण्यम् । अणवीनम् ॥

1805. The affix yat comes, in the sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', optionally after the words tila, māṣa, umā, bhaṅgā and aṇu.

The affix khañ will come in the alternative. Thus तिल्यम् or तैलीनम् 'a field for growing sesamum', माष्यम् or माषीणम् 'a field for growing beans', उभ्यम् or औमीनम् 'a field of linseed', भङ्ग्यम् or भाङ्गीनम् 'a field of hemp', अण्यम् or अणवीनम् 'a field for small grain'.

१८०६ । सर्वचर्मणः कृतः खलजौ । ५ । २ । ५ ॥

असामर्थ्येऽपि निपातनात्समासः । सर्वचर्मणा कृतः सर्वचर्मणः । सर्वचर्मणः ॥

1806. The affix kha (ईन) and khañ (ईन) come in the sense of "wholly made thereof", after the word sarva-charman.

The word सर्व is here a part of the sense of the affix, and joins with the word कृतः, and with चर्मन् ॥ The compounding is, in fact, made by the affix, for between सर्व and चर्मन् there is no sāmānyā or construction, and so it can not be compounded with it, by any rule of samāsa. Sāmānyā is necessary for that purpose. Here सर्व is in construction with कृतः ॥ So the compounding of sarva with charman is anomalous. Thus सर्वचर्मणकृतः = सर्वचर्मणः or सर्वचर्मण्यः "made wholly of leather."

१८०७ । यथामुखसंमुखस्य दर्शनः खः । ५ । २ । ६ ॥

मुखस्य सदृशं यथामुखं प्रतिबिम्बम् । निपातनात्सादृश्येऽप्ययीभावः । समं सर्वं मुखं संमुखम् । समसदृशस्यान्तलोपा निपात्यते । यथामुखं दर्शनो यथामुखीनः । सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः संमुखीनः ॥

1807. The affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of 'a mirror', after the words yathāmukha, and saumukha being in the 6th case in construction.

The word दर्शनः means that in which something is seen, such as, a looking glass, mirror &c, which reflects things. The word यथामुख "a reflection" is an Avyayibhāva compound, the meaning of यथा being that of likeness (II. 1. 6. S. 652). Thus यथामुखं दर्शनः = यथामुखीनः 'showing or reflecting the likeness of the face'—a mirror. सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः = सम्मुखीनः 'showing or reflecting the whole face'—a looking-glass. सम means 'all'; and in forming the compound the final अ of सम is elided.

१८०८। तत्सर्वादेः पथ्यङ्गकर्मपत्रपात्रं व्याप्नोति । ५ । २ । ७ ॥

सर्वादेः पथ्यायन्ताद् द्वितीयान्ताख्यः स्थान् । सर्वपथ्यान् व्याप्नोति सर्वपथीनः । सर्वाङ्गीणः । सर्वकर्मीणः । सर्वपत्रीणः । सर्वपात्रीणः ॥

1808. After the words pathi, āṅga, karman, patra or pātra, preceded by sarva, being in the second case in construction, the affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of “what pervades or fills the whole of that”.

Thus सर्वपथ्यान् व्याप्नोति = सर्वपथीनोदयः ; सर्वाङ्गीणस्तापः, सर्वकर्मीणः पुरुषः, सर्वपत्रीणः साराधिः, सर्वपात्रीण ओदनः ॥

१८०९। आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति । ५ । २ । ८ ॥

पादस्थानं प्रपदं तन्मर्यादीकृत्य आप्रपदम् । आप्रपदीनः पदः ॥

1809. The affix kha (ईन) comes after the word āprapada, in the sense of “reaching thereto”.

The word प्रपद means the ‘top of the foot’. आप्र means “upto”. आप्रपद is an Avyayibhāva compound meaning ‘to the top of the foot’. Thus आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति = आप्रपदीनः पदः ‘cloth reaching to the end of the feet’; i. e. showing the width of the cloth by comparison with the body.

१८१०। अनुपदसर्वाङ्गायानयं बद्धाभक्षयतिनेयेषु । ५ । २ । ९ ॥

अनुपदस्थे सादृश्ये च । अनुपदं बद्धा अनुपदीना उपानत् । सर्वाङ्गानि भक्षयति सर्वाङ्गीनो भिक्षुः । अयानयः स्थलविशेषः । तं नेयोऽयानयिनः शारः ॥

1810. The affix kha comes after the words anupada, sarvāṅga, and ayānaya, being in the second case in construction, in the senses of ‘so bound’, ‘eating that’, and ‘to carry thereto’ respectively.

Thus अनुपदं बद्धा = अनुपदीना ‘a kind of shoe’; this word is always feminine. The force of अनु here is that of ‘length’ or ‘likeness’. That is ‘a shoe of the measure of a foot’. So सर्वाङ्गानि भक्षयति = सर्वाङ्गीनो भिक्षुः ‘a mendicant who eats the whole food’. So also अयानयिनः शारः ‘a chessman or piece that is taken to the position on the chess called ayānaya’. The word अयानय is compounded of two words अय, meaning ‘going from right to left’, and अनय ‘from left to right’, and it means a particular position in which the pieces moving from right to left and left to right cannot move further, and attack the other pieces.

Note :—According to some अयानयिन is the name of the front pieces in one's own row of chess-men. A piece which moves only on one side, does not admit

of this affix. The piece which is carried from one side to another, admits of this affix. Others move only in one direction अत्र or अत्रय. but not both. Kaiyyaṭa : वस्तु शार एक पार्श्व एव संचरति तत्र न भवति प्रत्ययो. यो हि शारः पार्श्वान् पार्श्वान्तरमानीयते, स एव अत्रानयं नीयते, अत्र्यास्तु शयनेन नीयते, अत्रयमय नीयते वा ॥

१८११ । परोवरपरम्परपुत्रपौत्रमनुभवति । ५ । २ । १० ॥

परांश्चावरांश्चानुभवतीति परोवरीणः । अवरास्त्योत्वं-निपात्यते । परांश्च परतरांश्चानुभवति क्खम्परीणः । अकृतेः परम्परभावो निपात्यते । पुत्रपौत्राननुभवति पुत्रपौत्रीणः । परम्पराकव्यस्तु अभ्युत्पन्नं शाब्दान्तरं क्लीलिङ्गं तस्मादेव स्वार्थे व्यभिपारम्पर्यम् । कथं पारोवर्षवदिति । असाधुरेवावम् । खप्रत्ययसन्निभेणेनैव परोवरोति निपातनात्

1811. The affix kha comes in the sense of "who witnesses or experiences that", after the words parovara, parampara and putrapantra in the second case in construction.

The word परोवर is compounded of पर and अवर the ओ in रो being irregular, the compounding being caused by the affix परांश्चावरांश्च अनुभवति = परोवरीणः "who lives to see high and low". The word परम्पर is compounded of पर and परतर, the compounding being caused by the affix. As परांश्च परतरांश्चानुभवति = परम्परीणः ॥ Similarly पुत्रपौत्रीणः ॥

* The word परम्परा is a separate word as well, not formed by or admitting this affix. As मन्त्रिपरम्परा मन्त्रं निनास्ति ॥ This is a feminine word : from this we get by śhyañ without change of meaning पारम्पर्यम् । How do you explain the form पारोवर्षवम् ? It is certainly incorrect because the form परोवर is valid only before the affix ख and nowhere else.

१८१२ । अवारपारात्यन्तानुकामं गामी । ५ । २ । ११ ॥

अवारपारंगामी अवारपारीणः । अवारीणः । पारीणः । पारावारीणः । अत्यन्तं गामी अत्यन्तीनः । मृद्यं गन्तेत्यर्थः । अनुकामं गामी अनुकामीनः । वयेष्टं गन्तेत्यर्थः ॥

1812. The affix kha comes in the sense of "who purposes to go", after the words avârapâra, atyanta, and anukâma, being in the accusative case in construction.

The word गामी means 'गमिष्यति', see III. 3. 3. S. 3171. The genitive case is prohibited by II. 3. 70 : the word गामी governing the accusative. Thus अवारपारंगामी = अवारपारीणः ॥

So also when the words are reversed. As पारावारीणः ॥ So also when the words are taken separately as अवारीणः and पारीणः ॥ So also अत्यन्तं गामी = अत्यन्तीनः = मृद्यं गन्ता ॥ So also अनुकामीनः = वयेष्टं गन्ता ॥

१८१३ । समांसमां विजायते । ५ । २ । १२ ॥

यलोपोऽवशिष्टविभक्तोरलुक् च पूर्वपदेनिपाद्यते । समांसमीना गौः । समांसमीना सा वैव प्रतिषेध प्रसूयते ॥ खप्रत्ययानुत्पत्तौ यलोपो वा नक्तव्यः * ॥ समांसमां विजायते । समायां समायां वा ॥

1813. The affix *kha* comes after the word *samâmsa-mâm* in the sense of 'who bears in the womb'.

The word *विजायते* means गर्भे धारयति 'who bears in the womb'. This verb governs the accusative of time समांसनां by II. 1. 29. S. 691. Thus समांसनां विजायते = समांसनीना गौः, समांसनीना वडवा ॥

* According to others the aphorism means "the affix comes in the sense of to give birth to or to get a young". i. e. विजायते = गर्भमोचनं ॥ According to them, the verb governs the locative समायां समायां विजायते = समांसनीना, the *च्* of the first समायां being elided, the rest of the vibhakti (आप्त) remains. The word will mean "an animal that gives birth to a young one every year". See Amarakosha II. 9. 72.

Vart:—Sometime there is no affixing, but the whole sentence is to be used to express this meaning, or the *च्* only of both members is to be elided and a sentence formed. As समां समां विजायते or समायां समायां विजायते ॥

१८१४ । अद्यश्वीनावष्टब्धे । ५ । २ । १३ ॥

अद्य श्वो वा विजायते अद्यश्वीना वडवा । आसन्नप्रसवेत्यर्थः । केचित्तु विजायते इति नानुवर्तयन्ति । अद्यश्वीनं मरणञ्च । आसन्नमित्यर्थः ॥

1814. The word *adyaśvīnā* is anomalous, meaning "a female near delivery".

The word *विजायते* is understood here. The word *अवष्टब्ध* means 'imminent, near'. It is formed by अव + स्तम्भ + क्त, the *म्* being changed to *व्* by VIII, 3. 68. S. 2273. Thus अद्य वा श्वो वा विजायते = अद्यश्वीना वडवा "a mare likely give birth to-day or to-morrow".

Some do not read *विजायते* in to the sūtra, which then means "The word *adyaśvīnā* is irregularly formed meaning *imminent*". As अद्यश्वीनं मरणं imminent death.

१८१५ । आगवीनः । ५ । २ । १४ ॥

आहूयवृत्तिः कर्मकरे खप्रत्ययो निपात्यते । गोः प्रत्यर्पणपर्यन्तं वैः कर्म करोति स आगवीनः ॥

1815. The word *āgavīnā* "a day-servant" is irregularly formed.

This word is formed by adding ख to the word गो preceded by the preposition आ, as आगो + ख = आगवीनः ॥ The force of the affix is that of 'a servant.' A person who is engaged in business till the return of the cows from pasture i. e. a day-labourer.

१८१६ । अनुग्वलंगामी । ५ । २ । १५ ॥

अनुगु । गोः पश्चात्पर्याप्तं गच्छति । अनुगवीनो गोपालः ॥

1816. The affix kha comes after the word anugu, in the sense of who is 'fit to follow'.

Thus the word अनुगु means गोः पचाह ॥ Thus अनुगु पर्वाप्तं गच्छति = अनुगु-
धीनः 'who is suited or able to follow after the cows' i. e. a cowherd.

१८१७ । अध्वनो यत्नौ । ५ । २ । १६ ॥

अध्वानमलं गच्छति अध्वन्यः । अध्वनीनः । वे चाभावकर्मणोः । आत्माध्वानो खे इति सूत्राभ्यां
प्रकृतिभावः ॥

1817. The affixes yat (य) and kha (ईन) come after the word adhvan, in the above sense of 'who is fit or able to follow'.

Thus अध्वानमलगामी = अध्वनीनः or अध्वन्यः 'able to undertake a journey'. By aphorisms VI. 4. 168, 169 S. 1154, and 1671 the word अध्वन् retains its original form before the affixes य and ख, not losing its final अन्, which it does before other affixes, by VI. 4. 144. S. 679.

१८१८ । अभ्यमित्राच्छ च । ५ । २ । १७ ॥

चायत्सौ । अभ्यमित्रायः । अभ्यमित्र्यः । अभ्यमित्रिणः । अभिजाभिमुख सुष्ठु गच्छतीत्यर्थः ॥

1818. The affix Chha (ईय) also as well as yat and kha, comes after the word abhyamitra, in the sense of 'who is able to go'.

The च draws in यत् and ख ॥ Thus अभ्यमित्रं अलगामी = अभ्यमित्रायः, अभ्यमित्र्यः
अभ्यमित्रिणः 'a warrior who valiantly encounters his enemy' = अभिजाभिमुख सुष्ठु
गच्छति ॥

१८१९ । गोष्ठात्सञ् भूतपूर्वे । ५ । २ । १८ ॥

गोष्ठो भूतपूर्वः गौष्टीनो वेशः ॥

1819. The affix khañ comes after the word goshṭha in the sense of 'it formerly had been'.

The word गोष्ठ is a compound of गो + स्था i. e. a cow-pen, it means the place all around a cow-pen. The word भूतपूर्व qualifies it. Thus गोष्ठो भूतपूर्वः =
गौष्टीनो वेशः 'a place which was formerly a Goshṭha'. Otherwise when not meaning formerly, we have गोष्ठो वर्तते ॥

१८२० । अश्वस्यैकाहगमः । ५ । २ । १९ ॥

एकाहेन गम्यते इत्येकाहगमः । आश्वीनोऽध्वना ॥

1820. The affix khañ comes after the word aśva, in the genitive case in construction, the sense being 'what is travelled over or traversed in one day'.

The word अश्वस्य being in the sixth case shows the construction it should have before the affix. The एकाहगमः means एकाहेन गम्यते i. e. what is or can be gone over in one day. Thus अश्वस्यैकहागमोऽध्वा = आश्वीनः, as आश्वीनानि शतः शतित्वा = यावन्ति योजनान्येकाहेनाश्वेन गम्यते तावतां शतं गत्वा ॥ सहस्राश्वीनं वा इतः स्वर्गो लोकः ॥

२८२१ । शालीनकौपीने अधृष्टाकार्ययोः । ५ । २ । २० ॥

शालाप्रवेशमर्हति शालीनः अधृष्टः । कूपपतनमर्हति कौपीनं पापम् । तत्साधनत्वात्तद्विशेषोऽप्यत्वाद्वा पुरुषनिष्क्रमपि । तत्संबन्धात्तदाच्छादनमपि ॥

1821. The word śālīna and kaupīna are anomalous, when meaning 'modest' and 'a shameful action' respectively.

The word अधृष्ट means 'not proud', अकार्यम् means 'unfit to be done' i. e. an infamous act. The words come from शाला "a hall" and कूप 'a well'. It is not easy to trace any connection between 'modesty' and 'a hall', or between 'shameful' and 'a well'. However some say शालाप्रवेशमर्हति 'who deserves to enter a hall', = शालीनः, कूपावतारमर्हति 'who deserves to be thrown into a well' कौपीनः, hence a thing to be concealed as the male organ ; and, the dress that conceals it. As शालीनो ब्रह्मः, कौपीनं पापं ॥

१८२२ । व्रातेन जीवति । ५ । २ । २१ ॥

व्रातेन शरीरायासेन जीवति नतु बुद्धिवैभवेन स व्रातीनः ॥

1822. The affix khañ comes after the word vrāta: in the third case in construction, the sense being "who leads this life, or who lives by this".

The word व्रात means a multitude or mass composed of various castes, who have no fixed employment, and live by violence, or by bodily labor. व्रातेन जीवति = व्रातीनः 'a person who lives by the labour of his body, and not by the power of his brain'.

१८२३ । साप्तपदीनं सख्यम् । ५ । २ । २२ ॥

सप्तभिः पदैरवाप्यते साप्तपदीनम् ॥

1823. The word sāptapadīna is anomalous, when meaning 'friendship'.

The word साप्तपदीन comes from सप्तपद् but the connection of senses is not very clear. It is said सप्तभिः पदैरवाप्यते = साप्तपदीनम् "formed by walking together seven steps or by talking together seven words".

Note :—The circumambulation of the Fire by the bride and bridegroom in seven steps makes the marriage irrevocable. साप्तपदीनं seems to have some connection

with that. The word सातपदीनः or न means 'a friend' also ; the abstract sense being made applicable by analogy to the person as well.

१८२४ । दैयङ्गवीनं संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । २३ ॥

ह्योगोदोहस्य दैयङ्गुरादेशः विकारार्थे खम् च निपात्यते । दुग्धत इति दोहः क्षीरम् । ह्योगोदोहस्य विकारो दैयङ्गवीनं नवनीतम् ॥

1824. The word "haiyaṅgavīna" is anomalous, when it is a Name.

The word दैयङ्गवीनम् means 'fresh butter'. The word comes from ह्य 'yesterday' and गोदोह 'cow's milk'. ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकारः 'prepared from yesterday's milk' i. e. "fresh butter". The affix does not come in the sense of any विकार in general. There is no affixing in ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार when it means दध्भिन् or 'whey'.

१८२५ । तस्य पाकमूले पीत्वादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुणञ्जाहचौ । ५ । २ । २४ ॥

पीत्वां पाकः पीलुकुण्यः । कर्णस्य मूलं कर्णजाहम् ॥

1825. The affixes kuṇāp (कुण) and jāhach (जाह) come after the words pilu &c and karna &c respectively, when the senses are respectively 'the fruiting-season of this' and 'the root of this'.

The word तस्य shows that the construction must be genitive. The affix कुणप् comes after पीत्वादि words, signifying 'ripening', and the affix जाहच् comes after कर्णादि words signifying the 'root'.

Thus पीत्वां पाकः = पीलुकुण्यः, कर्कन्धुकुण्यः, so also कर्णस्य मूलं = कर्णजाहम् ॥

1 कर्णः, 2 अक्षि, 3 नख, 4 दुख, 5 केश, 6 पाद, 7 युष्क, 8 भू, 9 भृङ्ग (भूभङ्ग ! भूभृङ्ग), 10 दन्त, 11 भोष्ठ, 12 पृष्ठ, 13 नख, 14 अङ्गुष्ठ ॥

1 पीलु, 2 कर्कन्धु (°न्धू), 3 चामी, 4 करीर, 5 कुवल, 6 बर, 7 अम्भस्य, 8 खरि ॥

१८२६ । पक्षान्तिः । ५ । २ । २५ ॥

मूलमहणमात्रमनुवर्तते । पक्षस्य मूलं पक्षतिः ॥

1826. The affix ti (ति) comes after the word paksha in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'the root of it'.

Note:—The word मूल of the last sūtra is drawn into this aphorism ; and not the word पाक as well. This is an exceptional case of अनुवृत्ति, generally the whole is drawn and not a portion. Hence arises the following maxim क्वचिदेकवचोऽप्यनुवर्तते " Sometimes it also happens that only a part of the words of a rule which are mutually connected is valid in a subsequent rule, while the rest ceases to be valid ",

Thus पक्षस्य मूलं = पक्षातिः i. e. प्रतिपत् 'the root or the first day of a Paksha or a fortnight'.

१८२७ । तेन विज्ञाचुञ्चुप्चणौ । ५ । २ । २६ ॥

अकारः प्रत्यययोरासौ ह्रस्वनिर्विद्वस्तेन चस्य नेस्संज्ञा । विद्यया विज्ञो विद्याचुञ्चुः । विद्याचणः ॥

1827. The affixes chuñchup (चुञ्चु) and chapap (चण) come after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'celebrated through this'.

The word विज्ञ means known, illustrious. Thus विद्यया विज्ञः = विद्याचुञ्चुः, विद्याचणः, केशचणः ॥ The initial च् in these affixes is not इत् (I. 3. 7. S. 189) because the affixes really are चञ्चुप् and चणप् ॥ Thus च् is elided after words. So च् is not the initial of an affix, and does not get इत् designation.

१८२८ । विनञ्भ्यां नानाञी न सह । ५ । २ । २७ ॥

असहाय्ये पृथग्भावे वर्तमानाभ्यां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययो । विना । नाना ॥

1828. The affixes ना and नाञ् come respectively after the words वि and नञ्, in the sense of 'not being together'.

Thus वि + ना = विना 'without'; नञ् + नाञ् = नाना 'several'.

१८२९ । वेः शालच्छङ्कटचौ । ५ । २ । २८ ॥

क्रियाविशिष्टसाधनवाचकास्वार्थे । विस्तृतम् विशालम् । विशङ्कटम् ॥

1829. The affixes śālach (शालँ) and śaṅkaṭach (शङ्कटँ) come after the preposition वि, without changing the sense.

Thus विगत भृङ्गम् = विशालम् विशङ्कटम् ॥ Thus these words may apply to a cow, as विशालः, विशङ्कटः ॥ According to some these words are adjectives meaning 'great, large' &c. There is no connection here of the sense of the base and the affix.

१८३० । संप्रोद्धश्च कटच् । ५ । २ । २९ ॥

सङ्कटम् । प्रकटम् । उत्कटम् । आह्विकटम् ॥ अलावृत्तिर्लोमाभङ्गाभ्यो रजस्त्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अलावृत्तां रजः अलावृकटम् ॥ गोष्ठजादयः स्थानादिषु पशुनामभ्यः * ॥ गवां स्थानं गोगोष्ठम् ॥ संघाते कटच् * ॥ अवीनां सङ्घातोऽविकटः ॥ विस्तारं पटच् * ॥ आविपटः ॥ द्विस्वे गीयुगच् * ॥ द्वाडुष्टौ उष्ट्रगीयुगम् ॥ षट्सु पङ्गवच् * ॥ अश्वषड्गवम् ॥ जेहे तैलच् * ॥ तिलतैलम् । सर्पपतैलम् ॥ भवने क्षेपे शाकटशाकिनौ * ॥ इक्षुशाकटम् । इक्षुशाकिनम् ॥

1830. The affix kaṭach (कट) comes after the words sam, pra, ud, (and vi).

The वि is read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus संकटम्, प्रकटम्, उत्कटम्, विकटम् ॥

Vart :—The affix कटच् comes after अलावु, तिल, उमा, and भङ्गा in denoting dust thereof. As अलावूनां रजः = अलावुकटम्, तिलकटम्, उमाकटम्, भङ्गाकटम् ॥ &c.

Vart :—The affix गोष्ठच् comes after the names of animals, in denoting the places. As गवां स्थानं = गोगोष्ठं, &c.

Vart :—When a flock is denoted, the affix कटच् is added, as अविकटः ॥

Vart :—When spreading is denoted, the affix is पटच्, and आविपटः ॥

Vart :—When a couple is denoted, the affix is गौयुगच्, as उष्ट्रगौयुगम् ॥

Vart :—When six is denoted, the affix is षड्वगच्, as अश्वषड्वगम् ॥

Vart :—The affix तैलच् comes when it means the oil of it. As तिलतैलम्; सर्पतैलम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes शाकट and शाकिन denote 'a field where it grows', after the words इक्षु &c. As इक्षुशाकटम्, इक्षुशाकिनं ॥

१८३१। अवत्कुटारच् । ५। २। ३० ॥

चास्कटच् । अवार्चीनोऽवकुटारः । अवकटः ॥

1831. The affix कुटारच् as well as कटच् comes after the word अव ॥

As अवकुटारः, अवकटः 'downwards,' 'very deep'.

१८३२। नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीट्भ्रनाटज्भूटच् । ५। २। ३१ ॥

अवादित्येव । नतं नमनम् । नासिकाया नतं अवटीटम् । अवनाटम् । अवभ्रटम् । तद्योगान्नासिका अवटीटा । पुरुषोऽप्यवटीटः ॥

1832. The affixes टीटच्, नाटच् and भूटच् come after the word अव, in the sense of a hooked nose, when the word so formed is a Name.

Thus नासिकाया नतम् = अवटीटम्, or अवनाटम्, अवभ्रटम् ॥ The word signifies the nose, as well as the person also, as अवटीटा नासिका, अवटीटः पुरुषः ॥

१८३३। नेर्बिडज्बिरीसचौ । ५। २। ३२ ॥

निबिडम् । निबिरीसम् ॥

1833. The affixes बिडच् and बिरीसच् come after the word नि, in the above sense of hooked nose, the whole word, being a Name.

Thus निबिडम् and निबिरीसम् ॥

Note :—How do you say निबिडाः केशाः or निबिडं वक्षः ? It is by analogy.

१८३४। इनच् पिटश्चिक चि च । ५। २। ३३ ॥

नेरित्येव । नासिकाया ननेऽभिधेये इनच्पिटश्चौ प्रत्ययौ प्रकृतेभिक चि इत्यादेशौ च । कप्रत्यय-
चिकदेशौ च वक्तव्यौ * । चिकिनम् । चिपिटम् । चिकम् ॥ क्लृप्तस्य चिल् चिल् लभ्यस्य चक्षुषी * ।
क्लृप्ते चक्षुषी अस्य चिल्लः । पिङ्गः ॥ चुल् च * ॥ चुल्लः

1834. The affixes **इनच्** and **पिटच्** come after the word **नि** in the above sense of a hooked nose; and **चिक्** and **चि** are the substitutes of **नि** before those affixes respectively.

Thus **नि + इनच् = चिक् + इनच् = चिकिनः**; **नि + पिटच् = चि + पिटच् = चिपिटः** ॥

Vart :—So also comes **क्**, and **चिक्** replacing **नि**, as **नि + क = चिक् + क = चिक्कः** ॥

Vart :—The affix **ल** comes after the word **क्लिन्न** in the sense of 'its eyes'; and **चिल्** and **पिल्** are substitutes of **क्लिन्नः** as **क्लिने अस्य चक्षुषी = चिल्**; **पिल्** : 'blear-eyed'

Vart :—**चुल** is also the substitute. As **चुल्लः** ॥

Note :—These words apply to the 'eye' also, as **चिल्ले**, **पिल्ले**, **चुल्ले** "sore-eyes." They apply to 'person' also.

१८३५ । उपाधिभ्यां त्यक्त्रासन्नारूढयोः । ५ । २ । ३४ ॥

संज्ञायामित्यनुवर्तते । पर्वतस्यासन्नं स्थलमुपत्यका । भारूढं स्थलमधित्यका ॥

1835. The affix **tyakan** (**त्यक्**) comes after the words **upa** and **adhi**, in the sense of 'nearness' and 'elevation' respectively; the words so formed being Names

Thus **उपत्यका = पर्वतस्यासन्नम्** lowland, a land at the foot of the mountain, **अधित्यका = पर्वतस्यारूढम्** a table-land, high-land.

Note :—The rule VII. 3. 44 S. 463 does not apply here, so we do not get the forms **उपत्यिका** or **अधित्यिका** ॥

१८३६ । कर्मणि घटोठच् । ५ । २ । ३५ ॥

घटत इति घटः । पचाद्यच् । कर्मणि घटते कर्मठः पुरुषः ॥

1836. The affix **athach** (**अठ**) comes after the word **karma**, in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'employing oneself zealously in it.'

The word **घट** means zealous work. It is formed from $\sqrt{\text{घट}}$ with the **अच्** of the **Pachādi**. Thus **कर्मणि घटते = कर्मठ पुरुषः** 'a clever, proficient person.'

१८३७ । तदस्य संजातं तारकादिभ्य इतच् । ५ । २ । ३६ ॥

तारकाः संजाता अस्य तारकितं नभः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1837. The affix **itach** (**इत**) comes after the words **tārakā** &c. in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'that whereof this is observed'.

Thus **तारकाः संजाता अस्य नभसः = तारकितं नभः** 'a starry sky' i. e. 'a night in which stars are visible. **पुष्पितो वृक्षः** 'a tree in which flowers have grown'.

The तारकादि class is मातृसङ्गण ॥

1 तारका, 2 पुष्प, 3 कर्णक, 4 मङ्गली*, 5 कञ्जीष, 6 क्षण*, 7 क्षय (क्षयक), 8 मूष, 9 निष्क्रमण, 10 पुरीष, 11 उच्चार, 12 प्रचार, 13 विचार, 14 कुङ्कुमल, 15 कण्टक, 16 हुसल*, 17 झकुल, 18 कुसुम, 19 कुतुहल, 20 स्तम्भक, 21 किसलय, 22 पञ्चव, 23 खण्ड, 24 वेण, 25 निद्रा, 26 झङ्गा, 27 बुधुचा, 28 धेनुष्या, 29 पिपासा, 30 भ्रष्टा, 31 अभ, 32 पुलक, 33 भ्रङ्गारक, 34 वर्णक, 35 ब्रौह, 36 रोह, 37 सुख, 38 दुःख, 39 उत्कण्ठा (उत्कण्ठ), 40 भर, 41 व्याधि, 42 वर्मेन्*, 43 व्रण*, 44 गौरव*, 45 शास्त्र, 46 तरंग, 47 तिलक, 48 चन्द्रक (चन्द्र) 49 अन्धकार, 50 गर्भ, 51 घुङ्कुर, 52 हर्ष, 53 उत्कर्ष, 54 रया*, 55 कुवलय, 56 गर्ध, 57 क्षुध (क्षुधा), 58 क्षीमन्त, 59 क्षयर, 60 गर*, 61 रोग, 62 रोमाञ्च, 63 पण्डा, 64 कज्जल, 65 हृष*, 66 कोरक, 67 कक्षोल, 68 स्यपुट*, 69 फल, 70 कञ्चुक*, 71 भृङ्गार*, 72 झङ्कुर, 73 रोषल*, 74 बकुल*, 75 श्वभ्र*, 76 भाराल*, 77 कलङ्क, 78 कर्म, 79 कन्वल, 80 मूर्च्छा*, 81 भ्रङ्गार, 82 हस्तक (हस्त), 83 प्रतिविम्ब*, 84 विप्लवतन्त्र (वितप्ल, तन्त्र)*, 85 प्रत्यय*, 86 वीक्षा*, 87 गर्ज, 88 गर्भादिप्राणिनि (गर्भिताः शालयः but गर्भिणी गौः), 89 तन्त्रा, 90 स्रवक, 91 कर, 92 आन्दोल, 93 गोर, 94 राग ॥

१८३८ । प्रमाणे द्वयसज्द्वयमात्रचः । ५ । २ । ३७ ॥

तदस्येत्यनुवर्तते । ऊरु प्रमाणमस्य ऊरुद्वयसम् । ऊरुद्वयम् । ऊरुमात्रम् ॥ प्रमाणो लः * ॥ शमः । विष्टिः । वितस्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्नित्यम् * ॥ द्वौ शमौ प्रमाणमस्य द्विशमम् ॥ प्रमाणपरिमाणाभ्यां संख्यायाश्चापि संशये मात्राच्चक्तव्यः * ॥ शममात्रम् । प्रत्यमात्रम् । पञ्चमात्रम् । वत्सन्तास्त्वायं द्वयसज्द्वयमात्रौ बहुलम् * ॥ तावदेव तावद्वयसम् । तावन्मात्रम् ॥

1838. 'The affixes dvayasach (द्वयसं) daghnach (दग्धं) and mâttrach (मात्रं), come in denoting "that whereof this is the lineal measure" after a word in first case in construction.

The word तदस्य is understood here. Thus ऊरुः प्रमाणमस्य=ऊरुद्वयसम्, ऊरुद्वयम्, ऊरुमात्रम् 'as high as the thigh'.

Note :—As ऊरुद्वयसमुपक्रमम् 'water reaching upto the thigh'. According to some the first and the second affixes (dvayasa and daghna) come in denoting the measure of altitudes and depths, and not horizontal measures. The affix मात्राच् comes in a general sense also. As प्रत्यमात्रम् 'a cubit long'.

Vart :—The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure. Thus शमः प्रमाणमस्य =शमः 'that which is sama (a hand) in length'. Similarly विष्टिः, वितस्तिः ॥

Note :—The affix mâttra only is elided, the other two affixes are never applicable to these words.

Vart :—The elision is invariable after a Dvigu. As द्वौ शमौ प्रमाणमस्य =द्विशमम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "invariable"? The elision will take place even where there is doubt. द्वे विष्टि स्थानां वा न वा =द्विविष्टिः ॥

Vart :—The affix मात्राच् comes after words denoting lineal measure, and mass measure, and after a numeral, even when there is doubt. As

शमामात्रम् = शमः प्रमाणमस्य स्यान्न वा, प्रत्यमात्रम्, पञ्चमात्रम् ॥ An exception to this is contained in the 2nd Vārtika, where mātra is elided in Dvigu compounds, owing to the word निख being used there.

Vart :— The affixes द्वयसच् and मात्रच् come without changing the sense, diversely after a word ending in वतु ; as तावद्द्वयसच्, = तत् परिमाणमस्य धान्याविस्तावत् तावन्मात्रम् &c.

१८३६ । पुरुषहस्तिप्रयामण्य च । ५ । २ । ३८ ॥

पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य पौरुषम् । पुरुषद्वयसच् । हस्तिनम् । हस्तिद्वयसच् ॥

1839. The affix an also, as well dvayasach &c, comes after the words purusha and hasti, in the first case in construction in the sense of 'that whereof this is the lineal measure.'

The phrase तदस्य प्रमाणं is understood here. By च the affixes द्वयसच् &c are drawn in. Thus पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य = पौरुषम्, पुरुषद्वयसच्, पुरुषद्वयसच्, पुरुषमात्रम्, हस्तिद्वयसच्, हस्तिद्वयसच्, हस्तिमात्रम्, हस्तिनम् ॥

Note :—The affix is always elided after a Dvigu. As द्विपुरुषपुरुषकम्, त्रिपुरुषम्, द्विहस्ति, त्रिहस्ति, द्विपुरुषी, त्रिपुरुषी, द्विहस्तिनी, त्रिहस्तिनी ॥

१८४० । यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप् । ५ । २ । ३९ ॥

यत्परिमाणमस्य यावान् । तावान् । एतावान् ॥

1840. The affix vatup (वत्) comes after the words yad, tad, and etad, being in the first case in construction, in signifying "that whereof this is the measure of volume".

The phrase तदस्य is understood here. As यत् परिमाणमस्य = यावान् । This form is thus evolved; यत् + वतुप् = यावत् (the ti णत् being replaced by णा by VI. 3. 91) = यावन्त् (the दुम् being added by VII. 1. 70) = यावान्त् (the अ being lengthened by VI. 4. 41); the vibhakti सु being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and त् being elided by VIII. 2. 23 we get finally यावान्, तावान्, एतावान् ॥

१८४१ । किमिदम्भ्यां घो घः । ५ । २ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां वतुप्स्यादस्य च घः । कियान् । इयान् ॥

1841. After the words kim and idam, घ (इय्) is substituted for the व् of vatup.

Thus किम् + वतुप् = की + वतुप् (VI. 3. 90) = क् + वतुप् (VI. 4. 148) = कियन्त् nom. कियान्. Similarly इयत् nom. इयान् ॥

१८४२ । किमः संख्यापरिमाणे डति च । ५ । २ । ४१ ॥

चाद्वतुप् । तस्य च वत्स्य घः स्यात् । का संख्या येषां ते कति । कियन्तः ॥

1842. The affix *dati* (अति with the elision of इम्) as well as the affix *vatup* comes after the word *किम्*, in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'numerical quantity'.

The च introduces the affix *वतुप्* which is changed into *वत्* (इवत्) ॥ The word *संख्यापरिमाणे* means *संख्यायाः परिमाणं* i. e. *संख्यापरिच्छेदः* making estimate by numbers. As क्वा संख्या परिमाणं मेषां ब्राह्मणानां = कति ब्राह्मणाः or किञ्चतो ब्राह्मणः how many Brahmanas in number do you estimate these. This always comes in the plural.

१८४३ । संख्याया अवयवे तयप् । ५ । २ । ४२ ॥

पञ्चावयवा अस्त्वपञ्चतयं वाह ॥

1843. The affix *tayap* (तय) comes after a numeral, in the sense of "that whereof the parts are so many".

The word *सर्वस्य* is understood here. Thus पञ्च अवयवा अस्त्व = पञ्चतयम् having five parts. The part being connected with the whole, the force of the affix is to denote the whole.

१८४४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायज्वा । ५ । २ । ४३ ॥

द्वयम् । द्वितयम् । त्रयम् । त्रितयम् ॥

1844. The affix *ayach* (अयै) is optionally the substitute of *tayap*, after words *dvi* and *tri*.

As *द्वावयवावस्त्व* = *द्वयम्*, or *द्वितयम्*, *त्रयम्* or *त्रितयम्* 'a couple' 'a triad' (VI. 4. 148).

१८४५ । उभादुदात्तो नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ४४ ॥

उभशब्दात्तयोऽयच् स्यात् स चायुदात्तः । उभयम् ॥

1845. After the word *udha*, *ayach* is always the substitute for *tayap*, having the acute (*udâtta*) accent on its first syllable.

Note:—The affix *अयैच्* having indicative च takes the acute accent on the final syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710), i. e. on य, the special mention of *udâtta* in the sūtra shows that the accent should be on a syllable which would otherwise not have taken it i. e. the first syllable i. e. अ; for had this not been the meaning, there was no necessity of using the word *udâtta* in the sūtra.

If *उभ* is a Sankhyā word (I. 1. 23 S. 258), in the classical sense, it would have taken *तयप्*, the present sūtra ordains *अयै* instead as a substitute always. If it is not a Sankhyā, then we should first ordain *तयप्* after it, by the process of splitting the sūtra V. 2. 42 into two, thus *संख्यायाः तयप्*, *अवयवे तयप्* and then replace *तयप्* by *अयै* ॥

Thus उभौ पीतलोहितौ अवयवौ अस्त्व = उभयः ॥ उभये देवमनुज्याः ; उभयोः नयिः ॥

१८४६ । तदस्मिन्नाधिकमिति दशान्ताङ् । ५ । २ । ४५ ॥

एकादश अधिका अस्मिन्नेकादशम् ॥ शतसहस्रयारेवेत्यन्ते * ॥ नेह एकादश अधिका अस्यां विंशतौ ॥ पकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः समानजातीयस्य एवेत्यन्ते * ॥ नेह । एकादश माषा अधिको, अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

1846. The affix *da* (अ with the elision of अन् of the base), comes after a Numeral ending in *daśan*, being in the first case in construction, in the sense of “ this is surplus in it ”.

Thus एकादश अधिका अस्मिन् शते = एकादशं शतं “ hundred + eleven ”. So also एकादशं सहस्रं ॥

Ishti :—This applies only after शत and सहस्र, therefore, it does not apply here :—एकादशाधिकः अस्यां विंशतौ ॥

Ishti :—This rule applies when both words denote a thing of the same denomination. As एकादश कार्षापणा अधिका अस्मिन् कार्षापण शते = एकादशं कार्षापणशतं ॥ But not here :—एकादश माषा अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

Note :—The word इति in the sūtra is for clearness. The rule applies to शतसहस्रं also, as एकादशं शतसहस्रं which may mean either (1) एकादशं शतान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् or (2) एकादश सहस्रान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् ॥

१८४७ । शदन्तविंशतेश्च । ५ । २ । ४६ ॥

ङः स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे । त्रिंशदधिका अस्मिन् त्रिंशं शतम् । विंशम् ॥

1847. The affix *da* comes in the sense of “ this is surplus in it ”, after a Numeral ending in शत and after विंशति ; with the elision of अत् and अति ॥

The indicator *ङ* causes elision of टि portion VI. 4. 142. S. 844. Thus त्रिंशदधिका अस्मिच्छते = त्रिंशं शतं

Note :—This rule applies to abstract Numerals. Hence not here, गोत्रिंशदधिका अस्मिन् गोशते ॥

So also after विंशति ; as विंशं शतं ॥

१८४८ । संख्यायागुणस्य निमाने मयट् । ५ । २ । ४७ ॥

भागस्य मूल्ये वर्तमानात्प्रथमान्तात्संख्यावाचिनः षष्ठपर्यं मयट् स्यात् । यवानां द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्यौ द्विभागस्य द्विमयद्विचयवानाम् । गुणस्येति किम् । द्वौ त्रीहयवा निमानमस्यौश्चित् । निमाने किम् । द्वौ सुयो क्षीरस्य एकस्तेलस्य द्विगुणं क्षीरं पच्यते तेलेन ॥

1848 The affix *mayat* (मय with feminine in ऊिप्) comes after a Numeral in denoting a thing given in exchange in the sense of “ containing so many times more of something ” or “ the price of a portion of this is so many equal portions of the other ”.

The word तस्य from V. 2. 36 should be read in this. The sense of the aphorism is "after a Numeral in the first case in construction (तद्), with the force of a genitive (स्य), comes the affix नञ्, when the word in the first case in construction denotes the value (निमान) of a portion (गुण)". The word गुण means भाग or "portion", and निमान means 'price'. In comparing the quality of one thing with another, निमान is the value or price. Thus यवानां द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्योदश्विदभागस्य = द्विमययुदश्विदयवानाम् "two parts of Yava is the price of one part of Udaśvit". Similarly द्विमयम्, चतुर्नयम्, lit. "Udaśvit is द्विमय or 'two-times' the value of yava".

Note:—The word गुणस्य is in the singular number. The comparison must therefore, be made with *one* portion of a thing, with the several portions of the other. The ratio must be $x : 1$, but never $x : 2$, or $x : 3$ &c. Therefore, the rule does not apply here, द्वौ भागौ यवानां चय उदश्वितः ॥ The x also must be more than one. The rule therefore does not apply here: एको भागो निमानमस्य ॥

The word गुण denotes an integral number, therefore the rule will not apply to fraction. As द्वौ भागौ यवानामध्यर्द्ध उदश्वितः ॥

The affix also comes in the sense of purchasing or the comparative value of a thing, i. e. in denoting the thing received in exchange. (निमेष) As उदश्वितो द्वौ भागौ निमेषमस्य यवभागस्य = द्विमयाः, as द्विमया यवा उदश्वितः = "उदश्वितो द्वौ गुणा निमेषौ येषामेकगुणानां यवानां" "the exchange value of Udaśvita is twice as much as that of a Yava". The word निमान means the thing *given* in exchange; and निमेष the thing *received* in exchange. Both words are reciprocal and are terms of barter or exchange, but they do not apply to sales or purchases for coins.

Why do we say गुणस्य 'of a portion'? Observe द्वौ त्रीद्वियौ निमानमस्योदश्वितः ॥ Here being no comparison of ratios, there is no affixing.

Why do we say निमाने "in denoting the thing given in exchange"? Observe, द्वौ शुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तैलस्य = द्विगुणं पच्यते तैलं क्षीरेण "one part of oil cooks or absorbs as much as two parts of milk". Here the sense is that of 'cooking' and not of purchasing.

Note:—In short नञ् has the meaning of 'time or fold'. As द्विमय "two time", the word qualifying sometime the निमान, sometime the निमेष; e. g. द्विमययुदश्वित यवानां "Udaśvit is two-times or two-fold or Yava in value"; or द्विमया यवा उदश्वितः "two-times Yava are equal to one Udaśvit".

१८४६ । तस्य पूरणे ङङ् । ५ । २ । ४८ ॥

एकादशानां पूरण एकादशः ॥

1849. The affix ङाङ् (अ, causing the elision of the last vowel with the consonant following it) comes after a Numeral in the sixth case in construction, when the sense is "making full this number".

That by which a thing is completed is called पूरण ॥ Thus एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः the "eleventh" (i. e. the one which, added to ten, completes the eleven).

Note :—By this affix, ordinals are formed. The rule therefore, does not apply to a case like this :—पञ्चानां छुष्टिकानां पूरणो घटः ॥

१८५० । नान्तादसंख्यादेर्मट् । ५ । २ । ४९ ॥

उदो मडागमः स्यात् । पञ्चानां पूरणः पञ्चमः । नान्तास्किम् । विंशः । असंख्यार्थेः किम् । एकादशः ॥

1850. The augment माट् (म) comes before उद्, in the above sense, after a Numeral which ends in न् when no other Numeral precedes it.

Thus पञ्चमः 'fifth' (the completer of the five). Why do we say 'ending in न्' Observe विंशते पूरणः = विंशः 'twentieth'. Why do we say 'not preceded by a Numeral'? Observe एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः ॥

१८५१ । षट्कतिकतिपयचतुरां थुक् । ५ । २ । ५१ ॥

एषां थुगागमः स्याद्बुद्धि । षण्णां पूरणः षष्ठः । कतिथः । कतिपयशब्दस्यासंख्यात्वेऽप्यत एव ज्ञापकाद्बुद् । कतिपयथः । चतुर्यः ॥ चतुरद्वयतावाच्यक्षरलोपश्च * ॥ तुरीयः । तुर्यः ॥

1851. When ढाट् follows, थुक् is the augment of the words शाट्, कति ; katipaya and chatur.

The उद् is to be read into this sūtra, and it should be changed into locative, as उद्दि 'when ढाट् follows'. The word कतिपय is not a Numeral, it takes उद् by force of this sūtra. Thus षण्णां पूरणो = षष्ठः 'sixth'. कतिथः 'the which in order'? कतिपयथः 'the one in order after several', चतुर्यः 'the fourth'.

Vart :—The affixes छ (ईय) and यत् come after चतुर् and there is elision of the first letter. As तुरीयः or तुर्यः ॥

Note :—In this and the two following sūtras, the action of the ड् of उद् vanishes when an augment is added.

१८५२ । बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५२ ॥

उदीत्येव । पूगसङ्ख्योसंख्यात्वेऽप्यत एव उद् । बहुतिथः । इत्यादि ॥

1852. When ढाट् follows, तिथुक् is the augment of the words bahu, pūga, gaṇa, and saṅgha.

The word उद्दि is understood here also. The words पूग and संघ are not Numerals ; they take the affix उद् by virtue of this sūtra. Thus बहूनां पूरणो = बहुतिथः, पूगतिथः, गणतिथः, and संघतिथः &c.

१८५३ । वतारिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५३ ॥

उदीत्येव । वावतिथः ॥

1853. When *ḍaṭ* follows, *इथक्* is the augment of a stem ending in *vatu*.

The word *उडि* is understood here also. The words ending in *वतु* are Numerals (I. 1. 23 S. 258) : and they will take *उड्* by V. 2. 48 ; the present sūtra declares the augment. Thus *वावतां पूरणो = वावतियः*, ॥

१८५४ । द्वेस्तीयः । ५ । २ । ५४ ॥

उडोऽपवादः । द्वयोः पूरणो द्वितीयः ॥

1854. The affix *तीय* comes in the sense of ' completer thereof ', after the word *dvi*.

This debars *उड्* ॥ Thus *द्वयोः पूरणो = द्वितीयः* ' the second '—that which completes the two.

१८५५ । त्रेः संप्रसारणं च । ५ । २ । ५५ ॥

तृतीयः ॥

1855. The affix *तीया* comes in the sense of ' completer thereof,' after the word *tri*; and there is *samprasâraṇa* (vocalisation) of the stem.

The substitution of a vowel for a semi-vowel is *samprasâraṇa* (I. 1. 45). Thus *त्रि + तीय = तृ + इ + तीय = तृतीयः* (VI. 1. 108, the *इ* of *त्रि* assumes the form of the prior letter *क्* which is substituted for *इ*)

Note :— In *तृतीयः* the *क्* is not lengthened by VI. 4. 2. because that rule applies to the lengthening of the *अण्* letters only, this word being read into VI. 4. 2, by *anuvṛtiti* from VI. 3. 111 S. 174. The *pratyâhara* *अण्* is formed by the first *ण्* and means the letters *अ, इ* and *उ* ॥

१८५६ । विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् ५ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो उदस्तमडागभो वा स्यात् । विंशतितमः । विंशः । एकविंशतितमः एकविंशः ॥

1856. After the words *viṁśati* &c, *tamaṭ* (*तम* with fem. in *डीप्*) is optionally the augment of *ḍaṭ*.

This rule falling under the jurisdiction of *पूरण* we must read the word *उड्* into this sūtra, as the affix to which the augment *तमड्* is added. Thus *विंशतेः पूरणः = विंशतितमः* or *विंशः* ' twentieth ' *एकविंशतितमः* or *एकविंशः*, *त्रिविंशतितमः* or *त्रिविंशः*, *चत्वारिंशतितमः* or *चत्वारिंशः*, *पञ्चविंशतितमः* or *पञ्चविंशः* ॥

Note :— In the case of *मड्* and *यड्* there will be no difference whatever whether we take them as affixes or as augments. Thus *पञ्चनृ + मड् = पञ्च + मड्* (VI. 4. 144) = *पञ्चम* ॥

१८५७ । नित्यं शनादिमासार्धमासम्वत्सरश्च । ५ । २ । ५७ ॥

शतस्य पूरणः शततमः । एकशततमः । मासविरत एव उड् । मासतमः ॥

1857. Always after the words śata &c, and after māsa, ardha-māsa and sam-vatsar, tamaṭ is the augment of ḍaṭ.

The words दशत्य are numerals. The words मास &c. are not numerals ; they would not have taken ड् but by the implication of this sūtra. Thus दशत्य पूरणः दशतमः 'hundredth ; सहस्रतमः । Similarly मासस्य पूरणः = मासतमोदिवसः the last day of the month ; अर्द्धमासतमः । संवत्सरतमः ॥

Note:—By the next sūtra the words दशत &c, would have taken तमङ् ; but the scope of that sūtra is confined to numerals not preceded by another numeral. There is no such restriction here. Hence we have एकशततमः । द्विशततमः ॥

१८५८ । षष्ठ्यादेश्चाऽसंख्येति । ५ । २ । ५८ ॥

षष्ठितमः । संख्यादेस्तु विंशत्यादिभ्य इति विकल्प एव । एकषष्ठः । एकषष्ठितमः ॥

1158. After the words shashhṭi &c. when no other Numeral precedes them; tamaṭ is always the augment of ḍaṭ.

By sūtra V. 2. 56, the augment was optional, this makes it compulsory. Thus षष्ठितमः

Why do we say "when not preceded by a Numeral" ? Observe एकषष्ठः एकषष्ठितमः, एकसप्तमः or एकसप्ततितमः ॥ Here V, 2. 56. S. 1856 applies also.

१८५९ । मतौ छः सूक्तसाम्नोः । ५ । २ । ५९ ॥

मत्वर्थे छः स्यात् । अष्टावाक्यशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति अष्टावाक्यं सूक्तम् । वारवन्तीयं साम ॥

1859. When a Sūkta or a Sāman is to be expressed, the affix Chha (ईय) comes after a prātipadika (nominal-stem), in the sense of the affix matup (V. 2. 94).

The word मतौ means 'in the sense of मतुप् affix.' The sense of मतुप् is "whose is it or in whom it is". Thus अष्टावाक् शब्दोऽस्मिन् = अष्टावाक्यं सूक्तम् । नित्रावरुणीयम् साम, वारवन्तीयम् साम ॥

Note:—The affix comes after a collocation of words, as अस्यवामीय 'the Sūkta containing the words अस्य वाम' e. g. Rig Veda Maṇḍala 1. sūkta 164. Here the words अस्य वामस्य are considered as a Nominal Stem. So also कथापुत्रीयम् ॥

१८६० । अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक् । ५ । २ । ६० ॥

मत्वर्थस्य छस्य । अत एव ज्ञापकान्तश्च छः । विधानसामर्थ्याच्च विकल्पेन लुक् । गर्दभाण्डः । गर्दभाण्डीयः ॥

1860. When an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed, there is (optionally) luk-elision of the affix Chha having the above sense of matup.

This sūtra indicates by implication (ज्ञापकः), that the affix छ comes after a nominal stem, to denote an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka. According to Pātanjali the elision is optional, by the very fact of the rule enunciating the elision of the affix. According to Kaiyyata, as this sūtra is not placed in the section of matup affixes, which was the proper place for it, from its enunciation here we can infer that the elision is optional. Thus गर्हभाण्डोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गर्हभाण्डोऽध्यायः, अनुवाको वा ॥ In the alternative, गर्हभाण्डीयः ॥

१८६१ । विमुक्तादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽण् स्यादध्यायानुवाकयोः । विमुक्तः शब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति वैमुक्तः । देवासुरः ॥

1861. The affix an comes in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed after the words vimukta &c.

Thus विमुक्ताशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = वैमुक्तोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ So also देवासुरः &c.
1 विमुक्तः, 2 देवासुरः, 3 रक्षोऽसुरः, 4 उवसद्, 5 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण), 6 परितारक (परितारक्), 7 सरसन्, 8 वसु, 9 मरुत्, मरुत्वन्, 10 पत्नीवन्, 11 वैधुमन्, 12 महीयन्, (महीयन्), 13 सत्त्वन्, 14 बर्हवत्*, 15 दशार्ण, 16 दशार्ह, 17 वयस्, (दशार्हपयस्), 18 हविर्धान, 19 पताभिन् (पतात्रि), 20 महिषी, 21 अस्त्रहस्त, 22 सोमापूषन्, 23 इडा, 24 अग्राविष्णु, (विष्णु), 25 उर्वशी, 26 वृत्रहन (वृत्रहन्ति), 27 मिषी, 28 सोम, 29 हेतु, ॥

१८६२ । गोषदादिभ्योवुन् । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽध्यायानुवाकयोः । गोषदकः । इषेत्यकः ॥

1862, After the nominal stems goṣhada &c, there is the affix vun (अक) in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed.

Thus गोषदशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गोषदकोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ इषेत्यकः, मातरिभ्यः &c
Another reading is गोषद the final consonant being mute.

1 गोषद्, (गोषद), 2 इषेत्वा (त्वा), 3 मातरिभ्यन्, 4 देवस्यत्वा, 5 देवीरापः, 6 कृष्णोऽस्या, खरेष्ठः, 7 देवी (देवी) धिय धिया (धियम्), 8 रक्षोहण, 9 युञ्जान, 10 अञ्जान, 11 प्रभूत, 12 प्रतुर्त, 13 कृसानु, (दृशान), 14 सहस्रशीर्षी, 15 वातस्य ते, 16 कृशाम्भ, 17 स्वाहाप्राण, 18 प्रसप्त (!), ॥

१८६३ । तत्र कुशलः पथः । ५ । २ । ६३ ॥

वुन् स्यात् । पथि कुशलः पथकः ॥

1863. The affix vun comes, after the word pathin, being in the seventh case in construction, when the sense is “versed therein or skilled therein”.

Thus पथि कुशलः = पथकः (पथिन् + वुन् = पथ् + वुन् VI. 4. 144. = पथ् + अक, VII. 1. 1.).

१८६४ । आकर्षादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

आकर्षे कुशल आकर्षकः । आकर्षादिभ्य इति रेकरहितो दुब्यः पाठः । आकर्षो निकषोपलः ॥

1864. The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of 'versed therein, skilled therein', after the nominal stems ākarṣha &c, being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus आकर्षेकुशलः = आकर्षकः, स्वरुकः । The best texts have आकर्षः Bohtlingk)

1 आकर्ष (आकर्ष), 2 'स्वरु', 3 पिशाच (पिपासा). 4 पिचण्ड, 5 अशनि, 6 अश्मन्, 7 नेचय (विचयः), 8 चय. 9 विजय, 10 जय, 11 आचय, 12 नय 13 पाद (निपाद), 14 शीप, 15 इ, 16 ह्राद, 17 ह्र्लाद, 18 गज्जद, 19 शकुनि, 20 अय, ॥

१८६५ । धनहिरण्यात्कामे । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

काम इच्छा । धने कामो धनको देवदत्तस्य । हिरण्यकः ॥

1865. The affix kan comes, after the words dhana and hiranya, being in 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'a desire thereafter.'

The word काम means 'desire, wish'. Thus धने कामः = धनको देवदत्तस्य ॥ So also हिरण्यकोः ॥

१८६६ । खाङ्गेभ्यः प्रसिते । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

केशेषु प्रसितः केशकः । तद्वचनायां तत्पर इत्यर्थः ॥

1866. The affix kan comes after a word denoting a part of one's body, in the sense of 'who takes care of it, who bestows care upon it.'

The words तन्त्र and कन् are understood in this sūtra. The word प्रसित means 'devoted to, intent upon, craving after'. Thus केशेषु प्रसितः = केशकः i. e. केशाद्विचनार्यां प्रसक्त एवमुच्यते ॥

Note;—The स्वाङ्गेभ्यः is in the plural number, indicating that the affix comes even after a collective compound of Svānga terms. Thus दन्तौष्ठकः, केशनखकः ॥ See. II. 3. 44.

१८६७ । उदरादुगाधूने । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

अविजिगीषौ ठक् स्यात् । कनोऽपवादः । बुभुक्षयात्यन्तपीडित उदरे प्रसित औदरिकः । आधूने किम् । उदरकः । उदरपरिमार्जनादौ प्रसक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

1867. The affix than (इक) comes in the sense of 'voracious' after the word udara.

This debars the affix कन ॥

Adyūna = not desiring to conquer; उक्थपेक्षारहितः see VIII. 2. 49. S. 3028 for the formation of this word from the root div.

Note :—The translation given above is according to Dr. Bohtlingk. According to the *Kaśikā*, the *anuvṛtti* of *प्रसित* is also read into this *sūtra*. The meaning then would be 'that comes after the word *udara* in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'who is devoted therein, when the word so formed means 'voracious'.

A person who is very much distressed by hunger is so called ; *उदरेऽवि-
शिनीभुर्नृणाम्* । Thus *उदरे प्रसितः* = *भौक्षिकः* (i. e. *भक्षुः*)

Why do we say when it means 'voracious,'? Observe *उदरकः* 'abdominal'.

१८६८ । सस्येन परिजातः । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

कच स्वर्गते ननु ङक् । सत्वस्यो गुणवाची ननु धान्यवाची । सस्येनेति पाठान्तरम् । सस्येन गुणेन परिजातः संबन्धः सत्यकः साधुः ॥

1868. The affix *kan* (क) comes after the word *sasya* being in the third case in construction, when the sense is " to supply richly with it".

The *anuvṛtti* of *कच्*, not of *ङक्*, is to be read here. The word *सस्य* means 'good quality' and not 'corn', Another reading is *सत्य*. The word *परि* means 'all, every where'. That which is full of (*परिजात*) good qualities (*सस्य*) in which there is no defect, that is the signification here. Thus *सस्येन परिजातः* = *सत्यकः* साधिः 'a rice, above all praise', *सत्यकः* साधुः 'a good man, not equalled by any'.

१८६९ । अंशं हारी । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

हारीत्यावश्यके णिनिः । अत एव तद्योगे षष्ठी न । अंशको शब्दाद् ॥

1869. The affix *kan* comes after the word *aṁśa* 'a share' in the second-case in construction, the sense being 'who must take that'.

The word *अंश* is used in the accusative in the aphorism, showing that the construction must be accusative. The word *हारी*, nom. *हारी* is formed by adding *णिनि* to the root *हृ*, the force of the affix being that of "must, or necessity". See III. 3. 170. S. 3311. The word *हारी* will govern accusative and not genitive (II. 3. 70. S. 628.)

Thus *अंश हारी* = *अंशकः* 'an heir', i. e. who is entitled to take a share at partition i. e. a *शब्दाद्* । *अंशकः* पुषः ॥

१८७० । तन्नाद्विरापहृते । ५ । २ । ७० ॥

तन्नाद्विरापहृते । प्रत्यय इत्यर्थः ॥

1870. The affix *Kan* comes after the word *tantra* 'a loom or a shuttle,' in the sense of " taken off therefrom not long ago or shortly before".

The word **तन्त्र** must be in the fifth case-in construction, by the very fact of its being so employed in the sūtra. The word **अधिर** means: 'short time, not long' **अपहतः** means "taken off". Thus **तन्त्रादधिरापहतः** = **तन्त्रकः**: 'a cloth just taken off the loom or from which the shuttle has just been taken off.' i. e. an unbleached cloth. As **तन्त्रकः परः**, **तन्त्रकः प्राचातः**: 'a new mantle' = **प्रत्यमः** or **नवः** ॥

१८७१। ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ७१ ॥

आयुधजीविनो ब्राह्मणा यस्मिन्देशे स ब्राह्मणकः । अश्वमर्कवर्षा सा उष्णिका यवागूः । अन्नचब्दस्य उष्णोदेशो निपात्यते ॥

1871. The words *Brāhmaṇaka* and *ushṇika* are anomalous, when they are Names.

Thus **ब्राह्मणको देशः**, **उष्णिका यवागूः** ॥ The affix **क** is added to **ब्राह्मण** with the force of 'a place where *Brāhmaṇas* who live by the profession of arms dwell'. Similarly **उष्णिक** means **अश्वमर्क**: ॥ The word **अन्न** is replaced by **उष्ण** by virtue of this sūtra.

१८७२। शीतोष्णाभ्यां कारिणि । ५ । २ । ७२ ॥

शीतं करोतीति शीतकोऽन्नसः । उष्णं करोतीति उष्णकः शीघ्रकारी ॥

1872. The affix *kan* comes after the words *śīta* and *uṣṇa*, in the sense of 'who goes to work thus'.

The words **शीत** and **उष्ण** being used as adverbs will be in accusative-construction. As **शीतं करोति** 'who goes to work coldly' i. e. a lazy man = **शीतकः** = **अन्नसः**, **जडः** ॥ Similarly **उष्णकः** = **शीघ्रकारी**, **रघुः** 'who goes to work hotly'.

१८७३। अधिकम् । ५ । २ । ७३ ॥

अध्याकरवात्कन् उत्तरपदलोपथ ॥

1873. The word *adhika* is anomalous:

The word **अधिकः** meaning 'more', is formed by adding **क** to the word **अध्याकर**; there being elision of the second term before the affix. Thus **अधिको द्रोणः खार्हः** or **अधिको द्रोणः खार्हः**: "a *Droṇa* is superior to *Khārī*" **अधिकः खार्ही द्रोणेन** "a *Khārī* is inferior to *Droṇa*", The word **अध्याकर** governs nominative or accusative indifferently.

Note :—Thus **अध्याकरी द्रोणः खारी** ॥ Similarly '**अधिकः**' would have governed the accusative also. But *Pāṇini* uses the ablative and locative after *adhika*, as in II. 3. 9. S. 645 and V. 2. 45. S. 1846 and thus we learn that it governs the ablative and locative. This is the case when *adhyāruhā* is an active participle. But when it is a passive participle, as it may also be by III. 4. 72. S. 3086, then as the participle denotes the object, it will take the first case in construction. In that case, there will not be the ablative or the locative.

१८७४। अनुकामिकाभीकः कमिता । ५ । २ । ७४ ॥

अन्वभिभ्यां कन् । अभिः पालिको रीर्यभ । अनुकामयते अनुकः । अभिकामयते अभिकः । अभीकः ॥

1874. The words anuka, abhika and abhika are anomalously formed by adding कन् to anu and abhi, the meaning 'being at liberty to do or being fond of'.

Thus अनुकामयते = अनुकः 'desirous, libidinous'. अभिकामयते = अभिकः or अभीकः 'a lover, voluptuous person'. These are formed by adding कन् to अनु and अभि ॥ In one case the short इ of abhi is lengthened.

१८७५। पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति । ५ । २ । ७५ ॥

अनृत्तुपायः पार्श्वे तेनान्विच्छति पार्श्वकः ॥

1875. The affix kan comes after the word pārśva, in the third-case in construction, signifying "who strives to gain something by that".

The word पार्श्वन् means 'a fraudulent or crooked expedient'. One who endeavours to obtain anything by fraud is called पार्श्वकः 'a cheat, a juggler, a partisan'. पार्श्व = a rib, a cooked thing ; as पार्श्वकः = मायाविन्, कौसृतिक, जालिकः &c.

१८७६। अयः शूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्ठञौ । ५ । २ । ७६ ॥

लीक्षण उपायोऽयः शूलं तेनान्विच्छति आयःशूलिकः । साहसिकः । दण्डाजिनं दम्भः, तेनान्विच्छति दण्डाजिनिकः ॥

1876. The affixes ṭhak and ṭhañ come respectively after ayaḥśūla and daṇḍājina, in the same sense of "who strives to gain something by that".

*The word अन्विच्छति is understood here also. The word अयःशूलम् means 'a violent proceeding'. Who seeks to obtain anything by violent means is called आयःशूलिकः = साहसिकः ॥ The word दण्डाजिन् means 'staff (daṇḍa) and hide (ajina)' i. e. outer badges of devotion or hypocrisy. Who seeks to gain something by hypocrisy and deceit is called दण्डाजिनिकः = दाम्भिकः ॥

१८७७। तावतिथं ग्रहणमिति लुग्वा । ५ । २ । ७७ ॥

कन् स्वात्पूरणमत्ययस्य च लुग्वा । द्वितीयकं द्विकं वा ग्रहणं देवदत्तस्य । द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रहणमित्यर्थः । तावतिथेन गृह्णातीति कन्वक्तव्यो नित्यं च लुक् * ॥ षष्ठेन रूपेण गृह्णाति षट्को देवदत्तः । पञ्चकः ॥

1877. The affix kan is added to an ordinal number, in the sense of "acquiring a subject after so many attempts";

and there is optionally the elision of the affix denoting the ordinal number.

The word तावत्तिथि (V. 2. 53 S. 1853) stands here as a type of all words ending in affixes denoting पूरण i. e. ordinals. The word ग्रहण means 'acquired or learned hereby'. This qualifies the base. Thus द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = द्विकं ग्रहणम् or द्वितीयकं ग्रहणम् 'the acquisition of the knowledge or book by the second time' i. e. "successful mastery by the second time". So also त्रिकं or त्रितीयकम्, चतुष्कम् or चतुर्थकम् ॥

Vart :—When the word, formed by the affix kan, means the *person* who acquires after so many times, then the elision of the पूरण affix is compulsory and not optional. Thus षष्ठेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = षटको देवदत्तः 'Devadatta who learns the book for the sixth time' i. e. 'who succeeds in learning the book at the sixth attempt'. Similarly पंचकः, चतुष्कः ॥ The word ग्रहण here is confined to books only and to nothing else.

१८७८ । स एषां ग्रामणीः । ५ । २ । ७८ ॥

देवदत्तो मुखो येषां ते देवदत्तकाः । स्वस्कः । मस्कः ॥

1878. The affix kan comes after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive case, when the sense is "he is their leader".

The word ग्रामणी means 'head-man, leader, spokes-man'. Thus देवदत्तो मुखोऽस्य = देवदत्तकः, ॥ So also स्वस्कः and मस्कः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when meaning a leader'? Witness देवदत्तः राजुरेषाम् ॥ Here there is no affixing.

१८७९ । शृङ्खलमस्य बन्धनं करभे । ५ । २ । ७९ ॥

शृङ्खलकः करभः ॥

1879. The affix kan comes after the word śrinkhala 'a clog', in the sense of "clog is its fetter", when the whole word means a young camel.

Thus शृङ्खलं बन्धनमस्य करभस्य = शृङ्खलकः ॥

Note :—The young ones of a camel are called करभ ॥ The wooden clogs put on their feet to prevent them from straying are called शृङ्खल ॥ Though the ropes &c are also used along with the clog, yet śrinkhala being the principal object that takes away the freedom is called बन्धन or bond or fetter.

१८८० । उत्क उन्मनाः । ५ । २ । ८० ॥

उत्तमनस्कवृत्तेच्छब्दास्त्वार्थे कन् । उत्क उत्काण्डितः ॥

1880. The word *utka* is anomalous, meaning 'longing after, yearning'.

He whose mind anxiously desires or yearns after a thing is called *उन्मत्तः* ॥ The word *उत्कः* is formed by adding *कः* to the preposition *उद्* without changing the sense, in the sentence *उद्गतमनस्त्वृत्तिः* ॥ Thus *उत्को देवदत्तः* *उत्कः प्रवासो* = *उत्सुकः* or *उत्कण्ठितः* ॥

१८८१ । कालप्रयोजनाद्गोणे । ५ । २ । ८१ ॥

कालवचनात्प्रयोजनवचनाच्च कन्स्याद्गोणे । द्वितीयेऽङ्गिभवः । प्रयोजनं कारणं रोगस्य फलं वा । विषपुष्पैर्जनितो विषपुष्पकः । उष्णं कार्यमस्य उष्णकः । रोमे किम् । द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य ॥

1881. The affix *kan* comes after a word expressing a time, or a cause or effect (of the diseased), when an illness is denoted.

The word *काल* means 'days' &c, and *प्रयोजन* means 'the cause (of disease) or its effect' . Thus *द्वितीयेऽङ्गिभवः* = *द्वितीयको ज्वरः* 'the fever which comes on the second day' . Similarly after a word denoting *प्रयोजनः*, as, *विषपुष्पैर्जनितः* = *विषपुष्पको ज्वरः* 'a fever caused by poisonous flowers' . So also *काशपुष्पकः* ॥ So also *उष्णं कार्यमस्य* = *उष्णकः* 'a fever producing heat' . Why do we say "when an illness is denoted"? When 'illness' is not meant, then there is no affixing, as, *द्वितीये दिवसोऽस्य* ॥

Note —The word *संज्ञा* is to be read in to this sūtra from the next sūtra. Therefore words *द्वितीयकः* &c are Names.

१८८२ । तदस्मिन्नक्षं प्राये संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ८२ ॥

प्रथमान्तास्तप्तव्ये कन् स्यात् अल्पयमान्तमन् चेत्याद्यविवक्ष्यं तत् । गुडापूपाः प्रायेणाग्नमस्यै गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी ॥ वदकेभ्य इतिर्वाच्यः * ॥ वदकिनी ॥

1882. The affix *kan* is added to a word denoting food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is the principal food on this particular occasion", when the whole word so formed is a Name.

Thus *गुडापूपाः प्रायेणाग्नमस्यै पौर्णमास्यां* = *गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी* "The *Gūḍāpūpikā* — *Paurṇamāsi*" i. e. that particular Full-Moon day in which cakes of sugar form the principal accompaniment of food.

Vart :—The affix *ङि* comes after *वदक* in the same sense. *अवदकिनी पौर्णमासी* ॥

१८८३ । कुम्भाषादङ् ५ । २ । ८३ ॥

कुम्भाषाः प्रायेणाग्नमस्यै कौम्भाषी ॥

1883. The affix **añ** comes after **kulmāsha**, in the same sense “this is the principal food on this particular occasion”—and the whole word is a Name.

The **ञ्** of **अञ्** is for the sake of causing **Vṛiddhi** and accent. Thus
कुल्माषः प्रायेणामनत्वा=कौल्माषी वीर्णेमांसी ॥

१८८४ । ओत्रियं छन्दोऽधीते । ५ । २ । ८४ ॥

ओषिवः । वेत्यदुवृत्तेरछान्दसः ॥

1884. The word **śrotriyaṇ** is irregularly formed meaning ‘who has studied the **Chhandas**’.

Note:—The **ञ्** in **ओषिवञ्** is for the sake of accent. As **ओषिवो ब्राह्मणः** “a **Brāhmaṇa** learned in the **Vedas**”. The word **ओषिव** is either a condensed expression for the full sentence **छन्दोऽधीते**, referring to no particular base or affix. Or the word **छन्दस्** is replaced by **ओष**, and then is added the affix **ञ्** ॥ But how do you form then **छान्दसः**, in the sense of **छन्दोऽधीते**, by adding the affix **अप्** by IV. 2. 59 S. 1269? The present sūtra is optional, the word **वा** of V. 2. 77 S. 1877 being understood here: so that we have the form **छान्दसः** also. Some say that **ओषिव** applies only to that person who has not only studied the **Vedas**, but who acts upon its purport also, while **छान्दस** applies to a student in general; so one sūtra does not debar the other, as they apply to different objects.

१८८५ । श्राद्धमनेन भुक्तमिति ठनौ । ५ । २ । ८५ ॥

आक्षी । आक्षिकः ॥

1885. The affixes **ini** (**इन्**) and **than** come after the word **śrāddha**, in the sense of “this is eaten by him”.

Thus **श्राद्धं भुक्तमनेन**=**आक्षी** or **आक्षिकः** “a person who has eaten obsequial food”.

Note:—This relates to a person who eats on the day the **Śrāddha** ceremony takes place; and not at any other time nor who eats stale food of **śrāddha**. **अद्य भुक्ते श्राद्धे भः आक्षिक इति साम्बत्** ॥ The word **श्राद्ध** originally means a certain ceremony, and is derived from the word **श्रद्ध** with the affix **ण** V. 2. 101. In a figurative sense, it here means the food taken at that ceremony.

१८८६ । पूर्वादिनिः । ५ । २ । ८६ ॥

पूर्वे कृतमनेन पूर्वी ॥

1886. The affix **ini** (**इन्**) comes after **pūrva**, in the sense of ‘by whom something was done formerly’.

The word **अनेन** of the last sūtra is understood here. But what is the verb of which **अनेन** is the agent. The **भुक्त** of the last sūtra is not to be read

into this sūtra. Therefore we must supply some general verb such as 'doing' &c, to complete the sense. Thus पूर्व गतमनेन = पूर्वी ॥ In fact पूर्वन् means "by whom some thing was done &c, formerly".

१८८७ । सपूर्वाच्च । ५ । २ । ८७ ॥

कृतपूर्वी ॥

1887. The affix ini comes after the word pūrva, also when another word precedes it, the sense being 'by whom something is done'.

Thus कृतपूर्वी कटन् = पूर्व कृतमनेन 'who formerly made'. भुक्तपूर्वी भोदनम् ॥

Note:—In these words, first कृत and पूर्व are compounded by II. 1. 4; and then the affix is added. These two sūtras V. 2. 86, 87, give rise to these two maxims ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika or Nominal-stem, does, (contrary to I. 1. 72 S. 26) not denote that which ends with it but it denotes only itself." व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन "The rule of vyapadesivad-bhāva does not apply to a prātipadika". That rule is embodied in the following paribhāṣhā—व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्—"an operation which affects some thing on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach".

१८८८ । इष्टादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ८८ ॥

इष्टमनेन इष्टी । अर्धीती ॥

1888. The affix ini comes after ishṭa &c. in the sense of 'by him'.

Thus इष्टमनेन = इष्टी यजे; पूर्त्तिश्चाद्धे &c. "who sacrificed", "who performed a charitable act". The words इष्टिन्, पूर्त्तिन् &c. formed by इन् will govern locative instead of accusative. See vārtika under II. 3. 36. So also अर्धीती ॥

1 इष्ट, 2 पूर्त्ति, 3 उपासादित (उपसादित), 4 निगदित, 5 परिगदित *, 6 परिवादित, 7 निक्वायित, 8 निषादित *, 9 निषादित, 10 संकलित, 11 परिकलित, 12 संरक्षित, 13 पारिरक्षित, 14 अर्धित, 15 गणित*, 16 अवकीर्ण, 17 आयुक्त, 18 गृहीत, 19 आघ्रात, 20 भुत (आघ्रातभुत,) 21 अर्धित, 22 अवधान (!)*, 23 आसेवित, 24 अवधारित, 25 अवकल्पित, 26 निराकृत, 27 उपकृत, 28 उपाकृत, 29 अनुयुक्त, 30 अनुगणित, 31 अनुपदित, 32 व्याकुलित, 33 परिकथित, 34 संकल्पित, 35 विकलित, 36 निपतित, 37 पठित, 38 पूजित, 39 परिगणित, 40 उपगणित, 41 परित, (?), 42 अपवारित, 43 उपनत, 44 निगृहीत, 45 अपचित. ॥

१८८९ । छन्दसि परिपन्थिपरिपरिणौ पर्यवस्थातरि । ५ । २ । ८९ ॥

लोके तु परिपन्थिग्रहो न न्याय्यः ॥

1889. In the Chhandas, the words paripanthin and pariparin are anomalously formed by this affix, and have the sense of 'an antagonist'.

Note :—The word **वर्धवस्यात्** means 'an adversary, an antagonist' Thus **मा त्वा परिपन्थिर्नो विदम्** (Yaj. Ved. IV. 34.). These words are obsolete in the classical literature. See however Gita III. 34.

१८९० । अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा । ५ । २ । ९० ॥

अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा अनुपदी गवाम् ॥

1890. The word **anupadin**, formed anomalously by **ini**, denotes 'who goes after, who searches'.

Thus **अनुपदी गवाम्** "going after or searching the cows'.

१८९१ । साक्षाद्ब्रह्मरिसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ९१ ॥

साक्षाद्ब्रह्म साक्षी ॥

1891. The affix **ini** comes after the word **sākshāt**, in the sense of 'a spectator, looker on,' when the word so formed is a Name.

The word **साक्षात्** is an Indeclinable. The word **संज्ञा** is used in the aphorism to restrict the sense of the word. Thus **साक्षाद् ब्रह्म** = **साक्षी**, 'an eye witness'.

Note :—In any transaction like loan, &c. three persons directly see the fact and may be called **ब्रह्म** viz. who gives, who takes, and another who merely looks on. By using the word **संज्ञा** the word **साक्षिन्** is restricted to the mere looker on, and not to the lender or borrower.

१८९२ । क्षेत्रियच्च परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः । ५ । २ । ९२ ॥

क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः । क्षीरान्तरे चिकित्स्यः । अमृतिकार्य इत्यर्थः ॥

1892. The word **kshettriyaach** (क्षेत्रीयँ) is anomalous, meaning "curable in another body" i. e. "not curable in this life".

The whole word is enunciated here in the sense of **para-kshetre-chikitsya**; or the word **क्षेत्रीय**, with acute on the last syllable, is formed by adding the affix **चच्** to the word **परक्षेत्र**, the force of the affix being 'curable therein' and the word **पर** is elided before this affix. Thus **क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः** 'incurable disease', i. e.—organic disease. The word **परक्षेत्र** means body assumed in the next reincarnation. The word **क्षेत्रिय** applies to an irremediable disease.

Note :—The word **क्षेत्रियं** means 'poison' also = **यत् परक्षेत्रे परशरीरे संक्रम्य चिकित्स्यते** ॥ 'That which is to be removed from another's body where it has entered'. Or **क्षेत्रिय** means 'rank growth or grass', i. e. **यानि सस्यार्ये क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्स्यानि नाद्यानि** "that like grass &c. which grows in a para-kshetra or another's field i. e. a field set apart for grain &c. and not for grass, and which therefore must be weeded

out (alikhitaya)'' Or लोभिय is an 'adulterer', i. e. परायाः परलोभं, तं च चिकित्स्यः निगृहीत-
व्यः ॥ These are all secondary meanings.

१८९३। इन्द्रियमिन्द्रलिङ्गमिन्द्रदृष्टमिन्द्रसृष्टमिन्द्रजुष्टमिन्द्रदत्तमिति वा । ५।

। २। ६३ ॥

इन्द्र आत्मा तस्य लिङ्गं करणेन कर्तुरनुमानात् । इति शब्दः प्रकारार्थः । इन्द्रेण दुर्जयमिन्द्रियम् ॥

1893. The word Indriyam, (having udâtta on the last), is anomalous, meaning an organ of sense; and so called, either because it is " the characteristic from which the existence of Indra is inferred ", or ' it is seen by Indra ', or ' it is created by Indra ', or ' it is wished for by Indra ', or ' it is given by Indra '.

The word इन्द्रिय is a primitive word, meaning organs of sense, such as eyes &c. Its derivation is obscure, if it is a derivative word at all. In the latter alternative, it may be said to be formed by the affix चच् added after इन्द्र, in the sense of either ' a mark thereof '. As इन्द्रस्य लिङ्गम् = इन्द्रियम् ॥ The senses (indriyas) are so called because, Indra is Atma or soul, and it is inferred by the existence of the senses, eyes, ears &c. So that these organs are the 'marks' or signs or linga of Indra : because they being an instrument presuppose an agent, there being no instrument without an agent.

Note :—Or the senses (indriyas) are so-called because they are 'seen or known by Indra or Âtmâ' (इन्द्रेण दृष्ट = ज्ञातं). The affix is here added to a word in the third case in construction. The knowing or perceiving of the senses by the Self is an allusion to the following Śruti of the Aitareya Upanishad Chapter III verse, 13, where the Self having created the physical body took a survey of it. स एतमेव पुरुषं ब्रह्म सतममपश्यद्विदमर्क्षमिती, He beheld this Brahma, who dwells in the body, who pervades every where, and exclaimed—' I have seen this '. Or they are so called because they are created by Indra or Âtmâ (इन्द्रेण सृष्टं) i. e. the senses are formed, according to the good and bad deeds of the Self. Or they are so called because they are 'wished for' by Indra or Self (इन्द्रेण जुष्टं सेवितं) as they are the gate-ways of knowledge. Or they are so called because they are 'given by' Indra (इन्द्रेण दत्तं) i. e. they are allotted to their respective objects by Indra e. g. the eye is given to perceive forms, the ear to perceive sounds and so on. The word वा 'or' joins every one of the above,

The word इति shows, that there may be other appropriate significations also: As, इन्द्रेण दुर्जयम् = इन्द्रियम् 'senses'—difficult to be subdued by the Soul.

१८९४। तदस्यास्मिन्निति मनुष्यः । ५। २। ६४ ॥

गर्वाऽस्यास्मिन्वा सन्ति गोमान् ॥ भुमनिन्दाप्रशंसासु नित्ययोगेऽतिशायने । संबन्धेऽस्तिविव-
क्षायां भवन्ति मनुष्यादयः ॥

1894. The affix matup (मत् मन्त् f. ई) comes after a word in first case in construction in the sense of ' whose it is', or ' in whom it is '.

Thus गण्डोऽस्य सन्ति = गोमन् nom गोमान् ' having cows ', as गोमान् देवदत्तः ॥ वृक्षा अस्मिन् सन्ति = वृक्षवन् (वृ being substituted for म by VIII. 2. 9). as वृक्षवान् पर्वतः ॥ Similarly ब्रह्मान्, ब्रह्मवान् ॥ The word इति shows that the use of मत्पु and cognate affixes are restricted in their application. For example, a person who has three barley grains only will not be called ब्रह्मवान् ॥ This affix comes when the significations are (1) A large quantity or number, as गोमान् ' having many cows '. (2) When censure (निन्दा) is implied, as ककुवावर्त्ती. संखादकी, (3) when praise (प्रशंसा) is meant, as रूपवती कन्या, (4) when an inherent, or permanent quality of a thing is meant (नित्ययोग) as, बीरिणी वृक्षः ॥ When excellence (अतिशायन) is meant, as उदरिणी कन्या ॥ (6) When accompaniment (संसर्ग) is meant, as वण्डी, छत्री ॥ (7) When the sense of अस्ति ' to be ' is denoted, as अस्तिमान् ॥

१८९५ । रसादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

मत्पु, रसवान् । रूपवान् । अन्यमस्त्वर्थानिवृत्त्यर्थं वचनम् ॥ रस, रूप, वर्ण, गन्ध, स्पर्श, वाङ्, ज्ञेह, भाव, गुणान् । एकाचः ॥ स्ववान् । गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम् ॥

1895. The affix matup comes after the nominal stems rasa &c, in the sense of ' whose it is ', or ' in whom it is '.

As रसवान्, रूपवान्, गन्धवान् ॥ (Why this special sūtra with regard to रसादि words, when they would have taken मत्पु by the last sūtra ?) This prevents the application to these words of other affixes having the sense of मत्पु ॥

Note :—How do you form then रूपिणी कन्या, रूपिको दारकः ॥ These are rare forms. According to Pāṇjali this sūtra is useless. Or the words रस &c, must denote qualities, perceivable by the organs of taste, touch &c, i. e. रस should mean taste, रूप form. Therefore the forms रूपिणी and रूपिकः are valid, meaning शोभायोग्यता ॥ So also रसिको तटः = भावयोगः, here रूप and रस do not mean ' form ' and ' taste '. And all words of quality having one syllable are governed by this sūtra, and form their derivative in मत्पु ॥ See V. 2. 115.

1 रस, 2 रूप, 3 वर्ण *, 4 गन्ध, 5 स्पर्श, 6 वाङ्, 7 ज्ञेह, 8 भाव *, 9 गुणान् (गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम्), 10 एकाचः (स्ववान्) ॥

Gana Sūtra :—The affix मत्पु comes after रस &c, when they denote quality.

Gana Sūtra :—So also after words of one syllble. As स्ववान् ॥

१८९६ । तसौ मत्वर्थे । १ । ४ । १९ ॥

तात्तासात्तो मतङ्गी लो मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परे । वसोः संप्रसारणम् । विदुष्मात् ॥
 गुणवचनेभ्यो मत्तुपो लुगिटः * ॥ छल्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ती छल्लः पटः । कृष्णः ॥

1896. The word-form ending in **त्** or in **स्** is called Bha, when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word विदुष्मात् (VI. 4. 131 S. 435). By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is barred.

Vdt :—The affix मत्तुप् is elided after words of quality (गुणवचन), as छल्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ति :—छल्लः पटः ॥ कृष्णः, श्वेतः &c.

१८६७ । मातुपधायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्यः । ८ । २ । ६ ॥

मवर्णवर्णान्तान्मवर्णवर्णोपधायाश्च अवादिर्वर्जितात्परस्य मतोर्नस्य चः स्यात् । किंवात् । ज्ञानवात् । विद्यावात् । लक्ष्मीवात् । यशस्वात् । भास्वात् । अवावेस्तु अवमात् । भूमिमात् ॥

1897. For the **त्** of the affix मत् is substituted **च**, if the stem ends in **म्** or **ञ** (and **आ**) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after **यव** and the rest.

After a stem ending in **म्** or having **म्** as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in **ञ** or **आ**, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted **च** for the **त्** of मत्तुप् ॥ First after stems ending in **म्**, as किंवात् (किंवात्). Secondly **च** penultimate : as लक्ष्मीवात् । Thirdly a stem ending in **ञ** or **आ**, as ज्ञानवात्, विद्यावात् ॥ Fourthly **ञ** or **आ** in the penultimate as अवात्वात्, भास्वात् ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of यव &c"? Observe अवमात्, भूमिमात् ॥

The following is the list of अवादि words.

1. यव, 2. दक्षिण, 3. ऊर्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृमि, 6. कुष्मा, 7. वशा, 8. प्रासा, 9. आसा ॥

These words either end in **म्** and **ञ** or have these as their penultimate. 10. भ्रजि, 11. ध्वजि, 12. सज्जि, These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. S. 3600) 13. हरित्, 14. ककुत्, 15. गरुत्, ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इक्षु, 17. मधु 18. हुम, 19. मण्ड, 20. धुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an ākṛtiḡaṇa. Wherever in a word, the **त्** of मत्तुप् is not changed to **च** though the rules require it, that word should be classified under अवादि class. In the secondary word नार्मेतं (= नृमत् इदं), the **च** change has not taken place, because the **च** is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being **ए** ॥

The word नात् in the sūtra is the Ablative of न, i. e. of न, + अ, it is a Samāhāra D ṣ ndva of these two letters,

१८६८ । अयः । ८ । २ । १० ॥

अवन्तान्मतेर्मस्य वः स्यात् । अपदान्तत्वान्नअस्यत् । विद्युत्स्यात् ॥

1898. The *च्* is substituted for the *म* of *मत्* after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As विद्युत्स्यात् ॥

१८६९ । संज्ञायाम् । ८ । २ । ११ ॥

मतेर्मस्य वः स्यात् । अहीवती । सुनीवती । शरदीनां चेति शीर्षः ॥

1899. The *च्* is substituted for *म* of *मत्* when the word so formed is a Name.

As अहीवती, सुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120. S. 1042.

१९०० । आसन्दीवदष्टीवचक्रिवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वचर्मण्वती । ८ । २ । १२ ॥

एते षट् संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते । आसनशब्दस्यासन्दीभावः । आसन्दीवान् ग्रामः । अन्यत्रासन्दीवान् । अस्थिषाब्दस्याष्टीभावः । अष्टीवान् नाम ऋषिः । अस्थिमानन्यत्र । चक्रषाब्दस्य चक्रीभावः । चक्रीवन्नाम राजा । चक्रवानन्यत्र । कक्ष्यायाः संप्रसारणम् । कक्षीवान्नाम ऋषिः । कक्ष्यावानन्यत्र । जवणषाब्दस्य रुमण्भावः । रुमण्वान्नाम पर्वतः । जवणवानन्यत्र । चर्मणो मलोपाभावो यात्वं च । चर्मण्वती नाम नदी । चर्मवत्यन्यत्र ॥

1900. The following six Names are irregularly formed:—*āsandīvat*, *ashṭhīvat*, *chakrīvat*, *kakshīvat*, *rumaṇvat* *charmaṇvatī*.

The change of *म* to *च्* in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. *आसन्दीवत्*, is from the stem *आसन* which is here changed to *आसन्दी* ॥ As *आसन्दीवान्* ग्रामः, *अस्थिष्यत्* ॥ When not a name we have *आसन* वात् ॥

2. *अष्टीवत्* is from *अस्थि* which is changed to *अष्टी* ॥ As *अष्टीवान्* the name of a particular Rishi. Otherwise *अस्थिवान्* ॥ 3. *चक्रीवत्* is from *चक्र* which is changed to *चक्री* as *चक्रीवान्* राजा ॥ Otherwise we have *चक्रवान्* । 4. *कक्षीवत्* is from *कक्ष्या*, there is vocalisation of *क्* and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 2. S. 2559. *कक्षीवान्* is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, *कक्ष्यावान्* ॥ 5. *रुमण्वत्* is the name of a mountain ; it is formed from *जवण* which is changed to *रुमण्* ॥ Otherwise we have *जवणवान्* 6. *चर्मवण्वती* is from *चर्मन्*, there is non-elision of *न्* and its change to *ञ्* ॥ The *Charmanvati* is the name of a river. Otherwise we have *चर्मवती* ॥

१९०१ । उद्वान्नुदधौ च । ८ । २ । १३ ॥

उदक्त्वं उद्वानो मते उदधौ संज्ञायां च । उद्वान् सधुः ऋषिश्च ॥

1901. The word *उद्वान्* is irregularly formed, in the sense of "a sea" or a "name".

It is derived from उक् 'water' with the affix मन् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like, तटाक &c.

१६०२ । राजन्वान् सौराज्ये । ८ । २ । १४ ॥

राजन्वती भूः । राजवान्वय ॥

1902. Also राजन्वान् when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती भूः ॥ The affix मनुप् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

१६०३ । प्राणिस्थादातो लज्जन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

चूडालः । चूडावान् । प्राणिस्थास्किम् । शिखावान् वीपः । भातः किम् । हस्तवान् । प्राण्यङ्गादेव, नेह । मेधावान् । प्रत्ययस्वरैरेव सिद्धेऽभ्यन्तोदात्तस्य चूडालोऽसीत्यादौ स्वरितो वातुशक्ते पदादाविति स्वरि - लबाधनार्थमकारः ॥

1903. The affix lach (लँ) comes optionally, in the sense of matup, after a stem ending in long आ, the word expressing something which is found only in a living being.

Thus from चूडा 'a crest' we have चूडालः or चूडावान् ॥ Why do we say 'which is found in a living being'? Observe शिखावान् वीपः 'the crested flame of a lamp'. Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe हस्तवान्, पदवान्. ॥

It should be stated that the affix लच् comes only after what denotes member or limb of a living being, (and not anything like love, passion, intelligence &c. that are also found in a living being). Hence there is no affixing of लच् here in मेधावान् "possessed of intelligence".

Every affix is udātta (III. 1. 3), unless contrary is indicated by some anubandha. The लच् would have been udātta by III. 1. 3, even without the indicative च् (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710). The employment of this anubandha, however, indicates that this udātta will never be changed into svarita, as other udāttas are by rule VII. 2. 6. S. 3659). As चूडालोऽसि ॥

१६०४ । सिध्मादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

लज्जा स्यात् । सिध्मलः । सिध्मवान् । अन्यतरस्याङ्गुणं मनुप्सुष्यार्थं ननु प्रत्ययविकल्पार्थम् । सेनाकाणान्तेभ्य इनिङनौ न ॥ वातवन्तबलललाटानामृङ् च ॥ * वातूलः ॥

1904. The affix lach comes in the sense of matup, after the words sidhma &c, and optionally matup also.

Thus सिध्मलः or सिध्मवान् ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् understood in this sūtra, causes the employment of the affix मनुप् in the alternative. It does not mean

that the affix लच् is optional. For were लच् optional, then the affixes इनि and ङच् would come by V. 2. 115. S. 1922. after those words of सिध्मादि class which end in अ. But that is not the case.

*Note:—*The words पार्ष्णि and धमनि lengthen the vowel before ल, as वार्ष्णीलः धमनीलः ॥

*Vart:—*The words वत्, दन्त, बल, ललाट and गल take the augment ऊङ् before लच्, as वातूलः, दन्तूलः, बलूलः, ललाटूलः, गळूलः ॥

*Note:—*The words जडा, घडा, कडा, and कला take लच् when censure is meant, as जडालः, घडालः, कडालः and कडालः but जडावांस्तापसः when no censure is meant.

*Note:—*The affix लच् comes after words denoting lower organisms and words denoting disease : as सूकालः, मक्षिकालः, विचर्चिकालः, विपादिकालः मूर्छालः ॥

1 सिध्म, 2 गडु, 3 मणि, 4 नाभि. 5 बीज (जीव), 6 बीणा*, 7 कृष्ण*, 8 निष्पाव, 9 पांशु, 10 पार्श्व, 11 पर्थ (परशु) 12 ह्रु, 13 सक्तु, 14 मांस, 15 पार्ष्णिधमन्योर्दीर्घश्च 16 वातदन्तबलललाटानामूङ् च 17 जडाघडाकडाकलाः (कडा) सेपे, 18 पर्थ, 19 उदक, 20 मज्ञा, 21 सक्ति, (साक्ष्य) 22 कर्ण, 23 स्नेह, 24 क्षीत, 25 श्याम, 26 पित्र, 27 पित्त, 28 पुष्क, (शुष्क), 29 पृथु, 30 घृदु, 31 मञ्जु 32 मण्ड, 33 पद्म, 34 चटु, 35 कपि, 36 गण्डु, (कण्डु), 37 ग्रन्थि, 38 श्री*, 39 कुश, 40 धारा*, 41 वर्मन्*, 42 पद्मन्*, 43 म्लेष्मन्, 44 पेश, 45 निष्पाद्, 46 कुण्ड, 47 क्षुद्रजन्तुपतापयोश्च 48 गण्ड, 49 संज्ञा, ॥

१६०५ । वत्सांसाभ्यां कामबले । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

आभ्यां लज्वा स्याद्यथासंख्यं कामवति बलवति चार्थे । वत्सलः । अंसलः ॥

1905. The affix lach comes after the word vatsa and aṇsa, in the sense of “love” and “strength” respectively.

Thus वत्सलः ‘loving the calf, loving, tender’. अंसलः ‘strong, lusty’.

*Note:—*The word वत्स means ‘calf’. In वत्सलः there is no trace of its origin, for it is applied to father, master &c, as वत्सलः स्वामी, वत्सलः पिता &c. The word अंस means ‘shoulder’ but अंसल means ‘strong’. The affix लच् in these cases is not optional but necessary and debars मनुप् ॥ In other senses, the matup only is added as अंसवती गौः, अंसवान् दुर्बलः ॥

१६०६ । फेनादिलच्च । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

आह्वच् । अन्यतरस्यामहणं मनुप्सुष्यकार्यमनुवर्तते । फेनिलः । फेनलः । फेनवान् ॥

1906. The affix ilach (इलच्) as well as lach, comes after the word phena, in the sense of matup : and optionally the affix matup also.

The word च् draws in लच् ; and the word अन्तरस्यान् understood in the sūtra adds मनुप् in the alternative. As फेनिलः, फेनलः and फेनवान् ॥

१६०७ । लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः । ५ । २ । १०० ॥

लोमादिभ्यः शः । लोमशः । लोमवान् । रोमशः । रोमवान् । पामादिभ्यो नः । पामनः ॥ अङ्गात्कल्याणे * ॥ अङ्गना ॥ लक्ष्म्या बध * ॥ लक्ष्मणः ॥ विष्वगिष्युत्तरपदलोपश्चाकृतसन्धेः * ॥ विषुणः । पिच्छादिभ्यः इलच् । पिच्छिलः । पिच्छवान् । उरसिलः । उरस्वान् ॥

1907. The three affixes *śa* (श), *na* (न), and *इलच्* (इल) come in the sense of *matup*, respectively after the words of these three classes i. e. *lomādi*, *pāmādi*, and *pichchhādi* : and the affix *matup* also comes in the alternative.

The affix श comes after *लोमादि* words as *लोमशः* or *लोमवान्* 'hairy'. So also *रोमशः* or *रोमवान्* ॥ The affix न comes after *पामादि* words, as *पामनः* or *पामवान्* 'scabby'.

Vart :—The affix न comes after the word *अङ्ग* in the sense of beautiful, as *अङ्गना* 'the fair one' i. e. a woman.

Vart :—The affix न comes after *लक्ष्मी* before which ई is changed to अ, as *लक्ष्मीरत्नास्ति* = *लक्ष्मणः* ॥

Note :—The words *शाकी*, *पलाली* and *वहू* shorten their final vowel before न as *शाकिनम्* a field, *पलालिन्*, *वहुणम्* ॥

Vart :—The word *विष्वक्* (विषु + ञच्) loses its second member, before न, and the change caused by sandhi (इ into व्) is undone. Otherwise the form would be *विष्णः* (वक् being elided), as *विष्वज्जितानि सन्धि अस्य* = *विषुणम्* 'moving variously'.

The affix *इलच्* comes after *पिच्छादि* words, as, *पिच्छलः* or *पिच्छिवान्* 'broth'; *उरसिलः* or *उरस्वान्* ॥

1 लोमन्, 2 रोमन् 3 वधु, 4 हरि, 5 गिरि*, 6 कर्क*, 7 कपि, 8 छुनि, 9 तद ॥

1 पामन्, 2 वामन्, 3 वेमन्, 4 हेमन् 5 श्लेष्मन्, काङ्ग (कङ्गु), 7 बाल, 8 सामन्, 9 ऊष्मन्, 10 कृनि*, 11 अङ्गान् कल्याणे, 12 शाकीपलालीवहूणां (शाकीपलालीवहूणां), इत्स्वत्वं च, 13 विष्वानित्युत्तरपदलोपधाकृतसंघः (विषुण), 14 लक्ष्म्या अथ (लक्ष्मणः), 15 श्रेष्ठ, 16 पल ॥

1 पिच्छा (पिच्छ), 2 उरस, 3 ध्रुवक (ध्रुवक), 4 ध्रुवक (ध्रुवका), 5 जटाघटाकलाः (जटाघटा कलात्), छेपे, 6 वर्ण, 7 उदक, 8 पङ्क, 9 प्रज्ञा ॥

Note :—The affix *ilach* comes after *jaṭā*, *ghaṭā*, and *kalā*, when censure is meant, as *जटिलः*, *घटिलः*, *कलिलः* but *जटावान्*, when no censure is meant.

१९०८ प्रज्ञाभ्रञ्चार्चाभ्योः । ५ । २ । १०१ ॥

प्राज्ञो व्याकरणे । प्राज्ञा । आङ्गः । आचः ॥ वृत्तेषु * ॥ वार्तः ॥

1908. The affix *ṇa* (ञ) comes in the sense of *mat-up*, after the words *prajñā*, *śraddhā*, and *archā* : as well as the affix *matup*.

As *प्राज्ञः* or *प्राज्ञवान्*, *आङ्गः* or *आङ्गवान्*, *आचः* or *आचवान्* ॥

Vart :—So also after *वृत्ति*, as *वार्तः* or *वृत्तिवान्* ॥

१९०९ । तपःसहस्राभ्यां विनीनी । ५ । २ । १०२ ॥

विनीन्योरिकारो नकारपरिधानार्थः । तपस्वी । सवस्वी । असन्तत्वावदन्तत्वाच्च सिद्धे पुनर्वचन-
नञा, बाधा नाभ्युपेति । सहस्राण्यु ङनोऽपि बाधनार्थम् ॥

1909. The affixes vini (विन्) and ini (इन्) come, with the force of matup, after the words tapas and sahasra respectively.

The final इ in विनि and इनि is for the sake of saving the न from becoming इन् and thus get elided.

The word तपस् ends in अन्, and therefore by V. 2. 121. S. 1928 it would have taken विनि; similarly सहस्र ends in अ, and by V. 2. 115. S. 1922 * it would have taken इनि; it may, therefore, be said, where is the necessity for the present sūtra? To this it is replied, that by the next sūtra, these words take the affix अण् also; so that, had there not been this present sūtra, the अण् would have debarred the application of इनि and विनि of V. 2. 115. S. 1922. and V. 2. 121. S. 1928. The affix इन् (V. 1. 115) is also debarred after the word सहस्र though it ends in अ ॥

Thus तपोऽस्यास्मिन् वा विद्यते = तपस्विन्, nom तपस्वी ॥ Similarly सहस्रिन् nom सहस्री ॥

१९१० । अण् च । ५ । २ । १०३ ॥

योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः । तापसः । साहस्रः ॥

उद्योस्नादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ उद्योस्नः । तामिस्रः ॥

1910. And also अण् (अ) comes after tapas and sahasra.

Thus तापसः, साहस्रः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for two purposes; 1st, the anuvṛitti of अण् runs in the subsequent sūtras, which could not have been done had it been included in the last sūtra, 2ndly, the rule of yathasaṅkhyā (I. 3. 10 S. 62) would not have applied to the last sūtra, had अण् been read along with विनि and इनि ॥

Vṛtt:—The word उद्योस्ना &c. are governed by this rule and take अण् As उद्योस्ना विद्यतेऽस्मिन् पक्षे = उद्योस्नः पक्षः ॥ Similarly तामिस्रः (a kind of hell).

१९११ । सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च । ५ । २ । १०४ ॥

सैकतो घटः । शार्करः ॥

1911. The affix अण् comes in the sense of matup, after sikatā and śarkarā.

Thus सैकतो घटः, शार्करं मधु ॥

Note :—These are the examples, when they do not denote a place. In denoting a place they will take इल् and लृप् of the next sūtra.

१९१२ । देशे लुबिलचौ च । ५ । १०५ ॥

चावण् मत्तुप् च । सिकताः सन्यस्मिन्देशे सिकताः । सिकतिलः । सैकतः । सिकतावान् । एवं शार्करा इत्यादि ॥

1912. When the sense is that of ' a locality ', there may take place the lup-elision of the affixes denoting matup

((with the preservation of the gender and number of the word), or there may be the affix *ilach* (इल), as well as *an* and *matup*, after the word *sikatā* and *śarkarā*.

By च in the sūtra, अण् and मतुप् are introduced. The कृप् refers to मतुप् and every affix in general. Thus सिकता मसिन् विद्यन्ते—सिकता देशः or सिकतरिलः, सैकतः or सिकतावाद् 'a sandy country'. So also शर्करा देशः or शर्करिलः or शर्करः or शर्करावाद् 'a stony locality'.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning a 'locality' ? Observe सैकतः 'a vessel of sand', शर्करा "honey or sugar". In the case of the elision of the affix, the gender and number are preserved by I. 2. 51. S. 1294).

१६१३ । दन्त उन्नत उरच् । ५ । २ । १०६ ॥

उन्नता दन्ताः सन्त्यस्य दन्तुरः ॥

1913. The affix *urach* (उर) comes after *danta*, denoting 'having projecting teeth'.

Thus दन्ता उन्नता मस्य सन्ति = दन्तुरः ॥

Note—The words in the sūtra are either in the nominative or the locative case, but have the force of ablative.

Why do we say when the meaning is that of 'projecting'? Observe उन्नतवाद् 'having teeth'.

१६१४ । ऊषसुषिमुष्कमधोरः । ५ । २ । १०७ ॥

ऊषरः । सुषिरः । कुष्कोऽण्डः, दुष्करः । मधु माधुर्यम्, मधुरः ॥ रमकरणे खड्गसुकुञ्जेभ्यः ऋपसंख्यानम् * ॥ खरः । दुखरः । कुञ्जो हरिहनुः, कुञ्जरः । नगपांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्च * ॥ नमरच् । पांसुरः । माण्डुरः । माण्डुराद्यस्तु अण्युत्पन्न एव ॥ कच्छा ह्रस्वत् च ॥ कच्छुरः ॥

1914. The affix *र* comes, after the word *ûsha*, *sushi*, *mushka* and *madhu*, with the force of *matup*.

Thus ऊषरं क्षेत्रम् 'a barren soil, impregnated with *ûsha* or salt' सुषिरं काष्ठं 'a perforated wood i. e. containing *सुषि* or hole' दुष्करः पशुः 'a beast having testicles, or *mushka*' मधुरो गुड 'sweet sugar'.

Note :—The word इति shows that the words formed with *र* are names of certain things. Therefore it will not apply here ऊषोऽस्मिन् घटे विद्यते 'there is salt in this pot' we cannot say ऊषरो घटः, nor मधुरो घटः for मध्वस्मिन् घटे विद्यते ॥

Vart :—The affix *र* comes after ख, दुख and कुञ्ज, as खमस्यास्ति कण्ठविवरं महत् = खरः 'an ass, lit. having a wide throat'. दुखमस्यास्ति इति सर्वस्मिन् वक्तव्ये = दुखरः 'talkative'. कुञ्जादस्य स्तः = कुञ्जरः 'an elephant having tusks'. The word कुञ्ज means the tusk of an elephant or the lower jaw of an elephant. The word कुञ्जरः is a common name for all elephants.

Vart :—The affix र comes after नग, पांडु and पाण्डु as नगरम् 'a city' lit. having trees (naga = tree), पांडुरं पाण्डुरं ॥ The word पाण्डरः has no derivative.

Vart :—So also after कच्छ् the vowel being shortened: as कच्छुरं ॥

१६१५। चुटुभ्यांमः। ५। २। १०८॥

द्युमः। द्रुमः ॥

1915. The affix म comes after dyu and dru, in the sense of matup.

Thus द्युमः। द्रुमः ॥ These are primitive words, and therefore do not take मटुप् in the alternative.

१२१६। केशाद्धोऽन्यतरस्याम्। ५। २। १०६.

प्रकृतनान्यतरस्यां प्रहृयेन मटुणि सिद्धे पुनर्ग्रहणमिति ठनोः समावेशार्थम्। केशवः। केशी। केशिकः। केशवान् ॥ अन्येभ्योपि दृजसते * मणिषो नागविशेषः। हिरण्यवो निधिविशेषः ॥ अर्णसो लोपस्यः * ॥ अर्णवः ॥

1916. The affix व comes optionally, with the force of matup, after keśa.

Though the word अन्यतरस्याम् was understood here from V. 2. 96. S. 1903 (see V. 2. 97); its repetition shows that in the alternative we have not only मटुप् but the affixes इनि and ठन् (V. 2. 115. S. 1922) also. Thus we have four forms केशवः, केशा, केशिकः and केशवान् ॥

Vart :—The affix व is seen after other words also. As मणिवः 'a kind of serpent'. हिरण्यवः 'a kind of gem', करारवः

Vart :—The final of अर्णस् is elided before व, as अर्णवः

१६१७। गाण्डयजगात्संज्ञायाम्। ५। २। ११० ॥

इत्स्वसिर्धयोर्बया तन्नेज निर्वेशः। गाण्डिवम्। गाण्डीवम्। अर्जुनस्य धनुः। अजगवं पिनाकः ॥

1917. The affix व comes after gāṇḍī and ajaga, in the sense of matup, when the word is a Name:

As गाण्डीवं 'the bow Gaṇḍīva of Arjuna'; अजगवं 'the bow Ajagava of Śiva'. There is shortening also, as गाण्डिवं ॥ The sūtra is so framed, that the word गाण्डी and गाण्डि are both included.

१६१८। गाण्डाण्डादीरिषीरचौ। ५। २। १११ ॥

काण्डीरः। आण्डीरः ॥

1918. The affixes िर and िरच come in the sense of matup, after the words kāṇḍa and aṇḍa respectively.

Thus काण्डीरः and अण्डीरः ॥ Another reading has आण्ड and आण्डीरः ॥

१६१९। रजःकृष्यासुतिपरिषदो विलेच्। ५। २। ११२ ॥

रजस्वला स्त्री । कृषीवलः । बलहानि शीर्षः । आसुतीवलः शौण्डिकः । परिषद्वलः । पर्षदिति पाठान्तरम् । पर्षद्वलम् ॥ अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते * ॥ भ्रातृवलः । पुत्रवलः । शत्रुवलः । बल इत्यत्र संज्ञायामित्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह शीर्षः ॥

1919. The affix valach (वल्ल) comes, in the sense of matup, after rajas, kṛishi, āsuti, and parishad.

As रजस्वला स्त्री, कृषीवलः कुटुम्बी, आसुतीवलः शौण्डिकः, परिषद्वलो राजा ॥ The lengthening of vowel in कृषि and आसुति takes place by VI 3. 118. S. 1040.

Note:—The affix वलच् comes only under certain senses and conditions, as shown in the above examples. Thus in रजोऽस्मिन् ग्रामे विद्यते, there is no affixing.

Vart:—The affix valach is seen after other words also. As भ्रातृवलः, पुत्रवलः शत्रुवलः, ॥ The sūtra VI. 3. 118 S. 1040 does not apply here, and so there is no lengthening, as the words “when it is a name” is understood there. The examples here are not names.

१६२० । दन्तशिखात्संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११३ ॥

दन्तावलो हस्ती । शिखावलः केकी ॥

1920. The affix valach comes in the sense of matup after danta and śikhā when a Name is formed.

Thus दन्तावलो हस्तीः, शिखावलः केकी ॥ The final vowel of दन्त is lengthened before वल by VI. 3. 118. S. 1040.

१९२१ । ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसाः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

मत्स्ये निपातलो । ज्योतिष उपधालोपो नञ् प्रत्ययः । ज्योत्स्ना । तमस उपधाया इत्थं रश्मि । तमिस्रा । स्त्रीत्वमतन्त्रश्च । तमिस्रश्च । शृङ्गादिनच् । शृङ्गिणः । ऊर्जतो वलच् । तेन बाधा मा भूयिति विनिरपि, ऊर्जस्ती । ऊर्जस्वलः । ऊर्जोऽसुगागम इति वृत्तिस्तु चिन्त्या । ऊर्जस्वतीतिवत्सुब्रन्तनवोपपत्तेः । गोशब्दान्निभिः । गोमी । मलशब्दादिनच् । मलिनः । ईमसश्च । मलीमसः ॥

1921. The words jyotsnā, tamisrā, śringīṇa, ūrjasvin, ūrjasvala, gomin, malina, and malīmasa are irregularly formed, in the sense of matup and are Names.

They are thus formed. ज्योतिष् + न = ज्योत्स्ना ‘moon-light, (the इ being elided). तमस + र = तमिस्रा ‘night’. (इ being added): it has other genders than feminine as तमिस्रं नभः ‘dark sky’. शृङ्ग + इनच् शृङ्गिणः ॥ To ऊर्जस् are added the affixes विनि and वलच्; as ऊर्जस् + विन = ऊर्जस्विन्; ऊर्जस्वलः ॥ The Kāśikā derives this by adding the augment असुक् to ऊर्ज् and then affixing वल and इच् ॥ This is a rather doubtful derivative: for there is a form like ऊर्जस् ending in असुक् from which is derived the word ऊर्जस्वती ॥ It is easy therefore to derive ūrjasvin and ūrjasval, from this ūrjas. गो + मिनि = गोमिन् N. S. गोमी; मल + इनच् = मलीनः; मल + इमसच् = मलीमसः ॥

१६२२। अत इनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ११५ ॥

दण्डी * दण्डिकः ॥

1922. The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after nominal stems ending in short अ; and in the alternative matup also comes.

Thus दण्डिन् N. S. दण्डी or दण्डिकः ॥

Note :—The word अन्यतरस्यान् (V. 2. 96 S. 1903) is understood here also, so we have मनुष्य, as दण्डवान्, छत्रवान् ॥ Why do say 'short अ' ? Observe खट्वावान् ॥ Here there is neither इन् nor ठन् ॥

These two affixes इनि and ठन् do not come after words of one syllable, after words ending in kṛit-affixes, after words denoting genus (jāti), and when the construction is that of locative. As स्व and ख form only स्वावान्, खवान्, ॥ Kṛit: as, कारकवान् ॥ Genus, as, व्याघ्रवान्, सिंहवान् ॥ Locative; as दण्डा अस्यां सन्ति = दण्डवती शाला ॥ There are, however, some exceptions to this, as kṛit :—कार्यिन्, कार्याकः कार्यिन्, कार्यिकः ॥ Genus (jāti) :—तण्डुलिन्, तण्डुलिकः ॥

१६२३। व्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ११६ ॥

व्रीही । व्रीहिकः । न च सर्वेभ्यो व्रीह्यादिभ्य इनिठनाविष्येते । किं तर्हि शिखामालासंज्ञादिभ्य इनिः * । यवखरादिभ्य इकः * । अन्योभ्य उभयम् * ॥

1923. The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after the words vṛihi &c ; as well as the affix matup.

Thus व्रीहिन् (nom. व्रीही), व्रीहिकः, व्रीहिमान्, मायी, मायिकः, मायावान् ॥

These two affixes, however, do not come after all व्रीह्यादि words.

Vārtika :—The affix इनि comes after शिखादि sub-division.

Vārtika :—The affix इकन् after यवखरादि subdivision.

Vārt :—After the remaining words, both इनि and ठन् (=इकन्) come.

Note :—The शिखादि after which इनि only comes are :—1 शिखा, 2 मेखला, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बलाका, 5 माला 6 वीणा, 7 वट्वा, 8 अष्टका, 9 पताका, 10 कर्मन्, 11 चर्मन्, 12 हंसा. ॥ The यवखर &c. are the following 1 यवखर, 2 कुमारी, 3 नौ; they take इकन् only. The rest take both. The word व्रीहि will get these affixes by the next sūtra also, why is it then read in this class ? The word व्रीहि in the Tundādi class V. 2 117, S. 1924 does not mean the word-form व्रीहि. but words synonym with it. Thus शालयोऽस्य सन्ति = शालिनः, शाली, शालिकः, शालिमान् ॥ The word शीर्ष preceded by the negative particle, takes these affixes, as अशीर्षी and अशीर्षिकः ॥ The remaining words are व्रीहि, माया, शाला, केका, वर्मन्, दंष्ट्रा, संज्ञा ॥

१६२४। तुन्दादिभ्य इलच् । ५ । २ । ११७ ॥

चादिनिठनौ मनुष्य च । तुन्दिलः । तुन्दी । तुन्दिकः । तुन्दवान् । उदर, विचण्ड, यव, व्रीहि । स्वाङ्गादिबुद्धौ * ॥ “विबृज्युपाधिकास्स्वाङ्गाचिन इलजावयः स्युः” । विबृजौ कर्णौ यस्य स कर्णिलः । कर्णी । कर्णिकः । कर्णवान् ॥

1924. The affix *ilach* (इल) also comes in the sense of *matup*, after the nominal-stems *tunda* &c.

The force of च is that इनि, डन् and मनुष् also come. As तुन्दिन्, तुन्दी; तुन्दिक्, तुन्दिवान् ॥ Similarly उदरिन्, उदरी, उदरिक्, उदरिवान् ॥

The following is the list of तुन्दिन् words 1 तुन्दि, 2 उदर, 4 पिण्ड, 4 घट, 5 वर, 6 ग्रीहि, 7 स्वाङ्गादिद्वौ च ॥

Gaṇa sūtra :—The affix इलच comes after words denoting parts of one's body, when the largeness (विबृद्धि) of those organs is implied: as विबृद्धो कर्णौ यस्य स = कर्णिलः, कर्णी, कर्णिकः, कर्णिवान् ॥

१६२५। एकगोपूर्वाद्गुञ् नित्यम् । ५। २। ११८ ॥

एकशतमस्यास्तीति ऐकशतिकः । ऐकशहसिकः । गौशतिकः । गौशहसिकः ॥

1925. The affix *ṭhañ* comes always in the sense of *matup*, after a stem, which in composition is preceded by एक or गो ॥

Thus एकशतमस्यास्ति = ऐकशतिकः, ; गौशतिकः, गौशहसिकः ॥

Note :—The word नित्यम् 'always', is used in the sūtra to indicate that मनुष् does not come in the alternative. In all the previous sūtras मनुष् came in the alternative.

१६२६। शतसहस्रान्ताश्च निष्कात् । ५। २। ११९ ॥

निष्कात्पथो यो शतसहस्रपाथौ तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्गुञ् स्यान्मत्वर्थे । नैष्कशतिकः । नैष्कसहसिकः ॥

1926. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *śata* and *sahasra*, when they follow after *nishka*.

Thus निष्कशतः स्यास्ति = नैष्कशतिकः, नैष्कसहसिकः ॥

Note :—But not so after सुवर्णनिष्कशतं, it being never so found in usage.

१६२७। रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप् । ५। २। १२० ॥

आहतं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यः कार्षापणः । प्रशस्तं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यो गौः । आहतोक्तिं किम् । रूपवान् ॥ अन्वेष्योऽपि हरयते * ॥ हिम्याः पर्वताः । गुण्या ब्राह्मणाः ॥

1927. The affix *yap* (य) comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *rūpa*, when stamping (coining) or praise is denoted.

Thus आहतं रूपमस्य = रूप्यः कार्षापणः "a coin having stamped on it the form of some king &c". Similarly प्रशस्तं रूपमस्यास्ति = रूप्यो गौः 'a handsome bull.' The form impressed on a coin &c by hammering &c, is called आहत or stamping.

Why do we say 'when stamping or praise is denoted? Observe रूपवान् 'having form'.

Vart:—The affix अच् is seen after other words also, as हिम्या पर्वताः, पुण्या आश्रयाः ॥

१९२८ । अस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः । ३ । २ । १२१ ॥

यशस्वी । यशस्वान् । मायावी । मायावान् । त्रीष्टादिपाठाग्निठनौ । मायी । मायिकः । किमन्तस्वात्कुः । स्रग्धी ॥ आमयस्यापसंख्यानं दीर्घश्च * ॥ आमयावी ॥ भृङ्गवृन्दाभ्यामारकन् * ॥ भृङ्गारकः । वृन्दारकः ॥ फलवर्हाभ्यामिनच् * ॥ फलिनः । बर्हिणः ॥ हृदयाच्चालुरन्यतरस्याम् * ॥ इन्ठेना मतुप् च ॥ हृदयालुः । हृदयी । हृदयिकः । हृदयवान् ॥ शीतोष्णतृप्भ्यस्तत्सहने * ॥ शीतं न सहते शीतालुः । उष्णालुः । स्फावितञ्चीति रक् । तृप्ः पुरोडाशः तं न सहते तृपालुः । तृप् दुःखमिति माधवः ॥ हिमाञ्चलुः * ॥ हिमं न सहते हिमेलुः ॥ बलादूलः * ॥ बलं न सहते बलूलः ॥ वातात्समूहश्च * ॥ वातं न सहते वातस्य समूहो वा वातूलः ॥ तप् पर्वमरुद्भ्याम् * ॥ पर्वतः । मरुतः ॥

1928. After a stem ending in अस्, and after mâyâ, medhâ and sraj, comes the affix vini (विन्) in the sense of matup.

Thus पयस् पयस्विन्, यशस्—यशस्विन् N. S. यशस्वी or यशस्वान्; मायावी, मायावान् मेधाविन्, स्रग्विन् ॥ The word माया being included in त्रीष्टादि class, will take हनि, and ठन् also V. 2. 116. As मायी मायिकः ॥ The word स्रज् is क्तिन् formed and so ज् is changed to ग् (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377) and we get स्रग्विन्, N. S. स्रग्धी ॥

Vart:—The word आमय also should be enumerated; and there is lengthening of the final, both in the sacred and classical literature. As आमायावी ॥

Vart:—The affix आरकन् comes after वृङ्ग and वृन्द् as वृङ्गारकः, वृन्दारकः, ॥

Vart:—The affix इनच् comes after फल and वर्ह; as फलिनः and बर्हिणः ॥

Vart:—So also after हृदयः the affix चालु comes optionally: along with इन्, ठन् and मतुप् as, हृदयालु, हृदयी, हृदयिकः हृदयवान् ॥ The च् is इत् by I. 3. 7.

Vart:—The affix चालु of the last vârtika comes after शीत, उष्ण and तृप् in the sense of 'not being able to bear that.' As शीतं न सहते = शीतालुः 'shivering from cold' उष्णालुः तृपालुः ॥ the word तृप् is formed from √ तृप् with the affix रक् (unâdi II. 13). It is the name of Puroḍāśa rice cake. According to Mādhava it means 'pain'.

Vart:—So also after हिम comes the affix एलु in the above sense: as हिमं न सहते = हिमेलुः ॥ The affix begins with ए and not ई as the construction of the vârtika may lead one to think (Mādhava).

Vart:—The affix ऊलुच् in the same sense after बल; as बलं न सहते = बलूलः (See Sidhmâdi Gaṇa).

Vart:—So also after वातः in the sense of 'collection thereof' and 'not being able to bear that' as वातानां समूहः or वातं न सहते = वातूलः ॥ (See sidhmâdi. gaṇa also).

Vart:—the affix तप् comes after पर्व and मरुत् As पर्वतः and मरुतः ॥

Note:—The affix इनि comes after अर्थ in the sense of 'not having that' as अर्थी

'a beggar who has not artha or wealth.' Otherwise अर्थवान् 'rich'. All these are obtained by बहुलः

१६२९ । ऊर्णाया युस् । ५ । २ । १२३ ॥

सित्वात्पठत्यम् । ऊर्णायाः । अत्र छन्दसीति केचिदुपवर्तयन्ति । युक्तं चेत्तत् । अन्यथा हि अहंशुभमोरित्यत्रैवोर्णाप्रहणं कुर्यात् ॥

1929. The affix युस् is added to ऊर्ण in the sense of matup, (in the Chhandas).

The स् of युस् makes the word ऊर्ण a पठ (I. 4. 16 S. 1252); the result of which is that rules applicable to अ Bha do not apply; e. g. VI. 1. 148, S. 1063 by which the final इ or ई अ or आ is elided. Thus ऊर्णायाः ॥ According to some, छन्दसि is to be read in this sūtra. This is reasonable, for if yus is added to ūṛṇā in the classical literature also, then there was no necessity of this sūtra. The word ūṛṇā could have been read along with aham and śubham in V. 2. 140. S. 1946,

१६३० । वाचो ग्मिनिः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

वाग्मी ॥

1930. The affix gmini (ग्मिन्) comes after the word vâch, in the sense of matup.

Thus वाग्मी

Note:—The affix is not ग्मिन् for had it been so, the form would have been वाङ्गमिन् by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116 Vart.

१६३१ । आलजाटञ्चो बहुभाषिणि । ५ । २ । १२५ ॥

कुत्सितं इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ कुत्सितं बहु भाषते वाचालः । वाचाटः । यस्तु सम्यग्बहु भाषते । स वाग्मीत्येव ॥

1931. The affixes âlach (आलं) and âtach (आटं) come, in the sense of matup, after vâch, the word denoting 'a talkative',

This debars ग्मिन् ॥ Thus वाचालः 'garrulous', वाचाटः ॥

Vart:—These affixes come when contempt is expressed. An orator (वाग्मी) also talks much, but to the purpose. He will not be called वाचालः or वाचाटः ॥

१६३२ । स्वामिन्नेश्वर्ये । ५ । २ । १२६ ॥

ऐश्वर्यवाचकास्त्वशाब्दान्मत्वर्ये आमिनच् । स्वामी ॥

1932. The irregularly formed word svâmin denotes 'Sir or Lord'.

The affix **आमिन्** comes in the sense of lordship after the word **स्व** meaning 'lord'. Thus **स्वमस्यास्ति = ऐश्वर्यमस्यास्ति = स्वामिन्** ॥ *

Note :—Why do we say when meaning 'Sir'. Observe, **स्ववान्** ॥

१९३३ अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् । ५ । २ । १२७ ॥

अर्शास्यस्य विद्यन्ते अर्शसः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1933. The affix **ach** (अच्) comes in the sense of **matup**, after the word **arśa** &c.

Thus **अर्शासि अस्य विद्यन्ते = अर्शसः** ॥ The **Arśādi** is an **Ākṛitigaṇa**.

Note :—After a word denoting a member of the body comes the affix **अच्** when defect is meant. As **खञ्जः पादास्यास्ति = खञ्जः । काणः** ॥ So also after words denoting color, as **शुक्लोऽस्यास्ति = शुक्लः पदः** ॥

1 अर्शस्, 2 उरस्, 3 तुन्, 4 चतुर, 5 पलित, 6 जटा, 7 घटा, 8 घाटा, 9 अघ (अभ्र), 10 कर्म, 11 भ्रम, (भ्रम). 12 लवण, 13 स्वाङ्गाङ्गीनात्, 14 वर्णात् । आकृतिगणः ॥

१९३४ । द्वन्द्वोपनापगर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनिः । ५ । २ । १२८ ॥

इन् : । कटकवलयिनी । शङ्खनूपुरिणी । उपनापो रोगः । कुक्षी । किलासी । गह्वं निन्द्यम् । ककुदावर्ती । काकतालुकी । प्राणिस्थात्किम् । पुष्पफलवान्पदः । प्राण्यङ्गात् ॥ प्राणिपादवती । अत इत्येव । विश्वकलालादिकावती । सिद्धे प्रत्यय पुनर्वचनं नास्तिनाधनार्थम् ॥

1934. The affix **ini** (इन्) comes, in the sense of **matup**, after a **dvandva** compound, after the name of a disease, and after anything denoting fault, when the thing is found in a living being.

Thus **Dvandva** :—**कटकवलयिनी** 'a woman having a bracelet and a zone', **शङ्खनूपुरिणी** 'a woman having *sankha* and *nūpura* ornaments'. So after diseases, :—**कुक्षी** 'a leper', **किलासी** 'a white leper'. So after names of faults :—**ककुदावर्ती**, **काकतालुकी** ॥

Why do we say 'when found in 'a living being?' Observe **पुष्पफलवान् वृक्षः** ॥

Vartika :—The affix does not come after words denoting members of a living body : as, **प्राणिपादवती** ॥ The words **अतः** V. 2 115, S. 1922 is understood in this *sūtra* also, so that the affix does not come after words not ending in **अ**; as **विश्वकलालादिकावती** ॥ Though the **Dvandva** compound &c. ending in **अ**, would have taken **इनि** by V. 2 115, the repetition of this affix in the present *sūtra* shows that the **Dvandva** compounds &c, take only **इनि**, and not **इन्** &c.

१९३५ । वातातीसाराभ्यां कुक् च । ५ । २ । १२९ ॥

आशिनिः । वातकी । अतीसारीकी ॥ रोगे आशानिश्यते * । नेह । वातवती शुद्धा ॥ पिशाचाश्च * ॥ पिशाचकी ॥

1935. The augment kuk (क्) comes before इनि, after the words vâta and atisâra.

The words वात and अतिसार being names of diseases, will take इनि by the fore-going sūtra ; the present aphorism only teaches the affixing of the augment. Thus वातकी, अतिसारकी ॥ Another reading is अतीसारकी ॥ *Ishti*. This is when the words वात and अतिसार denote diseases. Otherwise, वातवती सुहा ॥

Vdt :—So also after पिशाचा, as पिशाचकी वैश्वव्याः 'the Kubera'.

१९३६ । वयसि पूरणात् । ५ । २ । १३० ॥

पूरायत्ययान्तान्मत्वर्थे इनिः स्याद्वयमि द्योत्ये । मासः संवत्सरो वा पञ्चमोऽस्वास्तीति पञ्चमी उट् । उन्वाधनार्थमिदम् । वयसि क्तिम् । पञ्चमवान् मामः ॥

1936. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after an ordinal numeral, when age is denoted.

Thus पञ्चमोऽस्वास्ति मासः संवत्सरो वा = पञ्चमिन् 'five months or years old', as पञ्चमी उट् ॥ By V. 2. 115 S. 1922 the affix इनि would have come after these words ; the present sūtra is a restrictive rule teaching that उट् does not come in this sense.

Why do we say वयसि 'when age is denoted'? Observe, पञ्चमवाच् प्रातरागः ॥

१९३७ । सुखादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । १३१ ॥

इनिर्मत्वर्थे । सुखी । दुःखी । मालाक्षेपे ॥ माली ॥

1937. The affix ini comes (to the exclusion of other affixes) in the sense of matup, after the words sukha &c.

Thus सुखिन् nom सुखी ; दुःखी &c. When censure is implied, then इन् comes after माला, to the exclusion of मतुप्, as माली ।

The following is the list of सुखादि words :—

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 तृप्त, 4 कृच्छ, 5 आश्र (आश्र), 6 अल*, 7 अलीक, 8 करुण (करुण), 9 सौत, 10 प्रतीपे (प्रतीप), 11 शील, 12 हल, 13 माला क्षेपे, 14 कृपण, 15 प्रणय (प्रयाय), 16 हल*, 17 कक्ष* ॥ *Ganasūtra*, After माला the affix is added in the sense of 'censure',

Thus मालिन्, N S. माली ॥

१९३८ । धर्मशीलवर्णान्ताच्च । ५ । २ । १३२ ॥

धर्मोद्यन्तादिनिर्मत्वर्थे । ब्राह्मणधर्मः । ब्राह्मणशीली । ब्राह्मणवर्णी ॥

1938. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, (to the exclusion of others), after nominal steps ending in dharma, śīla, and varṇa.

Thus ब्राह्मणानां धर्मः — ब्राह्मणधर्मः, सोऽस्वास्ति — ब्राह्मणधर्मः ॥ ब्राह्मणशीलिन्, ब्राह्मणवर्णिक् ॥

१६३६ हस्ताजातो । ५ । २ । १३३ ॥

हस्ती । जातो किम् । हस्तवान्पुरुषः ॥

1939. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the word hasta, when a genus is denoted by the word so formed.

Thus हस्तोऽस्यास्ति = हस्तिन् N. S. हस्ती 'an elephant'. Why do we say when meaning a जाति 'a genus'? Observe हस्तवान् पुरुषः ॥

१६४० । वर्णाब्रह्मचारिणि । ५ । २ । १३४ ॥

वर्णी ॥

1940. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the word varṇa, when the word so formed means a Brahmachârin.

Thus वर्णिन् 'a Brahmachâri'. Nom. Sing वर्णी ॥

Note :—The first three वर्ण or castes, who are entitled to the investiture with the sacred thread, and lead the life of a Brahma student, are so called. When the meaning is not of Brahmachâri we have वर्णवान् ॥

१९४१ । पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे । ५ । २ । १३५ ॥

पुष्करिणी । पद्मिनी । देशे किम् । पुष्करवान्पद्मिनी ॥ बाहुरुपूर्वपदाब्रह्मन् * ॥ बाहुवली । ऊरुवली ॥ सर्वदेव * ॥ सर्वधनी । सर्ववीजि ॥ अयं चासन्निहिते * ॥ अर्थी । संनिहिते तु अर्थवान् ॥ तदन्ताच्च * ॥ धान्यार्थी । हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1941. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the words puṣkara &c, when the word so formed denotes a locality.

Thus पुष्करिणी 'a tank', पद्मिनी &c. Why do we say when 'locality' is expressed? Observe पुष्करवान्पद्मिनी ॥

Vart :—The affix इन् comes after बल preceded by बाहु or ऊरु, as बाहुवलिन् ऊरुवलिन् ॥

Vart :—So also after words preceded by सर्व; as, सर्वधनिन्, सर्ववीजिन्, सर्वकेयी नदः ॥

Vart :—So also after अर्थ when meaning 'not near'; as अर्थिन् meaning अर्थोऽसन्निहितोऽस्य 'wanting wealth'. Otherwise अर्थवान् 'having wealth'.

Vart :—So also after a compound ending in अर्थ, as धान्यार्थी, हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1 पुष्कर, 2 पद्म, 3 उत्पल, 4 तमाल, 5 कुमुद, 6 नड, 7 कपिल्य, 8 बिस, 9 वृणाल, 10 कर्पूर, 11 बालुक, 12 विगर्ह, 13 करीष, 14 शिरीष, 15 यवास, 16 प्रवाह (प्रवास), 17 हिरण्य, 18 केरव, 19 कलोल, 20 तट, 21 तरंग, 22 पङ्कज, 23 सरोज, 24 राजीव, 25 नालीक, 26 सरोरुह, 27 पुटक, 28 अरविन्द, 29 अम्भोज, 30 भडज, 31 कमल, 32 पद्म, 33 ववस, ॥

१६४२ । बलादिभ्योऽनुवन्त्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १३६ ॥

बलवान् । बली । उस्ताहवान् । उस्ताही ॥

1942. After the nominal-stems *bala* &c, comes the affix *matup* optionally, as well as *ini*.

The affix *इनि* will come in the alternative. Thus *बलवान्* or *बली* (Nom. of *बलिन्*); *उस्ताहवान्* or *उस्ताही* (Nom. of *उस्ताहिन्*) ॥

1 बल, 2 उस्ताह, 3 उस्ताह (उस्ताह), 4 उस्ताह*, 5 उस्ताह, 6 शिखा*, 7 कुल, 8 चूडा*, 9 सुल*, 10 कूल*, 11 भांयाम, 12 व्यायाम, 13 उपयाम, 14 भारोह, 15 अयरोह, 16 परिणोह, 17 युद्ध, 18 उद्दाम, 19 शिखाबल, 20 वृणामूल, 21 वंश ॥

१६४३ । संज्ञायां मन्माभ्याम् । ५ । २ । १३७ ॥

मन्मन्तान्मात्तान्मेनिर्मत्वर्थे । प्रथिमिनी । इमिनी । होमिनी । सोमिनी । संज्ञायां किम् । सोमवान् ॥

1943. After a nominal-stem ending in *मन्* or *म* comes the affix *ini*, in the sense of *matup*, when the whole word so formed means a name.

Thus *प्रथिमन्* + *इनि* = *प्रथिम* + *इन्* (VI. 4. 144, S. 679) = *प्रथिमिन्* fem. *प्रथिमिनी* ॥ So also *इमिनि* ॥ Similarly, *होम*, *होमिनी*, *सोम*, *सोमिनी* ॥ Why do we say, 'when meaning a name'? Observe, *सोमवान्* ॥

१६४४ । कंशभ्यां वभयुस्तिनुतयसः । ५ । २ । १३८ ॥

कंशमिति मान्तौ । कमित्युवकसुखयोः । शमिति सुखे । आभ्यां सप्त प्रत्ययाः स्युः । वुस्वसोः सकारः पदत्वार्थः । कंशः । कंभः । कंयुः । कंतिः । कंतुः । कतः । कंयः । शंशः । शंभः । शंयुः । शंतिः । शंतुः । शंतः । शंयः । अनुस्वारस्य वैकल्पिकः परस्यर्थः । वकारस्यकारपरस्यानुनासिकौ वयो ॥

1944. The seven affixes *va*, *bha*, *yus*, *ti*, *tu*, *ta* and *yas*, come in the sense of *matup*, after *कम्* 'water and happiness', and *शम्* 'happiness'.

Thus *कंशः*, *कंभः*, *कंयुः*, *कन्तिः*, *कन्तुः*, *कतः*, *कंयः*, *शंशः*, *शंभः*, *शंयुः*, *शन्तिः*, *शन्तुः*, *शंतः*, *शंयः* ॥

The *स्* in *वुस्* and *वत्*, make the stem, a Pada (I. 4. 16 S. 1252), the result of which is that *म्* of *कम्* and *शम्* is changed into Anusvāra before these two affixes by VIII. 3. 23. S. 122. When denoting a Name, the forms will be *कम्बः* and *शम्बः* ॥ The anusvāra is optionally changed to a nasal homogenous to the class that follows. The *va* and *ya* become nasalised when preceded by an anusvāra. (Thus the first affix is *व* *va* and not *व* *ba* as given in the *Kāśikā*).

१६४५ । तुन्निबलित्वेर्भः । ५ । २ । १३९ ॥

वृज्जा नाभिस्तुन्निः । मूर्धन्योपधोऽयमिति माधवः । तुन्निभः बलिभः । वदिभः । वामादिस्वाहृत्ति-
नोऽपि ॥

1945. The affix bha (भ) comes in the sense of 'pride' matup, after tundi, vali and vaṭi.

Thus तुन्दिनः 'having a protuberent belly'. बलिनः and बटिनः ॥ Another form is बलिनः, because बलि is included in the Pāmādi class V. 2. 100. S. 1907. The forms तुन्दिलः &c, are valid by V. 2. 117 S. 1924.

१६४६ । अहंशुभमोर्युस् । ५ । २ । १४० ॥

अहमिति भान्तमव्ययमहङ्कारे । शुभमिति शुभे । अहंशुः अहङ्कारवान् ॥ शुभंशुः शुभान्वितः ॥

1946. The affix yus (यु) comes in the sense of matup, after the words aham 'pride', and the indeclinable ubham 'good'.

Thus अहंशुः = अहंकारवान्. 'selfish, haughty', शुभंशुः = कल्याणवान् ॥ 'auspicious'. The स् of युस् makes the words अहश्च and शुभश्च, Padas; and अ is changed into Anusvāra (I. 4. 16; VIII. 3. 23). See V. 2. 123.

Here ends the chapter on Matup-affixes.

अथ तद्धित प्राग्दिशीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE VIBHAKTI AFFIXES.

१६४७ । प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः । ५ । ३ । १ ॥

विक्ताब्देभ्य इत्यतः प्राग्वक्ष्यमाणाः प्रत्यया विभक्तिसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥ अयं स्वप्रत्येकाः प्रत्यक्काः ।
समर्थानामिति प्रथमादिति च निवृत्तम् । वेति स्वतुवर्तत एव ॥

1947. The affixes taught from this aphorism forward as far as V. 3. 27. S. 1974. (exclusive) are called Vibhakti.

The affixes herein taught do not change the sense of the word, i. e. they are स्वार्थ affixes which leave to the word their own denotation. The rule IV. 1. 82.S. 1072 extends no further than this, hence the words formed by these affixes do not produce epithets connoting the sense of the primitive and denoting something else.

The affixes now to be taught being स्वार्थिकः, the anuvṛitti of समर्थानाम् and प्रथमाद् of IV. 1. 82, S. 1072 does not apply to them. The word वा of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 however applies here, so that these affixes are optional, thus we may have कुतः or कस्मात्, कुत्र or कस्मिन् ॥

Note :—Thus V. 3. 7. S. 1953 declares, that after the words किम् in the ablative there is the affix तसिल्, as कुनः ततः वतः ॥

Note :—The purpose served by designating these affixes as Vibhakti is (a) to debar the elision of final स् and ण् of the affixes as इत् (1. 3. 4. S. 190). Thus in the affix दानीच् V. 3. 18, S. 1967 ण् is not इत्, had it been so, rule I. 1. 47 would have applied : (b) to regulate the accent of इदच्, thus इदच् + तसिल् = इदैः here by VI. 1. 171. S. 3717 the affix तसिल् becomes udāṭṭa by virtue of its being Vibhakti, otherwise, the accent would have been regulated by the indicatory ल (VI. 1. 198. S. 3676) (c) to make applicable to these words the rules of ल्यहादि, that is, the rules given in the Sūtras VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and those that follow. Thus ल्यद् + तसिल् = ल्यतः, the द् being replaced by स् by VII. 2. 102. S. 265.

१६४८ । किं सर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्व्यदिभ्यः । ५ । ३ । २ ॥

किम् : सर्वनाम्नो बहुवचनोऽपि प्राग्दिशोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1948. These Prāgdiśīya affixes come after the word kim, and after a stem called sarvanāma, and after bahu, but not after dvi &c.

The words द्वि &c. though सर्वनाम are exempted. Thus कुच, कुतः, वतः, जल, बहुलः, बहुयः ॥

Note :—Why do we say अद्व्यादि 'not dvi &c. Observe द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयोः ॥ Why do we say किम् &c.? Observe वृषात्, वृक्षे &c. The word किम् is a सर्वनाम, but it being included in the द्रव्यादि class, would have been exempted from the operation of this rule had it not been separately mentioned.

Note :—The word बहु here is 'a Sankhyā.' Therefore, the affix does not apply here, बहुः संपात्, बहु सवे ॥

१६४९ । इदम् इत् । ५ । ३ । ३ ।

प्राग्दिशीये परे ॥

1949. For idam, there is the substitute इत् (इ), when a Prāgdiśīya affix follows. -

The word प्राग्दिशः is understood here also. The इ of इत् is indicative of the substitution of the whole (I. 1. 55). Thus इत् + ई V. 3. 11, = इह ॥

१६५० । एतेतौ रथोः । ५ । ३ । ४ ॥

इदम् शब्दस्य एत् इत् इत्यादेशौ स्तो रेकासौ यकागदौ च प्राग्दिशीये परे । इतोऽपवादः ॥

1950. The substitutes एत् and इत् come in the place of idam, when 'a Prāgdiśīya affix beginning with र and थ respectively follows.

This debars इत् ॥ The अ in र is for the sake of euphony. Thus इत् + र्हिन् = एतर्हि (V. 3. 16). इत् + यत् = इत्यथ (V. 3. 24).

१६५१ । एतदोऽन् । ५ । ३ । ५ ॥

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः ॥ एतदः ॥ एतेतौ स्तो रथोः ॥ अन् ॥ एतद इत्येव । अनेकावस्थास्सर्वदिशः । नञोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥

1951. The substitute अन् comes in the place एतद् when a Prāgdiśīya affix follows.

Note :—According to Kāśika the substitute is अश् । The श of अश् causes the replacement of the whole (I. 1. 55. S. 45). According to Patanjali the substitute is अन् and not अश् ॥ Thus एतद् + तसिन् = अतः V. 3. 7. S. 1953 ; अश् V. 3. 10.

This sūtra must be divided into two, (1) एतदः, and (2) अन्, the meaning being. (1) The substitutes एत् and इत् come in the place of एतद् when affixes beginning with र and थ respectively follow, as एतद् + र्हिन् = एतर्हि (V. 3. 21. S. 1969) एतद् + यत् = इत्यथ ॥ The य must be the य of यत् which comes after idam (V. 3. 24. S. 1972) for the application of this rule (1), and not the य of यात् (V. 3. 23 S. 1971) before which the substitute will be अश् ॥ The word एतद् will take यत् by the implication of this rule. The substitute अन् replaces एतद् before other Prāgdiśīya affixes As the substitute consists of more than

one letter, it replaces the whole of etad. Thus एतद् + तसिल् = अद् + तस् = अतः (the न is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

१९५२ । सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि । ५ । ३ । ६ ॥

माग्विहीनो हकारादौ प्रत्यये परे सर्वस्य सो वा स्यात् ॥

1952. The स is substituted optionally for सर्व before a prâgdiśīya vibhakti beginning with द् ॥

Thus सर्वद् or सद् ॥ When the affix is not Prâgdiśīya, there is no substitution : as, सर्वे ददाति = सर्वदा दद्याणी 'a Brâhmanî who gives all'.

१९५३ । पञ्चम्यास्तसिल् । ५ । ३ । ७ ॥

पञ्चम्यन्तेभ्यः किमप्रिभ्यस्तसिल् स्याद्वा ॥

1953. The affix tasil (तस्) comes after the word, किम् a sarvanâma, and bahu, when ending in the ablative case : but not after dvi &c.

As किम् + तसिल् = कु + तस् ॥ The following sūtra changes किम् into कुः ॥

१९५४ । कु तिहोः । ७ । २ । १०४ ॥

किम् कुः स्यात्तौ हादौ च विभक्तौ परतः । कुतः । कस्मात् । अतः । ततः । अतः । इतः । अहुतः । बहुतः । आवेस्तु । द्वाभ्याम् ॥

1954. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः = कस्मात् ॥ कुत्र, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7. S. 1961 and 1953). The ह in ति means beginning with a त ॥ So also अतः, ततः, अतः, इतः, अहुतः, बहुतः ॥ But not after द्वि &c. As द्वाभ्याम् ॥

१९५५ । तसेञ्च । ५ । ३ । ८ ॥

किसर्चनमबहुभ्यः परस्य तसेस्तसिलादेशः स्यात् । स्वरार्थं विभक्त्यर्थे च वचनम् ॥

1955. The affix tasil (तस्) is substituted for तस् (V. 4. 44, 45 S. 2111 and 1221) when kim, a sarvanâma, and bahu follow.

This substitution is for the sake of accent ; and for giving it the designation of vibhakti. Otherwise तस् (V. 4. 44) being taught subsequently and it not being a Prâgdiśīya affix, it does not get the name of vibhakti, and so अद् &c cannot be changed to अ when तस् will be added (VII. 2. 102 S. 265). So we can never get the form अतः as in the sentence यतोऽवगच्छति ॥

१९५६ । पर्याभिभ्यां च । ५ । १ । ३ । ६ ॥

आभ्यां तसिल् स्यात् ॥ सर्वोभयार्थाभ्यामेव * ॥ परितः । सर्वत इत्यर्थः । किञ्चितः । उभयत इत्यर्थः ॥

1956. The affix tasil comes after pari and abhi also.

Vart :—This affix comes when परि means 'all'; and अभि means 'both'. Thus परितः = सर्वतः; 'all round'; अभितः, उभयतः 'on both sides'.

१६५७ । सप्तम्याञ्च । ५ । ३ । १० ॥

कुत्र । वत्र । तत्र । बहुत्र ॥

1957. The affix त्रल (त्र) comes after kim, a sar-vanâma, and bahu, when ending in a locative.

Thus कुत्र (VII. 2. 104 S, 1954) 'where', तत्र (VII. 2. 102. S. 265) 'there', बहुत्र 'in many places'.

१९५८ । इदमो हः । ५ । ३ । ११ ॥

बलोऽपवादौ । इच्छादेशः । इह ॥

1958. The affix ह comes after इदम् ending in the locative.

This debars बल ॥ Thus इह (V. 3. 3. S. 1949) 'here'.

१६५९ । किमो ऽत् । ५ । ३ । १२ ॥

वाग्रहणमपकृत्यते । सप्तम्यन्तात्किमोऽद्वा स्यात्पक्षे बल् ॥

1959. The affix अत् (अ) comes optionally after kim ending in the locative, as also the affix त्रल.

We must draw forward the word वा 'optionally' from the sūtra after the next. So that this sūtra is an optional one. Thus किम् + अत् ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which किम् is replaced by क् ॥ In the other alternative बल् also comes, as कुत्र ॥

१६६० । क्कति । ७ । २ । १०५ ॥

किमः क्कदेशः स्यादाते । क् । कुत्र ॥

1960. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V. 3. 13).

As क् । So also कुत्र ॥

Note :—The substitute कु of VII. 2. 104. S. 1954, before the affix अ would have become क्. but it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किमोऽद्वात् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

१६६१ । वा ह च च्छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । १३ ॥

कुह स्यः । कुह जग्मथुः ॥

1961. Optionally the affix ह also comes in the Chhandas, after the word kim in the locative: as well as the other affixes.

As in the Rig Veda VIII. 62. 4 : कुहस्य कुहजग्मथु कुह श्येनेष पेतथुः ॥ 'Where are ye two? Where are you going? Where do you fall like eagles?'

१९६२ । एतदस्मत्सोऽस्मत्सौ चानुदात्तौ । २ । ४ । ३३ ॥

अन्वादेशविषये एतदोऽश् स्यात्सचानुदात्तस्मत्सोः परतः तौ चानुदात्तौ स्तः । एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः । अथोऽत्राधीनहे । अतो न गन्तारः स्म ॥

1962. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes त्र (V. 3. 10. S. 1957) and तस् (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) follow, and the affixes त्र and तस् are anudatta also (gravely accented).

Thus अश् ' here ', and अस् ' hence ', in the following :—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः ; अथो अत्र अधीनहे । ' We live in this (etasmin) village happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra). ' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । ' Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar '. By rule V. 3. 5. S. 1951 अश् is declared to be the substitute of अतद् ; its repetition here is to indicate that the अश् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

१९६३ । इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते । ५ । ३ । १४ ॥

पञ्चमीसप्तमीतरविभक्त्यन्तादपि तसिलादयो दृश्यन्ते । दक्षिणहणाङ्गवदादियोग एव । स भवान् । सतो भवान् । तच्च भवान् । तं भवन्तम् । ततो भवन्तम् । तच्च भवन्तम् । एवं शीर्षायुः । देवानाम्प्रियः । आयुष्मान् ॥

1963. The above affixes are seen coming after kim, a sarvanama and bahu, ending with other case-affixes also, besides the locative and ablative.

That is to say, the affixes तसिल्, चल्, इ &c come after kim &c which are not in the ablative or the locative case. By the employment of the expression 'are seen', it is hinted that this may take place not on every occasion, but only when in juxtaposition with such words as भवन् 'Your Honor', शीर्षायुः 'long-lived', आयुष्मान् 'having long-life', and देवानाम्प्रियः 'the beloved of the Gods'. Thus :

Nom. ततो भवान् or तच्च भवान् = स भवान् ॥

Acc. तच्च भवन्तम् or ततो भवन्तम् = तं भवन्तम् ॥

Ins. तच्च भवता or ततो भवता = तेन भवता ॥

Dat. ततो भवते or तच्च भवते = तस्मै भवते ॥

Abt. ततो भवतः or तच्च भवतः = तस्माद् भवतः ॥

Gen. ततो भवतः or तच्च भवतः = तस्य भवतः ॥

Loc. ततो भवति or तच्च भवति = तस्मिन् भवति ॥

Similarly with the words शीर्षायुः, आयुष्मान् and देवानाम्प्रियः ॥

१९६४ । सर्वैकान्यकिञ्चित्तदः काखे वा । ५ । ३ । १५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यः कालार्येभ्यः स्वार्थे वा स्यात् । सर्वस्मिन्काले सदा । सर्वदा । एकादा । अन्यदा । कदा ।
यदा । तदा । काले किम् । सर्वत्र देष्टे ॥

1964. After sarva 'all', eka 'one', anya 'other', kim 'what', yad 'which', and tad 'that', when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, the words being in the locative case.

The word सप्तम्याः V. 2. 10 S. 1957 is understood here and not the word इतराभ्यां of the last. This debars ऋत् ॥ Thus सर्वदा or सदा (V. 3. 6 S. 1952) 'at every time' or 'always', एकादा 'once', अन्यदा 'at another time', कदा (VII. 2. 103 S. 342) 'when', यदा 'when', तदा 'then'.

Why do we say काले 'when time is denoted'? Observe सर्वत्रदेष्टे where although the case is the 7th, the affix is not दा, because the sense is 'in every place' or 'every where'.

१९६५ । इदमोर्हिङ् । ५ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तात्काले इत्येव । इत्यापवादः । अस्मिन्काले एतर्हि । काले किम् । इह देष्टे ॥

1965. After idam 'this', ending in the locative case, comes the affix र्हिर्हि when time is denoted.

The words सप्तम्याः and काले are understood. This rhl debars हा. The ल् of र्हिङ् is for accent. Thus अस्मिन् काले = एतर्हि (V. 3. 4 S. 1950) 'at this time'. Why 'when time is denoted'? Observe, इह 'in this place', as इह देष्टे ॥ See V. 3. 4 S. 1950

१९६६ । अधुना । ५ । ३ । १७ ॥

इदमः सप्तम्यन्तात्कालवाचिनः स्वार्थेऽधुनाप्रत्ययः स्यात् । इङ् । यस्येति लोपः । अधुना ॥

1966. After idam ending in the locative case, comes the affix अधुना, when time is denoted.

Thus इदम् + अधुना = इ + अधुना (V. 3. 3 S. 1949) = ० + अधुना (S. 311) = अधुना ॥ According to Kāśikā अस्मिन् काले = अधुना 'at this time', अङ् is substituted for इङ् and, धुन affix is added.

१९६७ । दानीं च । ५ । ३ । १८ ॥

इदानीम् ॥

1967. The affix dānīm also comes after idam, ending in the locative, and denoting time.

Thus अस्मिन् काले = इदानीम् (V. 3. 3 S. 1949) 'at this time'.

१९६८ । तदो दा च । ५ । ३ । १९ ॥

तदा । तदानीम् । तदोशावचनमनर्थकं विहितत्वात् ॥

1968. After tad, ending in the seventh case, when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, and also dānīm.

The दानीम् is read into the sūtra by force of the word च 'also'. Thus तांसात् काले = तदा or तदानीम् 'at that time'. *Vart*:—This sūtra, so far as it ordains दा after तद् is useless, because the word तद् already takes दा by V. 3. 15.

१६६६ । अनद्यतनेर्हितन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । २१ ॥

कर्हि । कदा । बर्हि । यदा । तर्हि । तदा । एतस्मिन्काले एतर्हि ॥

1969. The affix rhil comes optionally, in denoting time not of the current day, after the words 'kim' the sarvanāma, and bahu &c.' in the 7th case.

The anuvṛitti of क्वसि is not read into this sūtra. This is a general rule. Thus कर्हि or कदा, (VII. 2. 103 S. 342), बर्हि or यदा, तर्हि or तदा, एतर्हि ॥

१६७० । सद्यः परुत्परायैषमः परेद्यव्यद्य पूर्वद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युरुभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्युः । ५ । ३ । २२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । समानस्य सभाषो व्यस् चाहनि* । समानेऽहनि सद्यः । पूर्वपूर्वतरयोः परः उदासीच प्रत्ययौ वस्सरे* । पूर्वस्मिन्वस्सरे परन् । पूर्वतरे वस्सरे परारि ॥ इम इष् समसण् प्रत्ययश्च संवस्सरे* । अस्मिन्संवस्सरे ऐषमः । परस्मादेद्यव्यहनि* । परस्मिन्नहनि परेद्यावि । इवमोऽण् व्यश्च* । अस्मिन्नहनि अद्य । पूर्वादिभ्योऽह्न्येद्युस्* । पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि पूर्वेषु । अन्यस्मिन्नहनि अन्येषु । उभयोरह्नोरुभयेद्युः ॥ शुभोभवाह्न्येद्युः* ॥ उभयद्युः ॥

1970. The following words are anomalous ; sadyaḥ, parut, parāri, aishamas, paredyavi, adya, pūrvedyus, anyedyus, anyataredyus, itaredyus, aparedyus, adharedyus, ubhayedyus, and uttaredyus.

The words सप्तम्याः and काल are understood here. The base, the substitute, the affix, the particular time &c, must all be deduced from these forms. *Vart*:—सद्यः is formed from समान, by substituting स for समान, and adding व्यस् ; in the sense of 'a day'. समानेऽहनि = सद्यः 'the same day'. *Vart*:—The पूर्व and पूर्वतर are replaced by पर, and then इन् and आरि are added, in the sense of 'a year'. Thus पूर्वस्मिन् संवस्सरे = परन् 'last year'. पूर्वतरे संवस्सरे = परारि 'the year before last'. *Vart*:—The इष् replaces इवन्, and समसण् is added, in the sense of 'year'. अस्मिन् संवस्सरे = ऐषमः 'during this year'. *Vart*:—To पर is added एद्यावि in the sense of 'a day' : as, परस्मिन्नहनि = परेद्यावि 'the other day'. *Vart*:—The अण् replaces इवन् and व्यस् is added in the sense of 'a day'. Thus 'स इह हनि = अद्य 'to day'. *Vart*:—To पूर्व, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, अपर, अधर,

उभय and उत्तर is added the affix एद्युस्, in the sense of 'a day': as पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि = पूर्वेद्युस् 'on the day before', अन्यस्मिन्नहनि = अन्येद्युस् 'on the following day'. अन्य-तरस्मिन्नहनि = अन्यनरेद्युः 'on either of two days'. इतरस्मिन्नहनि = इतरेद्युः 'on another day', अपरस्मिन्नहनि = अपरेद्युः 'on the following day' अधगस्मिन्नहनि = अधरेद्युः 'on a previous day' उभयोरह्ना = उभयेद्युः 'on both days'. *Vart*:—So also उभयद्यु is formed by dyus added to ubhaya.

१६७१। प्रकारवचने थाल् । ५ । ३ । २३ ॥

प्रकारवृत्तिभ्यः किमादिभ्यस्याल्स्यास्वार्थे । तेन प्रकारेण तथा । यथा ॥

1971. The affix thāl (था) comes, after the words kim &c V. 3. 2, when we speak of a kind or manner of being.

The sūtra V. 3. 2, S. 1948 is to be read into this. The anuvṛitti of सप्तम्याः and काले ceases. The word प्रकार means the differentiating quality distinguishing a species among the genus: it means 'sort', 'kind', 'mode', 'manner,' &c. Thus तेन प्रकारेण = तथा 'so, in that manner'. Similarly यथा ॥

Note:—The affix जातीयर् taught in V. 3. 69 S. 2024 has also the same force, with this difference that jātiyar applies to words which denote things possessing such a quality (प्रकारवान्) while thāl denotes mode itself. Therefore, one does not debar the other, so that we have forms like तथाजातीयः. and यथाजातीयः ॥

१६७२। इदमस्थमुः । ५ । ३ । २४ ॥

यातोऽपवादः ॥ एतदेपि वाच्यः * ॥ अनेन एतेन वा प्रकारेण इत्यम् ॥

1972. After idam comes the affix thamu (थम्) in the same sense i. e. in denoting manner.

Vart:—It comes after etad also. This debars थाल् ; thus :—अनेन or एतेन प्रकारेण = इत्यम् V. 3. 4. S. 1950 'in this manner.' The उ in यद्यु protects the न from becoming इत् (See I. 3. 4. S. 190).

१६७३। किमश्च । ५ । ३ । २५ ॥

केन प्रकारेण कथम् ॥

1973. Also after kim, comes the affix thamu in the sense of manner.

Thus केन प्रकारेण = कथम् 'how?'

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdiśīya affixes.

अथ तद्धितप्राग्वीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE SVÂRTHIKĀ AFFIXES.

१६७४ । दिक्शब्दैः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः । ५ ।

३ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यो दिशिकृतेभ्यो दिग्देशकालवृत्तिभ्यः स्वार्येऽस्तातिप्रत्ययः स्यात् ॥

1974. After words which primarily denote 'direction' ending in the locative, ablative and nominative, and referring to 'direction', 'locality' or 'time', comes the affix astâti (अस्तात्) without change of sense.

Note :—The word दिक् शब्दाः means 'words denoting directions'. Thus पुरस्तात्, has all these three significations in the following sentences, पुरस्ताद् वसति 'he lives eastward', पुरस्तादागतः 'he came from east' पुरस्ताद् रमणीयम् 'It was delightful previously'. Similarly with अधस्तात् ॥ For further explanation see S. 1977 below.

१९७५ । पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवक्ष्येषाम् । ५ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एभ्योऽस्तात्ययेऽतिप्रत्ययः स्वात्तद्योगे चैषां क्रमात्पुर, अध, अव, इत्यादेशाः स्युः ॥

1975. After pûrva, adhara and avara comes the affix asi (अस्) in the sense of astâti; and pura, adh, and av are their respective substitutes before this affix.

Note :—The word अपञ्चम्याः does not govern this sūtra. Thus पुरो वसति, पुर आगतः, पुरो रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधस् and अवस् with वसति, आगतः and रमणीयम् ॥ As अस्ति वसति, अध-आगतः, अधोरमणीयम्, अवोवसति, अवआगतः and अवोरमणीयम् ॥ See S. 1984.

१६७६ । अस्ताति च । ५ । ३ । ४० ॥

अस्तातौ परे पूर्वादीनां पुरादयः स्युः । पूर्वस्यां पूर्वस्याः पूर्वा वा दिक् । पुरः पुरस्तात् । अधः अधस्तात् । अवः । अवस्तात् ॥

1976. The same substitution takes place when the affix astâti (अस्तात्) follows.

That is पुर for पूर्व, अध् for अधर and अव् for अवर ॥ Thus पुरस्तात् or अधस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति or आगतः or रमणीयम् ॥

१९७७ । विभाषावरस्य । ५ । ३ । ४१ ॥

अवरस्यास्तातो परेऽव् स्थाह्वा । अवस्तात् । अवरस्तात् । एवं देवे काले च । शिवे रुहेभ्यः किव् । ऐन्द्रपां वसति । सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यः किव् । पूर्व ग्रामं गतः । दिगादिबुक्तिभ्यः किव् । पूर्वस्मिन् गुरो वसति । अस्ताति चेति ज्ञापकादसिरस्ताति न बाधते ॥

1977 The substitution of अव् for अवर is optional when astāti follows.

This declares an option when by the last it was compulsory. As अवस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति, आगतः, or रमणश्चिव् ॥

Why do we say 'after words which primarily denote direction'? Observe ऐन्द्रपां शिवे वसति, 'He lives in the Aindra direction'. Here ऐन्दी is a secondary word denoting eastern direction. Why do we say 'ending in the locative, ablative and nominative'? Observe पूर्वम् ग्रामं गतः ॥ Why do we say when the sense is 'a direction', 'a locality' or a 'time'? Observe पूर्वास्मिन् गुरो वसति 'he lives in the presence of the Guru'.

Note:—This affix is a स्वार्थिक affix, like the affixes taught previously. The words denoting direction must be primitive words of direction; and not derivative words like ऐन्दी &c. which also denote direction.

The sūtra 1976 indicates by implication that the affix अस्ताति V. 3. 27 S. 1974 is not debarred by अस् after these words.

१९७८ । दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच् । ५ । ३ । २८ ॥

अस्तातिरपवादः । दक्षिणतः । उत्तरतः ॥

1978. After dakṣhiṇâ and uttara (referring to a direction or a locality or a time, and ending with the locative, ablative or nominative), comes the affix atasuch. (अर्तस्) ॥

This debars अस्ताति ॥ Thus दक्षिणतः, उत्तरतः ॥

Note:—The word दक्षिणा can never refer to time, so with regard to it direction and locality are only taken. The अ of अतसुच् is for the sake of differentiating this affix from तस् in sūtras like II. 3. 30.

१९७९ । विभाषापरावराभ्याम् । ५ । ३ । २९ ॥

परतः । अवरतः । परस्तात् । अवरस्तात् ।

1979. Optionally after para and avara, comes the affix atasuch, in the sense of astāti.

Thus परतः or परस्तात् ॥ So also अवरस्तात् or अवरतः ॥

१९८० । अञ्चेलुक् । ५ । ३ । ३० ॥

अञ्चल्यन्तादिक्वावस्तातेर्लुक् स्यात् । लुक् सञ्ज्ञितलुकि ॥ प्राच्यां प्राच्याः प्राची वा दिक् । उदक् । उदक् । एवं देवे काले च ॥

1980. After words of direction ending in अञ्च्, there is luk-elision of the affix astâti.

Thus प्राक् or प्रत्यक्: as प्राच्यां दिशि वसति = प्राग् वसति, प्रागागतः, प्रागमणीयम् ॥ The feminine affix of प्राची is also elided, when the taddhita affix is elided by लुक् ॥ See I. 2. 49. S. 1408. So also उदक् 'in the north'. Similarly when locality or time is denoted.

१६८१ । उपर्युपरिष्ठात् । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अस्तातेर्विषये ऊर्ध्वशब्दस्योपादेशः स्याद्विपरिष्ठातिलौ च प्रत्ययौ । उपरि उपरिष्ठाद्वा वसति । आगतो रमणीयं वा ॥

1981. The words upari and upariṣṭât are anomalous in the sense of astâti.

These words are derived irregularly from the word ऊर्ध्व, by changing it into उप, and adding the affixes रिच् and रिष्ठात् ॥ Thus ऊर्ध्वायां दिशि वसति = उपरि वसति । So also उपर्यागतः उपरि रमणीयम् ॥ उपरिष्ठाद्वसति, उपरिष्ठादागतः, उपरिष्ठाद्वरमणीयम् ॥

१६८२ । पश्चात् । ५ । ३ । ३२ ॥

अपरस्य पश्चभाव आतिश्च प्रत्ययोऽस्तातेर्विषये ॥

1982. The word paśchât is anomalous, in the sense of astâti.

The word is formed by changing अपर into पश्च and adding the affix आति ॥ As अपरस्यां दिशि वसति = पश्चाद्वसति, आगतः, रमणीयम् &c.

Note:—So also when अपर is preceded by another word denoting direction, it is changed into paścha and âti is added. As दक्षिणपश्चात्, उत्तरपश्चात् ॥

Note:—So also when अर्ध follows such a compound, apara is changed into paścha; as, दक्षिणपश्चार्धः, उत्तरपश्चार्धः ॥

Note:—Apara is changed into paścha, when followed by ardha, and not preceded by any other word. As, पश्चार्धः ॥

१९८३ । उत्तराधरदक्षिणादातिः । ५ । ३ । ३४ ॥

उत्तरात् । अधरात् । दक्षिणात् ॥

1983. To the words utara, adhara and dakṣiṇa is added the affix âti, in the sense of astâti.

Thus उत्तरस्यां दिशि वसति = उत्तराद्वसति ॥ Similarly अधरात् and दक्षिणात् ॥

१६८४ । एनबन्धनतरस्यामदूरेऽपञ्चम्याः । ५ । ३ । ३५ ॥

उत्तरादिभ्य एनच्चा स्याद्वध्यवधिमतोः सामीप्ये पञ्चम्यन्तं विना । उत्तरेण । अधरेण । दक्षिणेन । पते बयार्थं प्रत्ययाः । इह केचिदुत्तरादीनननुवर्त्य दिक्शब्दमात्रादेनपमाहुः । पूर्वोण भ्रामम् ॥ अपरेण भ्रामम् ॥

1984. The affix enap (एन) comes optionally, (after the words *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakshina* in the sense of *astāti*), when the limit indicated is not remote, and when it is not a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

Note :—The affix *अस्ताति* and the other affixes taught above come with the force of locative, ablative and nominative. The *एन* comes with the force of locative and nominative and not that of ablative. The adverbs so formed refer to objects not at a distance.

Thus उत्तरेण or उत्तरात् or उत्तरतो वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधरेण, अधरात् अधस्ताद् वसति &c, so also दक्षिणेन. दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणतो. वसति &c. 'He lives near by in the north-ward or southward'. Why do we say when not denoting distance? In the other alternative the ordinary affixes will come as दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः, अधस्तात्, उत्तरात्. Observe उत्तराद् वसति 'he lives far away in the north'. Why do we say 'when not having the force of ablative'? Observe उत्तराद्वागतः ' come from the north'.

Note :—The word अपञ्चम्याः governs all the succeeding sūtras upto V. 3 39, exclusive.

Some do not read उत्तर &c. into this sūtra : according to them this is a general rule applicable to all words denoting direction. As पूर्वैष नाम्, अपरेण नाम् (II. 3. 31) The ए in enap is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4. S. 3709).

१६८५ । दक्षिणादाच् । ५ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अस्तातिर्विषये । दक्षिणा वसति । अपञ्चम्या इत्येव । दक्षिणाद्वागतः ॥

1985. The affix ach (आ) comes after the word *dakshina*, in the sense of *astāti*, but not as a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

The word अहरे of the last sūtra is not read into this : though the word अपञ्चम्याः governs it. Thus दक्षिणा वसति or रमणीयम्, but दक्षिणत आगतः in the ablative.

Note :—The च् in आच् is not for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 163. S. 3710) for the simple affix आ would be udatta by the general rule III. 1. 3. S. 3708. The च् serves the purpose of differentiating this आ from other affixes in Sūtra II. 3. 29 S. 595.

१६८६ । आहि च हरे । ५ । ३ । ३७ ॥

दक्षिणाद् हरे आहि स्यात् आराच् । दक्षिणाहि । दक्षिणा ॥

1986. The affix āhi (आहि) comes after the word *dakshina*, in the sense of *astāti*, as well as āchi, when the reference is to a distant limit.

We draw in the affix आच् by force of the word च 'and'.

Thus दक्षिणाहि वसति or दक्षिणा वसति 'he lives far away in the south'.

Note :—Why do we say दूरे 'when the adverb denotes a distant limit'?

Observe दक्षिणतो वसति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्याः governs this also : as, दक्षिणत आगतः ॥

१६८७ । उत्तराह् ॥ ५ । ३ । ३८ ॥

उत्तराहि । उत्तरा ॥

1987. The affixes आच् and आहि come after uttara in the sense of astāti; when the reference is to a distant limit.

Thus उत्तरा or उत्तराहि वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ "He lives far away in the north : or the northward far away is pleasant".

Note :—But when 'distance' is not meant we have उत्तरेण प्रयाति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्याः governs this also : as उत्तरागतः ॥

१६८८ । संख्याया विधायै धा । ५१ । ३ । ४२ ॥

क्रियाप्रकारार्थे वर्तमानास्तंख्याशब्दात्कार्ये धा स्यात् । चतुर्धा । पञ्चधा ॥

1988. The affix dhâ (धा) comes after a nominal-stem denoting a Numeral, when it means the mode or manner of an action.

Note :—The word विधा and प्रकार have the same meaning. Thus adverbs so formed apply to every kind of action.

Thus एकधा भुङ्क्ते 'he eats once'. द्विधा गच्छति 'he goes twice'. Similarly त्रिधा. चतुर्धा. पञ्चधा ॥

१६८९ । अधिकरणविचाले च । ५ । ३ । ४३ ॥

• इत्यस्य संख्यानन्तरापादने संख्याया धा स्यात् । एकं राशिं पञ्चधा कुरु ॥

1989. The affix dhâ comes after a numeral, when the sense is a change in the apportionment or distribution of substances;

Note :—The word संख्यायाः is understood here. The word अधिकरणम् means 'matter, stuff, substance'. विचालः 'change in numbers'. Thus to make one into many, or to make many into one.

Thus एकं राशिं पञ्चधा कुरु 'divide one heap into five'. Similarly अनेकम् एकधा कुरु "make these many heaps into one".

१९९० । एकादशः व्यमुञ्ज्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ४४ ॥

ऐक्यम् । एकधा ॥

1990. After the word eka, the substitute dhyamuñ (ध्यम्) comes optionally instead of dha.

Thus एकधा राशिं कुरु or ऐकध्यं कुरु; एकधा मुहन्ते or ऐकध्यं मुहन्ते ॥

Note:—The repetition of धा in the sūtra shows that the substitution takes place when the sense is that of विधा, as well as when it is that of अधिकरण विचाल ॥ Had धा not been repeated, the substitution would have come in the sense of अधिकरण विचाल only, as immediately preceding this sūtra.

१९९१ । द्वित्रयोश्च धमुञ् । ५ । ३ । ४५ ॥

भाभ्यां धा इत्यस्य धमुञ् स्वाहा । द्वेधम् । द्विधा । त्रैधम् । त्रिधा । धमुञ्न्तास्वर्ये उदर्शनम् * ॥
पयि द्वेधानि

1991. The substitute dhamuñ धम् comes optionally, in the place of धा after the words dvi and tri.

Note:—Here also it comes in both the विधायार्थ and अधिकरण विचाल senses. By च, the word 'optionally' is drawn into the sūtra.

Thus द्विधा or द्वेधम्, त्रिधा, or त्रैधम् ॥

Vart:—The affix ड (ḍa, with the elision of the final vowel) comes without changing the sense, after words ending in dhamuñ. As पयि, द्वेधानि सम्प्रबन्ते ॥

१९९२ । एधाच्च । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

द्वेधा । त्रैधा ॥

1992. The substitute edhâch (एधाँ) comes optionally in the place of dha, after dvi and tri.

Thus द्वेधा (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) or द्वेधम् or द्विधा, त्रैधा त्रैधम् or त्रिधा ॥

१९९३ । याप्ये पाशप् । ५ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कुत्सितो भिषक् भिषक्पाशः ॥

1993. The affix pāśap (पाश) denotes something as insignificant.

The word याप्य means 'contempt, trifling' &c. Thus कुत्सितः याप्यो भिषक् भिषक् पाशः 'a very bad physician.' So also बह्निक्पाशः ॥

Note:—Of course this will not come in denoting a person who is a good physician, but bears a bad character, or who is a good performer of sacrifices but immoral.

१९९४ । पूरणान्नागे तीयादन् । ५ । ३ । ४८ ॥

द्वितीयो भागो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः । स्वरे विद्योषः ॥ तीवारीकस्त्वार्ये वाच्यः * ॥ द्वितीयकः । द्वितीयः । तार्तीयकः तृतीयः ॥ न विद्यावाः * ॥ द्वितीया । तृतीया । विद्येत्येव ॥

1994. After (a nominal stem being) an ordinal number ending in *tīya*, comes the affix **अन्** (**अ**) (the word retaining its denotation), when a 'part' is meant.

This sūtra is made only to teach accent, for the word to which **अन्** is added undergoes no other change of form except in accent. Thus **द्वितीयः** (V. 2. 54. S. 1854) has udātta on **ती** (III. 1. 3. S. 3708) but when **अन्** is added, the accent falls on **द्वि** (VI. 1. 197. S. 3686). Thus **द्वितीयो भागः** = **द्वितीयः** 'the moiety'. Similarly **तृतीयः** 'the one-third'.

Note :—Why do we say when 'part' is meant ? Otherwise, there is no change in accent. The affix **तीय** always comes in forming ordinal numbers and for no other purpose, for the **तीय** in words like **द्वुत्तीय** is not significant as it is not an affix. The employment of the word **पुराण** in the aphorism is useless for the purposes of this sūtra. Its *anuvṛitti*, however, runs in the other sūtras, and that is the only purpose that it serves here.

Vṛtt :—The affix **ईकच्** is added to words ending in **तीय**, without changing the sense. As **द्वेतीयकः**, **तार्तीयकः**, in the same sense as **द्वितीयः** and **तृतीयः** ॥

Vṛtt :—But not so, when the word ending in **तीय** refers to **विद्या** ॥ As **द्वितीया विद्या**, **तृतीया विद्या** ॥

१९६५ । प्रागेकादशभ्योऽञ्चन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूर्यप्रत्ययान्ताङ्गागंश्च । चतुर्थः । पञ्चमः ॥

1995. After an ordinal numeral upto eleven exclusive, comes the affix **अन्**, the word retaining its denotation, when a 'part' is meant : but not so in the Chhandas.

This is for accent also. Thus **चतुर्थः**, **पञ्चमः**, **सैतमः**, **नैवमः**, **ईशमः** ॥

Note :—Why do we say **प्रागेकादशः** 'before eleven' ? Observe **एकादशः**, **द्वादशः** no change of accent (VI. 1. 223. S. 3734). Why do we say 'not in the Chhandas' ? Observe, **पञ्चमनिम्बित्वापाक्रान्त** (**पञ्चम** has acute on the final being formed by **उह** preceded by **नह** V. 2. 48, 49 S. 1849, 1850).

१६६६ । षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां अ च । ५ । ३ । ५० ॥

षाड्यः । षष्ठो भागः षाड्यः । षडः । षाटमः । षटमः ॥

1996. The affix **ña** (**अ**) also comes as well as **अन्** after **shasṭha** and **aṣṭama**, when a 'part' is meant, but not in the Chhandas.

The words **भागे** and **अङ्गवत्सि** are understood here. By **अ**, the affix **अन्** is included. Thus **षैष्टः** or **षाष्टः**, **षैष्टमः** or **षाष्टमः** ॥

१९६७ । मानपञ्चङ्गयोः कन्लुको च । ५ । ३ । ५१ ॥

षष्ठादनाद्याभ्यां क्रमेण कन्लुको लो माने पञ्चङ्गे च वाच्ये । षष्ठको भागः मानं चेत् । अष्टमो भागः पञ्चङ्गं चेत् । अस्त्य भनो वा लुक् । चकाराद्यप्राप्तम् । षष्ठः । षष्ठः । अष्टमः । अष्टमः । नद्यावि-
भाषया सिद्धे लुक्प्रचनं पूर्वम् आनो नित्याविति ज्ञापयति ॥

1997. After the words *śaṣṭha* and *aṣṭama* there may come respectively कन् (क) and लुक् elision of the affix, when the meaning is a division of a measure called *māna* or grain, or the part of the body of a beast respectively.

The word मान means a grain weight (ब्रीहि पारिमितं सुवर्णे) ॥ That is to say, कन् comes after षष्ठः when a division of मान 'measure' is expressed; and लुक् comes after अष्ट when a part of पञ्चङ्ग is denoted. Thus षष्ठको भागः 'a sixth of a grain measure'. अष्टमो भागः 'an-eighth part of the body of a beast'. The लुक् here takes the place of the affix अ as well as कन् ॥ By च, the affixes above mentioned are also employed: as षष्ठः or षष्ठः, अष्टमः or अष्टमः ॥ When a measure or the body of an animal is not denoted, this rule (though optional) will not apply.

Though under the Great Option (IV. 1. §2. S. 1092) all these affixes may be elided, yet the separate luk-elision herein taught indicates by implication, that the अ and कन् of the preceding aphorism are compulsory and cannot be elided by the Great Option. See also V. 3. 1. S. 1947.

१९६८ । एकादाकिनिष्ठासहाये । ५ । ३ । ५२ ॥

चात्कन्लुको । एकः । एकाकी । एककः ॥

1998. After the word *eka*, comes also the affix *âkin-*ich (आकिन्), (the word retaining its denotation), when the sense is 'without a companion'.

By the word च, the affix कन् and the elision लुक् also take effect: the elision being of कन् or आकिन् ॥ Thus एकाकिन् (nom एकाकी), एककः or एकः ॥

Note :—By using असहाय, it is indicated that the word एक here is not a numeral meaning 'one', but a noun meaning 'alone'. एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च, प्रथमे, केवले, तथा ॥ साधारणे, समाने ऽल्पे, संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥ So that this word will have dual एकाकिनौ, and the plural एकाकिनः ॥

१९६९ । भूतपूर्वे चरद् । ५ । ३ । ५३ ॥

भाष्यो भूतपूर्वः भाष्यचरः ॥

1999. The affix चर (with the feminine in कीप्) comes after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation, when the meaning is 'this had been before'.

The word **भूतपूर्व** is a compound of **पूर्व** and **भूत**; the compounding being by **सुप्रत्यया**, and denotes something done in a past time. Thus **आढ्यो भूतपूर्वः = आढ्यचरः** 'once opulent'.

Note :—The **इ** indicates that the feminine will be in **ङीप्**, as, **आढ्यचरी** ॥ The **च** is not **इत्** in **चरद्** though required by I. 3. 7. S. 189. This proves that **सुप्र** rule is anitya. The sūtra V. 2. 18. S. 1819 might have been read after this, with the saving of the word **भूतपूर्वः**, but then **स्वप्** would have debarred **चरद्** which is, however, not intended.

२००० । षष्ठ्या क्य च । ५ । ३ । ५४ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताभूतपूर्वेऽयं क्यः स्याच्चरद् च । कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौः कृष्णक्यः । कृष्णचरः । तसिलादिषु क्यस्यापरिणायितत्वात् पुंवत् । शुभाया भूतपूर्वः शुभाक्यः ॥

2000. After a nominal-stem ending in the sixth-case, comes the affix **क्य**, and also **चरद्**, in the sense of 'having belonged formerly to somebody'.

The word **भूतपूर्व** here qualifies the sense of the affix, and not the sense of the base, as it was in the last sūtra. Thus **कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौः = कृष्णक्यः** 'the cow that formerly belonged to Krishna'. Similarly **देवदत्तचरः** ॥ The affix **क्य** not being included in **tasilādi** class of sūtra VI. 3. 35. S. 836 does not cause the masculinisation. Thus **शुभाया भूतपूर्वः = शुभाक्यः** and not **शुभक्यः** ॥

२००१ । अतिशायने तमविष्ठनौ । ५ । ३ । ५५ ॥

अतिशयविशिष्टार्थवृत्तेः स्वार्थे एतौ स्तः । अयमेवमतिशयेनाढ्यः आढ्यतमः । लघुतमो लविष्ठः ॥

2001. When the sense is that of surpassing, there come the affixes **तमप् (तम्)** and **इष्ठन् (इष्ठ)**, after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation.

Note :—These affixes form the superlative degree. The word **अतिशायन** is an irregular form of **अतिशयनं**, and it qualifies the sense of the primitive. The **स्वार्थिक** affixes sometimes qualify the sense of the primitive.

Thus **आढ्यतमः = सर्वे इमे आढ्याः, अयमेवमतिशयेनाढ्यः** 'the richest' i. e. 'these are all rich, but he surpasses them all in riches'. Similarly **पटु—पटिष्ठः, सुदः—नरिष्ठः, लघु—लविष्ठः** (VI. 4. 155. S. 1786).

Note :—When among superlatives, further excellence is indicated, then these words may take additional affixes also : as **श्रेष्ठ**, though a superlative, forms **श्रेष्ठतमः** ॥ As **देवो वः सविता प्रापकस्तु श्रेष्ठतमाय कर्मणे** । **शुषिष्ठिरः श्रेष्ठतमः कुरुणामिति** ॥

२००२ । तिष्ठन् । ५ । ३ । ५६ ॥

तिष्ठन्तासतिष्ये षोडशे तमप् स्वात् ॥

2002. So also after a finite verb, comes the affix **tamap**, when 'surpassing' is meant.

By the next sūtra, the affix तमप् gets the designation *gha* च ॥

Note :—By क्वाप्प्रातिपठिकात् IV. 1. 1. S. 182 whose force runs throughout, the taddhita affixes are ordained only after nominal stem ; they would not have come after verbs ; hence this sūtra. Thus पचतिनाम् (the आम् is added by V. 4. 11, S. 2004) = सर्व इमे पचन्तीति, अयमेवामतिशयेन पचति, 'he cooks surprisingly'. जल्पतिनाम् &c, The affix इष्टन् never comes after a verb, as by V. 3. 58. S. 2006 it is restricted to adjectives.

२००३ । तरुतमपौ घः । १ । १ । २२ ॥

एतौ घसंज्ञौ स्तः ॥

2003. The affixes tarap and tamap are called घ ॥

As this affix is *gha*, the next sūtra applies.

२००४ । किमेत्तिङ्गव्ययघादांश्चद्रव्यप्रकर्षे । ५ । ४ । ११ ॥

किम् एवन्तात्तिङोऽव्ययाच्च यो घस्तन्तादाहुः स्यात्तु इव्यप्रकर्षे । कितनाम् । प्राङ्केतनाम् । पचतिनाम् । उच्चैस्तनाम् । इव्यप्रकर्षे तु उच्चैस्तमस्तहः ॥

2004. To the affix तर and तम (घ I. 1. 22. S. 2003) ordained to come after the word किम् (V. 3. 55. S. 2001) or after a word ending in ण (VI. 3. 17. S. 975) or after a finite verb (V. 3. 56. 57. S. 2002) or after an indeclinable, is added the affix ँम (आम्), but not if the excess belongs to a substance (and not to an action or quality).

Note :—The घ or तरप् and तमप् affixes are employed for comparison (प्रकर्षे 'excess') of adjectives and adverbs. This rule applies to adverbs and not to adjectives : i. e. when an adverb qualifies a verb or another adjective, but not when an adjective qualifies a noun. The इव्य denoting word by itself has no 'excess' &c, it is the adjective which qualifies such substance that is capable of excess or comparison. The prohibition in अइव्यप्रकर्षे therefore really relates to the *quality* of a substance ; i. e. to adjectives. इव्यस्याव्यपदेशस्य न विना भेद इत्युक्ता । प्रकर्षोविद्यते नापि शब्दस्योपेति वाच्यताम् ॥

Thus कितनाम् or कित्तनाम् "how excessively", प्राङ्केतनाम् or प्राङ्केतनाम्, पचतिनाम् or पचतितनाम् "he cooks surprisingly", उच्चैस्तनाम्, उच्चैस्तनाम् "more or most loftily or loudly".

But when the excess belongs not to an action or attribute, but to a substance, the ँम आम् is not added. As उच्चैस्तमः तहः "a most lofty tree".

२००५ । द्विवचनविभज्योपपदे तरवीयसुनौ । ५ । ३ । ५७ ॥

द्वोरेकेत्यामिहाये विभक्त्ये चोपपदे सुमिङन्तादंतो स्तः । पूर्वोपरवादः । भवमनचोरतिशयेन लज्जुल्लुत्तरः लवीनाम् । उशीष्वाः प्राच्येभ्यः पटुतराः । पटीनांतः ॥

2005. The affixes tarap (तर्) and fyasun (इयस्) come in the sense of 'surpassing', after a nominal stem or a finite-verb, when it expresses (comparison between) two things, or when that which is added to it (upapada), is to be distinguished from another..

* Note :—The word द्विवचन does not mean 'dual', but means an expression for two. विभक्त्य is irregularly formed by वत्, and means 'that which is to be distinguished or differentiated'.

This debars तनप् and इष्टन् ॥

The rule of वयासंख्य (I. 3 10. S 128) does not apply here. First to take an example of द्विवचन or when comparison is between two things: thus: द्वाविनावाक्यौ, अयमनयोरतिशयेन = भाव्यतरः 'both are rich, but he is richer amongst the two'. So also लघुतरः and लघीवान् ॥

Similarly सुकुमारतरः, पचानितरा जल्पनितरा (V. 4. 11. S. 2004): or with इयष्टुन् as द्वाविनौ पटु अयमनयोरतिशयेन पटुः = पटीवान् 'more skilful of the two', लघीवान् ॥ Secondly to take an example of विभक्त्ये चोपपदे i. e. when a word in construction is to be differentiated: thus माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आढ्यतराः 'The men of Mathurā are richer than those of Pāṭaliputra.' Here there are more than two things but as the words are expressed in the sentence, the comparative degree in plural number is used.

Similarly so also उत्तीच्याः प्राच्येभ्यः पटुतराः "The northerns are more skilful than the easterns" पटीवांसः लघीवांसः ॥ Of course all these words must be plural, as they refer to more than two persons.

२००६। अजादी गुणवचनादेव । ५ । ३ । ५८ ॥

इष्टमीवचनौ गुणवचनादेव स्तः । प्रथिष्ठः । प्रथीवान् । नेह । पाचकतरः । पाचकतमः ॥

2006. The two affixes beginning with a vowel (i. e. ईयस् and इष्ट) are added only after words denoting attributes.

Thus प्रथिष्ठः प्रथीवान् ; but not after words like पाचक &c. there we have पाचकतरः, पाचकतमः ॥

Note :—The word एव 'only' restricts the scope of the affixes, and not of the primitives. Thus पटुतरः, पटुतमः are also valid forms.

२००७। तुष्टन्वसि । ५ । ३ । ५९ ॥

तुष्टन्वसिष्ठमीवचनौ स्तः ॥

2007. These affixes ishṭhan and fyasun come in the Chhandas after a nominal stem ending in हृ ॥

The हृ is ablative of हृ which includes both हृत् and हृक् ॥ This extends the application of these affixes to words other than attributes.

२००८ । तुरिष्ठेमेयः सु । ६ । ४ । १५४ ॥

तुराज्यस्य लोपः स्यादिष्टेनवः परोक्ष । अतिष्ठेन कर्ता करिष्ठः । रोहीवसी धेनुः ॥

2008. The affix *तृ* is elided before the affixes *इष्ठन्*, *इमनिच्* and *ईयसुन्* ॥

Thus *करिष्ठः*, *विजयिष्ठः*, *वहिष्ठः*, *रोहीवसी धेनुः* ॥ The whole affix *तृ* is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (*दि*) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules.

Thus *अतिष्ठेन कर्ता = करिष्ठः* (*कर्हृ + इष्ठन् = कर्हृ - इष्ठ* by VI. 4. 154, S. 2008 *तृ* is elided). As *वास्तुर्ति करिष्ठः* *रोहीवसी धेनुः* ॥ By the Vārtika under VI, 3. 35 S. 836 *शाहंवा* is changed into masculine *रोहिन्* and then *ईयस्* is added by VI. 4. 145. S. 2008).

२००९ । प्रशस्यस्य अः । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

अस्य आदेशः स्यादजायोः ॥

2009. For *प्रशस्य* is substituted *अ*, when these affixes *ishthan* and *iyasun* follow.

Then applies the following.

● २०१० । प्रकृत्येकाच् । ६ । ४ । १६३ ॥

इष्टादिभ्येकाच् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । श्रेष्ठः । श्रेयान् ॥

2010. A monosyllabic *bha* stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes *इष्ठ*, *इमन्* and *ईयस्* ॥

Thus *श्रेष्ठः* and *श्रेयान्* ॥

२०११ । ज्य च । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

प्रशस्यस्य कयादेशः स्यादिष्टेयतोः । क्येष्ठः ॥

2011. For *praśasya*, *ज्य* is also substituted before these two affixes.

As *क्येष्ठः* ॥

२०१२ । ज्यादादीयसः । ४ । ६ । १६० ॥

आदेः परस्य । कयाद्यान् ॥

2012. *आ* is substituted for the first letter of *ईयस्* after *ज्य* ॥

As *कयाद्यान्* ॥

Note :—*क्य* is substituted for *प्रशस्य* by V. 8. 61. S. 2011.

२०१३। वृद्धस्य च । ५ । ३ । ६२ ॥

उग्रविशः स्यादंजायोः । उग्रः । उग्रवान् ॥

2013. *ज्य* is also substituted for *वृद्ध*, when *ishthan* and *iyas* follow.

Thus *उग्रः* 'the oldest', *उग्रवान्* 'the older'.

Note:—By VI. 4, 157, S. 2016 *वर्षि* is also substituted for *वृद्ध* and we have *वर्षिष्ठः* and *वर्षीयान्* also. The word *वृद्ध* though not a *guṇavachana*, takes these affixes by the implication of this sūtra.

२०१४। अन्तिकबाढयोर्नेदसाधौ । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

अंजायोः । नेदिष्ठः । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठः । साधीयान् ॥

2014. For *अन्तिकः* is substituted *नेद*, and for *बाढ* is *साध*, when these affixes follow.

Thus *नेदिष्ठः* । *नेदीयान्* । *साधिष्ठः* and *साधीयान्* ॥

२०१५। स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः । ६ । ४ । १५६ ॥

एषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते पूर्वस्य च गुण इष्टादिषु । स्थविष्ठः । दविष्ठः । बविष्ठः । ह्रसिष्ठः । क्षेपिष्ठः । क्षोदिष्ठः । एवमीयस् । ह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां पृथ्वादिस्वात् ह्रसिमा । क्षेपिमा । क्षोपिमा ॥

2015. Before the affixes *इष्ट*, *इमन्* and *ईयस्*, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a *Guṇa* is substituted, in *स्थूल*, *दूर*, *युवन्*, *ह्रस्व*, *क्षिप्र* and *क्षुद्र* ॥

That is ल. र, वन् and व and र are elided. Thus *स्थविष्ठः*, *स्थवीयान्*; *दविष्ठः* *दवीयान्*; *बविष्ठः*, *बवीयान्*; *ह्रसिष्ठः*, *ह्रसीयान्*, *ह्रसिमा*; *क्षेपिष्ठः*, *क्षेपीयान्*, *क्षेपिमा* ॥ The words *ह्रस्व* *क्षिप्र*, and *क्षुद्र* are read in *Prithvādi* class and take 'iman' affix (V. 1 122 S. 1784). *क्षोदिष्ठः*, *क्षोदीयान्*, *क्षोदिमा* ॥ Why do we say परं in *यणादिपरं* 'the last semivowel'? The *first* semivowel of *युवन्* and *ह्रस्व* i. e. व of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided. The word *पूर्व* is employed for the sake of distinctness.

२०१६। प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्षीहि-
गर्बर्षिप्रवृद्धादिवृन्दाः । ६ । ४ । १५७ ॥

प्रियादीनां क्रमात्प्रादयः स्युरिष्टादिषु । प्रेष्ठः । स्थेष्ठः । स्फेष्ठः । वरिष्ठः । बहिष्ठः । गरिष्ठः । गर्बिष्ठः । बर्षिष्ठः । ब्राधिष्ठः । वृग्धिष्ठः । एवमीयसुन् । प्रेयान् । प्रियोरुबहुलगुरुदीर्घाणां पृथ्वादिस्वात्प्रेनेत्यादि ॥

2016. Before the affixes *इष्ट*, *इमन्* and *ईयस्* the following substitutions take place :—प्र for *प्रिय*; स्थ for *स्थिर*, स्फ for *स्फिर*, वर for *वरु*, बह for *बहुल*, गर for *गुरु*, वर्ष for *वृद्ध*, तृप् for *तृप्*, द्राघ for *दीर्घ*, and वृन् for *वृन्दारक* ॥

Thus प्रेष्टः, प्रेमा, प्रेमान् ; स्थिरः, स्थेष्टः, स्थेष्टान्, स्थेमा ; स्किरः, स्केष्टः, स्केष्टान् ; उरु, वरिष्ठः वरिमा वरीयान् ; बहुल, बहिष्ठः, बहीयान् बहिमा ; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान् गरिमा ; वृद्ध, वर्षिष्ठः वर्षीयान् ; वृषः अपिष्ठः, अपीयान् ; दीर्घ, द्राधिष्ठः, द्राधीयान्, द्राधिमा ; वृन्धारक, वृन्धिष्ठः, वृन्धीयान् ; ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in the Prithvād' class and take इमन् (V. 1. 122. S. 1784.) while others do not.

२०१७ । बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः । ६ । ४ । १५८ ॥

बहोः पर्योरिमेवसोर्लोपः स्याद्बहोश्च भूरादेशः । भूमा । भूयान् ॥

2017. The इ and ' of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु ; and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥

Note :—In the case of इष्ट, the following sūtra 2018 will apply. Under I. 1. 54. and 67. बहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई ; in this case बहु belongs to the Prithvādi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. 1. 122. S. 1784. The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthāni, for which the word भू is to be substituted : otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

२०१८ । इष्टस्य यिद् च । ६ । ४ । १५९ ॥

बहोः परस्य इष्टस्य लोपः स्यान् यिडागमश्च । भूयिष्ठः ॥

2018. After बहु the augment यिद् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥

Note :—This augment यिद् debarb the lopa substitution of the last sūtra in the case of इष्ट ॥ The इ in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment being इ ॥ Or इष्ट may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इ the augment यि may be added.

२०१९ । युवाल्पयोः कनन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

एतयोः कनदेशो वा स्यादिष्टेवसोः । कनिष्ठः । कनीयान् । पक्षे यविष्ठः । अल्पिष्ठ इत्यादि ॥

2019. Before these affixes, कन् is optionally substituted or युवन् and अल्प ॥

Thus कनिष्ठः, कनीयान् or यविष्ठः, यवीयान् । similarly अल्पिष्ठः, अल्पीयान् or कनिष्ठः, कनीयान् ॥ सर्वइमे युवान् ; अथमेषामतिशयेन कनिष्ठः । द्वाविमौ युवानौ अथमन्योरतिशयेन, कनीयान् । यविष्ठः । यवीयान् । सर्वइमेऽल्पाः । अथमेषामतिशयेन, कनिष्ठः । उभाविमावल्पावथमन्योरतिशयेन कनीयान् । अथमस्मत्कनीयान् । अल्पिष्ठः अल्पीयानीति वा ॥

२०२० । विन्मत्तोलुक् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

विनो मत्तपञ्च लुक् स्यादिष्टेवसोः । अतिशयेन सन्वी । सजिष्ठः । सजीयान् । अतिशयेन स्वप्नश्च स्वप्तिष्ठः । स्वपीयान् ॥

2020. The affixes **विच्** and **मच्** are luk-elided, when **ishthan** and **fyasun** follow.

Thus **सग्विच्—सजिष्ठः**, **सजीवाच्**; **त्वग्वन्—त्वचिष्ठः**, **त्वचीवाच्** ॥ सर्वदने **सग्विजः**, **अज-मेवामतिशयेन**, **सजिष्ठः** । उभाविनौ **सग्विनौ**, **अजमनबोरतिशयेन**, **सजीवाच्** । **अजमन्मात्** **सजीवाच्** । सर्वदने **त्वग्वन्तः** **अजमेवामतिशयेन**, **त्वचिष्ठः** । उभाविनौ **त्वग्वन्तौ**, **अजमनबोरतिशयेन**, **त्वचीवाच्** । **अजमन्मात्त्व-चीवाच्** ॥

Note:—This sūtra is a jñāpaka or indicator that words ending in **विच्** and **मच्** or **वच्** form their comparative and superlative degrees by adding **ईवच्** and **इष्टच्** ॥

२०२१ । प्रशंसावां रूपम् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुवन्तानिहन्ताच् । प्रशस्तः पदुः पदुरूपः । प्रशस्तं पचति पचतिरूपम् ॥

2021. The affix **रूपम्** (**रुप्**) comes, without change of connotation, after a stem (nominal or verbal) denoting praise.

Note:—The word **प्रशंसा** means 'praise', and it qualifies the sense of the primitive; i. e. when the sense of the primitive is that of 'raise', then **रूपम्** is added. As a general rule the **स्वार्थिक** affixes, which do not change the denotation of the word, serve the purpose of prominently bringing forward one particular meaning out of the several meanings possessed by a primitive.

Thus **प्रशस्तः पदुः=पदुरूपः** 'a celebrated artist'. So also **याज्ञिकरूपः** ॥

The affix comes after a verbal word ending in **तिच्**, for the word **तिङ्** V. 3. 56. S. 2002 is understood here also. Thus **पचतिरूपम्**, **पचतोरूपम्** or **पचन्ति-रूपम्** 'who is celebrated, who two are celebrated or who all are celebrated in cooking'. These words **पचतिरूपम्** &c cannot take dual or plural; because the action denoted by the verb is only one, not many. These words are always in the neuter gender, by the general usage of the people.

२०२२ । ईषदसमाप्तौ कल्पद्देश्यदेशीयरः । ५ । ३ । ६७ ॥

ईषदून् **विद्वान्** **विद्वत्कल्पः** । **यशस्कल्पम्** । **यजुःकल्पम्** । **विद्वदेश्यः** । **विद्वदेशीयः** । **पचतिकल्पम्** ॥

2022. The affixes **कल्पम्** (**कल्प्**), **देश्य**, and **देशीयर्** (**देशीय**) come after a nominal or a verbal stem which connotes a slight incompleteness.

The word **समाप्ति** means 'fulness of objects'. A little non-fulness is called **ईषदसमाप्ति** ॥ Thus **विद्वत्कल्पः**, **यशस्कल्पम्**, **यजुःकल्पम्**, **विद्वदेश्यः** or **विद्वदेशीय** 'a clever but slightly incomplete' i. e. 'tolerably clever'. So also after verbs, as **पचतिकल्पम्**, &c.

२०२३ । विभाषा सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात् । ५ । ३ । ६८ ॥

ईषदसमाप्तिविशिष्टेऽर्थे **सुवन्ताद्बहुच्** **स्वास्त्यच्** **प्रागेव ननु परतः** । **ईषदून्** **पदुर्बहुपदुः** । **पदुरूपः** । **सुपः** **किन्** । **यज्ञतिकल्पम्** ।

2023. Optionally to a declined noun may be added the affix बहुच् (बहु), but it stands before : when the sense is slight incompleteness.

This is the only exception to the general rule that an affix is added *after* a word. The affix बहुच् however is added *before* the word. The च् of बहुच् indicates that the udatta will fall on the final vowel of the word. See VI. 1. 163, S. 3710. Thus बहुपटुः 'a tolerably skilful person'. By the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the affixes कल्प &c also come as पदुकल्पः ॥ Why do we say सुपः 'to a noun ending in a case-affix i. e. a declined noun'. For it indicates that the affix is not added to finite verbs (तिङन्त) ॥ As वजतिकल्पम् ॥

२०२४ । प्रकारवचने जातीवर् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

प्रकारवति चायम् । याङ् तु प्रकारमात्रे । पदुप्रकारः पदुजातीवः ॥

2024. The affix जातीवर् comes after a case-inflected word which expresses 'a speciality'.

That which distinguishes one thing from another is called प्रकार or 'speciality'. When a word expresses speciality, it is called प्रकारवचनः ॥ This word qualifies the sense of the primitive. The affix जातीवर् and the affix याङ् V. 3. 23, S. 1971 both denote प्रकार, but while जातीवर् denotes प्रकारवाच्, the other denotes प्रकारमात्र i. e. merely प्रकार ॥

Thus पदुजातीवः 'he may be reckoned among the clever persons'.

Note :—The above Sūtra may, therefore be translated in these words also, "the affix जातीवर् has the sense of "belonging to the class of" "being of the nature of".

२०२५ । प्राग्विवात्कः । ५ । ३ । ७० ॥

इवे प्रतिकृतावित्यतः प्राक् काधिकारः ॥

2025. The affix ka (क) governs all the sūtras, as far as "ive pratikritau" (V. 3. 96. S. 2051).

Note :—Properly speaking क extends only upto V. 3. 86. S. 2041. Thus in the sūtra अज्ञाते V. 3. 73. S. 2028 the word क must be supplied to complete the sense. As अश्नक्तः, गर्ह्यक्तः ॥ This affix क does not come after finite verbs (तिङन्त), but the affix अकच V. 3, 71 S. 2026 comes after such verbs. In other words, the phrase तिङन्त V. 3. 56, S. 2002 should be connected, by way of anuvṛitti, with the next sūtra, and not with this.

२०२६ । अव्ययसर्वनामकम् प्राक् टेः । ५ । ३ । ७१ ॥

तिङन्तेत्यनुवर्तते ॥

026. The affix **akach** (**अक**) is added to an Indeclinable and to a Pronominal, before the last vowel of those words ; in the sense of Prāgiviya affixes.

Note —The **च्** shows that the acute accent falls on the final (VI. 1. 163. S. 3710), though the affix is inserted in the middle of the word. The phrase तिङ्भ V. 3. 56. S. 2012 is understood here also. This **अकच्** debars **क** ॥ Thus उच्चैः + **अक्** = उच्चच् + **अक्** + ऐः = उच्चकैः । Similarly नीचकैः, शानकैः from नीचैः and शानैः ॥ So also after Pronominals, as सर्वकैः, विश्वकैः, and उभयकैः from सर्वैः, विश्वे and उभये ॥

२०२७ । कस्य च दः । ५ । ३ । ७२ ॥

कान्ताप्ययस्य इकरोऽन्तादेशः स्यादकच ॥

2027. The letter **द** is the substitute of the final **क्** of an Indeclinable, when the affix **akach** is added.

Note :—The word अव्यय is to be read into this sūtra and not सर्वनाम, because no Pronominal ends in **क्** ॥ Thus धकित्, हिरकुत् and पृथक्त् from धिक्, हिरक् and पृथक् ॥ Thus हिरक् + **अक्** = हिर् + **अक्** + उक् = हिरकुक्, now comes the present rule and the final **क्** is changed into **द**, as हिरकुद् or °त् ॥

२०२८ । अज्ञाते । ५ । ३ । ७३ ॥

कस्यायमश्वोऽश्वकः । उच्चकैः । नीचकैः । सर्वकैः । विश्वकैः ॥ ओकारसकारभकारादौ सुपि सर्वनामष्टेः प्राकङ्गच् * ॥ अन्यच्च तु सुबन्तस्य टेः प्राकङ्गच् * ॥ युवकयोः । भावकयोः । युष्मकासु । अस्मकासु । युष्मकाभिः । ओकारेत्यादिभिश्च । स्वयका । मयका ॥ अकच्यकरणे तूष्णीमः काम्बन्त्यः * ॥ निस्वार्थिन्यादयः परः । तूष्णीकामास्ते ॥ शीले कोमलोपच * ॥ तूष्णींशीलस्तूष्णीकः । पचतकि । अल्पतकि । धकित् । हिरकुत् ॥

2028. The affix **क** (V. 3. 70. S. 2025) and **अक्** (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) come after a word, noun or verb, when something or somebody not known, is spoken of.

This अज्ञात or want of knowledge refers not to the object itself, but to its relation with some other object. As अश्वकः ‘ whose horse ? ’ Similarly in उच्चकैः ‘ high ’ (is it so ?) नीचकैः ‘ Is it low ? ’ सर्वकैः ‘ was this agreed to by all ’ ? So also विश्वकैः ॥ Similarly पचतकि “ He cooks, is it ? ” अल्पतकि, ‘ He speaks, does he ’ ?

The affix is added to सुबन्त words i. e. to declined nouns, and not to प्रातिपदक or crude-nouns : as was required by IV. 1. 1. S. 182. Sometimes, however, the affix is added after a Prātipadika also. The usage will determine when the affix should be added to a Nominal stem (Prātipadika) and when to a Subanta word. Thus in युष्मकाभिः, अस्मकाभिः, युष्मकासु, अस्मकासु, युवकयोः, भावकयोः, the affix is added to the Prātipadika viz. to युष्मद्, अस्मद्, giving युष्मकद्, भावकद्.

असकद् which are then declined as Pronominals. But in the examples स्वयका, मयका, स्वयकि, मयकि, the affix अक् is added to स्वया मया (the Instrumental case of युष्मद् and अस्मद्), and स्वयि and मयि the Locative singular of the same.

Vart:—The ffix अक् is added before the final syllable (ti) of a Sarvanama or a Pronominal a Prâtipadika when a case-affix beginning with ओ, स or भ follow.

Vart:—The affix is added to the *declined* pronoun, in the remaining cases.

Vart:—The affix क् is added to the Indeclinable तूष्णीम् ॥ The य is indicatory, therefore, का comes before the final vowel (I, I. 47 S. 37). As तूष्णीम् + का = तूष्णीकाम्, as तूष्णीकामास्ते, तूष्णीकां तिष्ठति 'he remained silent'.

Vart:—When, however, the meaning is 'that whose habit is so', then the affix क is added, and the य of तूष्णीम् is elided. As तूष्णीकः 'a taciturn'.

The phrase तिष्ठश्च (V. 3. 56. S. 2002) being understood here, the affix अक् comes after finite verbs also. As पचति—पचतकि । जल्पति—जल्पतकि ॥

२०२६ । कुत्सिते । ५ । ३ । ७४ ॥

कुत्सितोऽश्वोऽश्वकः ॥

2029. The above affixes come when the 'thing' is spoken of as contemptible.

Thus अश्वकैः 'a sorry horse'.

२०३० । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ७५ ॥

कुत्सिते कन् स्यात्तदन्तेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यत । शूद्रकः । राधकः । स्वरायं वचनम् ॥

2030. The affix kan (क) comes in the above sense of contemptible, when the whole word is a Name.

The word कुत्सिते of the last sūtra is understood here also. This कन् debars क ॥ शूद्रकः । राधकः ॥ The difference between कन् and क is in the accent. (VI. I. 197 S. 3686).

२०३१ । अनुकम्पायाम् । ५ । ३ । ७६ ॥

पुत्रकः । अनुकम्पितः पुत्र इत्यर्थः ॥

2031. The above affixes come when compassion is denoted.

The word अनुकम्पा means 'compassion, pity, endearment'. Thus पुत्रक 'the little child', 'poor child'.

२०३२ । नीतो च तद्युक्तात् । ५ । ३ । ७७ ॥

सामान्यादिस्वाद्यो नीतिस्तस्यां गम्यमानावानुक्तस्यानुक्तात्कथत्ययः स्यात् । इत्थं ते धानकाः ।
मुञ्चकाः । एहकि । अन्नकि । पूर्वेष्वनुक्तस्यैवावाधत्ययः । अनेन तु परस्परसंबन्धेऽपीति विशेषः ॥

2032. Also as an expression of courteousness, the above mentioned affix is added to that by which compassion is shown.

The word नीति means 'policy' or 'expedient', such as 'conciliation', 'dissension' and 'punishment'. अनुक्तात् means 'joined with that', i. e. with gift compassion &c. In other words, the things signified by the bases, are connected as means of relief with the persons or things that have been objects of compassion. Thus, इत्थं ते धानकाः 'alas ! here are barley for you'. एहकि, अन्नकि 'O-dear! come and eat'. (These words are supposed to be addressed to a person who is starving, by one who wants to relieve him. Being moved with compassion, he entreats courteously the object of sympathy, with gifts to relieve his want). In the last Sûtra, the affix was added, in the sense of compassion, to the name of the person or action that evoked pity. In the present sûtra, the affix is added to the object or action by which pity is shown. The word एहकि is from एहि the Imperative second person singular of इ 'to go' with the upasarga आ ॥

२०३३ । बहुचो मनुष्यनामष्टुच्वा । ५ । ३ । ७८ ॥

पूर्वस्यद्वयविषये ॥

2033. The affix thach (इक) is optionally added to a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, as an expression of compassion or of courtesy joined with compassion.

In the alternative we have कच् also. As अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तः = देविकः (देवदत्त + इक = देव + इक V. 3. 83. S. 2035). When कच् is added there is no shortening of the base, as देवदत्तकः ॥ Similarly जातिकः or जहदत्तकः ॥

Why do we say बहुचः 'after a polysyllable'? Observe दत्तकः । मुक्तकः ॥ Why do we say 'being a Man-name'? Observe मन्त्रबाहुकः मन्त्रबाहुकाः, which are epithets and not Proper Nouns (मन्त्रो बाहु बल्ब); or these are names of quadrupeds.

२०३४ । अनिलचो च । ५ । ३ । ७९ ॥

तथैव ॥

2034. Also the affixes ghan (इय) and ilach (इल) come after a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, when compassion or courtesy joined with compassion is expressed.

Note :—The force of च्च is that the other affix क्क also comes, as well as डङ् ॥ Thus from देवदत्त we have: देवियः, देविलः, देविकः, देवदत्तकः (V. 3. 88. S. 2035).

२०३५ । ठाजादावूर्ध्वद्वितीयादश्च । ५ । ३ । ८३ ॥

अस्मिन्प्रकरणे यद्योऽजादिप्रत्ययश्च तस्मिन्प्रत्ययेपरे प्रकृतेर्द्वितीयादश्च ऊर्ध्वं सर्वं लुप्यते । अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तो देविकः । देवियः । देविलः, देवदत्तकः । अनुकम्पिता वायुदत्तो वायुदत्तकः । उग्रहयडुंको द्वितीयस्य कविधानार्थश्च । वायुकः । पितृकः ॥

चतुर्थादश्च ऊर्ध्वस्य लोपोः वाच्यः * ॥ अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पति दत्तो, बृहस्पतिकः ॥

अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ देवदत्तकः ॥ देवकः ॥

लोपः पूर्वपदस्य च * ॥ दत्तिकः । दत्तियः । दत्तिलः । दत्तकः ॥

विनापि प्रत्ययं पूर्वोत्तरपादयोर्वा लोपो वाच्यः * ॥ देवदत्तः । दत्तः । देवः ॥ सत्यभामा । भामा ।

सत्य ॥

उवर्णाह इलस्य च * ॥ भातुदत्तः भातुलः ॥

श्रुवर्णादपि * ॥ सवित्रियः । सवितृलः ॥ ल इति लोप सज्ञा प्राप्ताश्च ।

चतुर्थादनजादौ च लोपः पूर्वपदस्य च ॥

अप्रत्यये तथैवेष्ट उवर्णाह इलस्य च ॥ १ ॥

2035. When *tha* (V. 3. 78 S. 2033) or one of the affixes beginning with a vowel (V. 3. 79, 80 S. 2034, 2036) taught above, follows, there is elision of* all that portion which comes after the second vowel of the name of a human being.

The word लोप is understood here from V. 3. 82. S. 2039. The word ऊर्ध्वश्च indicates that the *whole* of that portion of the term which follows the second vowel should be elided, otherwise, only the first letter of the third syllable would have been elided (by I. 1. 54. S. 44). The illustrations have been given above. Thus देवदत्त + इक; here all the letters after the *अ* of देव should be elided : as देविकः, so also देवियः, देविलः ॥

The affix ढ is replaced by इक् or क (VII. 3. 50; 51). hence its special mention in this sūtra. For had it not been used, the sūtra would have run thus. 'When an affix beginning with a vowel follows &c' This rule would have applied to इक् substitute of ढ, but not to क substitute of ढ which comes after words ending in उ, ऋ, ॠ, इस् and उस् ॥ But it is intended that क (and not इक्) substitute of ढ should be added to words whose second syllables end in उक् (उ or क) vowels. If it be said that इक् substitute of ढ would be sufficient for words like वायुदत्तः &c. also as it will cause the elision of the third and subsequent syllables; and when such syllables are elided, क would be the proper substitute to add to वायु and not इक्, which we can do by the rule of *sthānivat*; we say, it is not so. For if it were the case, we should add the क substitute and not इक् in the following, मयित् + ढक् (VI. 4. 51 S. 2313) = मयित् + ढक् (VI. 4. 148. S. 311). because, after elision, मयित् ends with ह्

But we know that क is not added but इक, and we have कथितिकः ॥ Hence the employment of इ in the sūtra is proper as बाहुवत्तः—बाहुकः, पित्रवत्तः—पित्रकः ॥

Vart:—It should be stated that the portion after the fourth vowel is elided in certain cases. As अनुकम्पितो वृहस्पतिवत्तः—वृहस्पतिकः, वृहस्पतिवः, वृहस्पतिवः ॥

Vart:—When an affix not beginning with a vowel follows, the elision is optional. Thus देववत्त + कच् = देववत्तकः or देवकः; अश्ववत्तकः or अश्वकः ॥

Vart:—There is elision of the first term, when these affixes इच् &c. denoting compassion, whether beginning with vowel or not, follow. Thus कथिकाः, वसिकाः, दसिकाः, हसिकाः from देववत्त or अश्ववत्त or बाहुवत्त &c.

Vart:—The diminutive of compassion or endearment may be formed without adding any affix, by simply dropping either the first or the second term of the name. Thus वत्तः or देवः from देववत्तः, सत्यभामा—भामा or सत्या ॥

Vart:—The affix इल is replaced by ल after a word ending in इ as, आनुलः from आनुवत्तः, वज्रलः—वज्रवत्तः ॥ The ल is a designation for lopa in the terminology of the ancients.

Vartika:—So also after a word ending in कृ as सविहृलः or सविहिलः ॥

२०३६ । प्राच्यामुपादेरडञ्जुचौ च । ५ । ३ । ८० ॥

उपशब्दपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकात्पूर्वविषये अडच् डुच् एतौ त्तः । प्राच्याप्राप्तम् । प्राचां मरणं पूजार्थम् । अनुकम्पित उपेन्द्रवत्तः उपडः । उपकः । उपिकः । उपिच । उपिलः । उपेन्द्रवत्तकः । अइ कृपाणि ॥

2036. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, the affixes aḍach (अड) and vuch (अक) also come after a human-name beginning with the word उप ॥

The च shows that the former affixes also come. The sense of the affixes are the same as above viz. compassion or courtesy. Thus from the word उपेन्द्रवत्त, we have, 1. उपेन्द्रवत्तकः (kan), 2. उपिकः (ṭhach), 3. उपिलः (ilach), 4. उपिचः (ghan), 5. उपकः (vuch), 6. उपडः (aḍach). The shortened forms are by V. 3. 83 S. 2035. In diminutives, the forms are generally shortened. The word प्राचां is used as a sign of respect (pujaṛtha), for the word वा was understood in the aphorism by anuvṛitti from V. 3. 78.

२०३७ । जातिनाम्नः कन् । ५ । ३ । ८१ ॥

मनुष्यनाम्न इत्येव । जातिशब्दो यो मनुष्यनामधेयस्तस्मात्कन्स्वावशुक्तम्प्राची नीतो च । सिंहकः । श्वरमकः । राक्षसकः ॥ द्वितीयं संश्लेषं चेत्यश्वदेवोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ अश्वकृपितः कर्होडः कर्हिकः ॥ वृकाक्षरपूर्ववशनाहुसरहोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वागाशीरवत्तः वाचिकः । कथं वडह्युक्तिवत्तः वाडिक इति ॥ अथवा जातिवचनात्सिद्धम् ॥

2037. The affix *kan* क is added to the Name of a human being, which expresses a special idea: when compassion, or courtesy is meant.

The word *manushya nāmnaḥ* of S. 2033 is understood here.

The *जातिनामन्* are words like *व्याघ्र* &c. which are well-known names of particular species of animals &c, but which come to be applied to men by way of metaphor. The *anuvṛtti* of *बहुचः* does not extend to it. This is a general rule. Thus *सिंहकः*, *घरभकः*, *रासभकः* ॥ The word *वा* being understood in this *sūtra*, the previous affixes also come, as *सिंहिलः* ॥ The word *नामन्* is used along with *जाति*, to prevent the affix being added to the word-form *जाति* (I. i. 68).

Vṛti:—When the second vowel is *ओ*, *औ*, *ए*, or *ऐ*, then this is also elided. As *लहिकः* from *लहोडः*, *कहिकः* from *कहोडः* ॥

Vṛti:—When the first member consists of a single syllable, there is elision of the second member : as *वाचिकः* from *वागाशीरत्तः* (the *गृ* changed back to *च्* because the stem is now *ञ* and not *वृ* and rule VIII. 2. 39 S. 84 does not apply). So also *स्तुचिकः*, *स्वाचिकः* ॥ The form *वडिकः* (and not *वचिकः* from *वद*) is an exception. It is diminutive of *वडहृष्टुलिरत्तः* ॥

२०३८ । शेवलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्यमादीनां तृतीयात् । ५ । ३ । ८४ ॥

एषां मनुष्यनाम्नां गजाश्वौ परे तृतीयादश्च ऊर्ध्वं लोपः स्यात् । पूर्वत्वापवादः । अनुकम्पितः शेवलरत्तः शेवलिकः । शेवलियः । शेवलिकः । सुपरिकः । विशालिकः । वरुणिकः । अर्जमिकः ॥

2038. There is elision of that portion of the word, which follows the third vowel, in the case of a man-name beginning with *Śeṣala*, *Supari*, *Viśāla*, *Varuṇa*, and *Aryaman*, when the above affixes *tha* or those having an initial vowel follow.

This debars the previous *sūtra*. Thus *अनुकम्पितः शेवलरत्तः* = *शेवलिकः*, *शेवलिकः*, *शेवलिलः*, *सुपरिकः*, *सुपरियः*, *सुपरिलः* from *सुपरिरत्तः*, so also *विशालिकः*, *विशालियः*, *विशालीलः*, *वरुणिकः*, *वरुणियः*, *वरुणिलः*, *अर्जमिकः*, *अर्जमियः* and *अर्जमिलः* ॥

२०३९ । अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च । ५ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अजिनान्तान्मनुष्यनाम्नोऽनुकम्पायां कञ् तस्य चोत्तरपदलोपः । अनुकम्पितो व्याघ्रजिनो व्याघ्रकः । सिंहकः ।

2039. The affix *kan* (क) comes in the sense of compassion, after a man-name ending in *अजिन*, and this second member is elided before the affix.

The words कृत् and मनुष्यनाम्नः are understood in this sūtra. Thus व्याघ्रकः from व्याघ्राजिनः and सिंहकः from सिंहाजिनः ॥ Vyāghrājina and Sinhājina are names of men.

२०४० । अल्पे । ५ । ३ । ८५ ॥

अल्पं तैलं तैलिकम् ॥

2040. The above-mentioned affixes क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and the rest come in expressing the small quantity or small number of anything.

Thus अल्पं तैलं - तैलिकं 'a little oil.'

२०४१ । ह्रस्वे । ५ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ह्रस्वो वृक्षो वृक्षकः ॥

2041. The above mentioned-affixes (V. 3. 70. S. 2025) come in expressing shortness of length or diminutive.

The ह्रस्व here is opposed to दीर्घ or 'long'. Thus ह्रस्वोवृक्षः - वृक्षकः 'a small tree'.

२०४२ । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ८७ ॥

ह्रस्वहेतुका वा संज्ञा तस्यां गम्यमानायां कन् । पूर्वस्यापवादः । वंशकः । वेशुकः ॥

2042. The affix kan (क) comes when the short thing is a Name.

Thus वंशकः, वेशुकः ॥ This debarbs क ॥

२०४३ । कुटीरासमीशुण्डाभ्यो रः । ५ । ३ । ८८ ॥

ह्रस्व कुटी कुटीरः । शमीरः । शुण्डारः ॥

2043. The affix र comes after the words kuṭī, śamī and śuṇḍā, when shortness of length is meant

The word ह्रस्वा is understood here, but not संज्ञा ॥ This debarbs क V. 3. 70. S. 2025. Thus ह्रस्वा कुटी - कुटीरः, शमीरः and शुण्डारः ॥

Note:—The derivatives are masculine names; though the primitives are feminine.

२०४४ । कुत्वाडुपच् । ५ । ३ । ८९ ॥

ह्रस्वा कुट् कुटुपः । कुट् कुत्तेः जेषपात्रं ह्रस्वा सा कुटुपः पुमान् ॥

2044. The affix ḍupach (उप) comes, in expressing diminution, after the word kuṭī 'a jar'.

This debarbs क ॥ Thus कुटुपः, from कुट् the long क being elided owing to उ ॥ It means a small leathern vessel for oil. This word is neuter also. as, कुटुपम् ॥ See Amarakosha II. 9. 33.

२०४५ । कासुगोणीभ्यां छरच् । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

आयुधविशेषः कासः । इत्वा सा कासतरी । गोणीतरी ॥

2045. The affix *shṭarach* (छरच् with feminine ई IV. 1. 40. S. 497) comes in expressing diminutive, after the words *kāśū* and *goṇī*.

Thus इत्वा कासः = कासतरी 'a small lance' ; गोणीतरी 'a small sack'.

२०४६ । वत्सोक्षाश्वर्षभेभ्यश्च तनुत्वे । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

वत्सतरः । द्वितीयं वयः प्राप्तः । उक्षतरः । अश्वतरः । वृषभतरः । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ततनुत्वं एवावय्व ॥

2056. The affix *shṭarach* expresses slenderness, after the words *vatsa*, *ukshan*, *aśva*, and *ṛishava*.

The *anuvṛitti* of इत्वं ceases. Thus वत्सतरः 'a weaned calf' becoming slender in reaching the second period of its age. उक्षतरः 'a slender bull' : being the third age of a वत्स ॥ अश्वतरः 'a mule' : (तस्य तनुत्वमन्यपि नृकता) ; वृषभ-तरः 'a slender bull or that cannot draw the load'.

२०४७ । किंयत्तदोर्निर्धारणे द्वयोरेकस्य डतरच् । ५ । ३ । ९२ ॥

अनयोः कतरो वैष्णवः । यतरः । ततरः । महाविभाषया कः । यः । सः ॥

2047. After the words *kim*, *yad* and *tad*, in determining of the one out of two, comes the affix *ḍatarach* (डतरच् with the elision of the final इम् and अद्) ॥

Note :—This affix comes in the *svārtha* sense. The differentiation of a portion from the whole by means of its peculiar caste, action, attribute or name is called निर्धारण or specification.

Thus अनयोः कतरो वैष्णवः 'amongst these two, who is a Vaishnava'.

Similarly यतरः 'of the two the one who', ततरः 'of that two—the one'.

The *taddhita* affixes being optional by the Great option of sūtra IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 this idea may be expressed by the word कः, यः or सः also. As, कौ भवतो देवदत्तः स आगच्छतु 'who amongst you two is Devadatta, let him come'.

२०४८ । वा बहुनां जातिपरिग्रहे डतमच् । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

बहुनां मध्ये एकस्य निर्धारणे डतमच् वा स्यात् । जातिपरिग्रह इति प्रत्याख्यातमाकरे । कतनो भवतां कठः । यतमः । ततमः वामहयमकजर्घ्यम् । यकः । सकः । महाविभाषया यः सः ॥ किनोऽस्मिन्निषेधे डतरजपि * ॥ कतरः ॥

2048. The affix *ḍatamach* (डतमच् with the elision of the last syllable) comes after *kim*, *yat* and *tat*, optionally, when the object is the determining of the one out of many, the question being that of *jāti*.

The phrase 'the question being that of caste' is redundant.

The words किञ्चनः and निर्धारणे एकस्य are to be read into the sūtra. Thus कतनो भवतां कः 'which of you, Sirs, is a Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa?' यतनो भवतां कः ततम आगच्छतु 'that one of you, Sirs, who is a Kaṭha, let him come'. The word वा 'optionally' indicates that the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) also comes, as वको भवतांकः, सकः, आगच्छतु ॥ This idea may be expressed by कः वा and सः also, owing to the महाविभाषा (IV. 1. 82. S. 1072): as, को भवतां कः योः, भवतां कः, स आगच्छतु ॥

Vart:—The affix उत्तर has also this force, after the word किञ्च, as, कतरो भवतां कः 'which of you, Sirs, is a Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa?' As may be inferred from the sūtra. कतरकतनो जातिपरिमये (II. 1. 63. S. 742).

२०४६ एकाच्च प्राच्याम् । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

उत्तरच् उत्तमच्च स्यात् । अनयोरेकतरो मेघः । एषामेकतमः ॥

2049. After the word एक, according to the opinion of Eastern grammarians, may be added the affixes datarach and datamach in the above senses.

The च draws in उत्तरच् ॥ That is उत्तरच् comes when one out of two is to be specified; and उत्तमच् when one out of many is to be specified. The word जातिपरिमय does not govern this sūtra: it being a general rule. Thus अनयोरेकतरो मेघः । एषामेकतमः ॥

The word प्राच्याम् is for pujaṛtha; because the word वा is already understood in the sūtra.

२०५० । अवक्षेपणे कन् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

व्याकरणकेन गर्वितः । येनेतरः कुत्स्यते तद्विशेषाहरणम् । स्वतः कुत्सिते तु कुत्सित इत्यस्य ॥

2050. The affix kan (क) comes after a nominal stem, in expressing scoffing.

Thus व्याकरणकः 'Grammar' used in a derisive sense, when its study produces pride. As व्याकरणकेन नाम त्वं गर्वितः 'thou art proud, because thou hast read *grammar* only'. Here the word व्याकरण is used in a mocking sense. When, however, the derision applies to the person itself, then कन् is added by V. 3. 14. S. 2029: as देवदत्तकः &c.

So far the governing power of क V, 3. 70 S. 2025.

अथ तद्धित तद्राज प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TADRĀJA AFFIXES.

२०५१ । इवे प्रतिकृतौ । ५ । ३ । ९६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । अन्ध इव प्रतिकृतिः अन्धकः । प्रतिकृतौ किञ् । गौरिव गवयः ॥

2051. The affix कन् means also 'like this'; when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed.

The word कन् is understood here. Thus अन्ध इवाद्यमन्ध प्रतिकृति = अन्धकः 'an imitation of a horse' in wood or clay &c. Why do we say 'imitation?' Observe गौरिव गवयः "The gayal cow",

२०५२ । संज्ञायां च । ५ । ३ । ९७ ॥

इवार्ये कन् स्यात्संज्ञायां चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते । अप्रतिकृत्यर्थमात्म्भः । अन्धसदृशस्य संज्ञा अन्धकः । उष्ट्रकः ॥

2052. The affix kan comes in the sense of 'like this', when the whole word so formed is a Name.

This applies when imitation is not meant. Thus अन्धसदृशस्य संज्ञा = अन्धकः 'a thing reminding a horse', उष्ट्रकः ॥

२०५३ । लुप्पन्नुप्ये । ५ । ३ । ९८ ॥

संज्ञायां विहितस्य कनो लुप्पन्नुप्ये वाच्ये । अङ्घ्रा लृणमयः पुमान् । अङ्घ्रेव ननुप्यअङ्घ्रा । वघ्निका ॥

2053. When in the same way a Man is denoted, the affix is elided by lup; the word retaining its number and gen.

लुप्पन्नुप्ये (अङ्घ्रेवमनुप्यः) 'straw-man' i. e. an effigy in straw. So also वघ्निका &c. For accent see VI. 1. 204. S. 3692.

Note:—Why do we say 'a man'? Observe अन्धकः, उष्ट्रकः &c. This sūtra may be considered to be an enlargement of V. 8. 100, S. 2055.

२०५४ । जीविकार्ये चापरये । ५ । ३ । ९९ ॥

जीविकार्ये यशविक्रीयमाणं तस्मिन्वाच्ये कनो लुप्पन्नुप्ये । वाङ्मदेवः । शिवः । स्कन्दः । देवलकानां जीविकार्यास्तु इवप्रतिकृतिभिर्वचः । अपरये किञ् हस्तिकान्विकीर्यीति ॥

2054. A similar elision of the affix कन् takes place then also, when the figure is made a means of livelihood, it being presumed, that no traffic is driven thereby.

. That which is bought and sold is called वण् ; that which is not so dealt with is अवण् ॥ The rule applies to the *images* of gods which are made means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmaṇas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door. Thus वासुदेवः 'the idol of Vāsudeva': शिवः 'the idol of Śiva'. स्कन्ः &c.

Why do we say अवण्ये ? Observe, हस्तिकान् विक्रीयति 'he sells the images of elephants'. अव्यकान्, रयकान् ॥

Note :—This rule is also an amplification of V. 3. 100. S. 2055.

२०५५ । देवपथादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०० ॥

कनो लुप्त्यात् । देवपथः । हंसपथः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

Note :—अर्चासु पूजनार्थासु चित्रकर्मध्वजेषु च ।

इव प्रतिकृतौ लोपः कनो देवपथादिषु ॥

2055. After the words devapatha &c, there is similar elision of the affix kan, (V. 3. 96 S. 2051 and 97. S. 2052) expressing an image or a Name.

The देवपथ class is आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देवपथः, हंसपथः ॥

1 देवपथ, 2 हंसपथ, 3 वारिपथ, 4 रथपथ, 5 स्थलपथ*, 6 करिपथ*, 7 अजपथ*, 8 राजपथ, 9 शतपथ* 10 शङ्खपथ, 11 सिन्धुपथ (सिंहपथ), 12 सिद्धगति (सिंहगति), 13 उष्ट्रग्रीव (उष्ट्रग्रीवा), 14 वायरज्जु (चामरज्जु), 15 हस्त, 16 हन्त्र, 17 रथज, 18 पुष्प, 19 मत्स्य, 20 जलपथ, 21 रज्जु, It is आकृतिगण ॥

Note :—The affix कन् is elided when the imitation is an image of a god that is worshipped, or a picture, or a design on a flag. As शिवः, विष्णुः are examples of gods, अर्जुनः 'the picture of Arjuna', दुर्योधनः 'the picture of Duryodhana' कपिः 'the flag having the figure of monkey' गरुडः the eagle-flag.

२०५६ । वस्तेर्द्वय् । ५ । ३ । १०१ ॥

इत्येवमुच्यते । प्रतिकृताविति निवृत्तम् । वस्तिरिव वास्तेयम् । वास्तेयी ॥

2056. The affix dhañ एय comes after vasti, in the sense of 'like this'.

The word इव is understood here. The affixes taught hence forward come in a general sense, and are not confined to images. Thus वास्तिरिव = वास्तेयः fem. वास्तेयी 'like the abdomen'.

२०५७ । शिलाया ढः । ५ । ३ । १०२ ॥

शिलाया इति योगविभागादुपपत्तिके । शिलेव शिलेयम् । शिलेयम् ॥

2057. The affix *ḍha* (ढ्य) comes after *śilā*, in the sense of 'like this'.

Thus शिलेव = शिलेयं दधि: curd, hard as stone. According to some the affix इम् also comes after शिला, by dividing this sūtra into two : namely (1) शिलायाः " the affix *ḍhan* comes after *śilā* ". (2) इ: " So also the affix *ḍha* ". as शिलेयम् ॥

२०५८ । शाखादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । ३ । १०३ ॥

शाखेव शाख्यः । शुख्यः । जघनमिव जघन्यः । अमघः । शरण्यः ॥

2058. The affix *yat* (यत्) comes, in the sense of 'like this', after *śākhā* &c.

Thus शाखेव = शाख्यः, शुख्यः (VI. 1. 213 S. 3701) जघन्यः, अमघः, शरण्यः ॥

1 शाखा 2 शुख, 3 जघन, 4 शृङ्ग, 5 मेघ, 6 अमघः, 7 चरण, 8 स्कन्ध, 9 स्कन्द 10 उरस्, 11 शिरस्, 12 अम, 13 शरण ॥

२०५९ । द्रव्यं च भव्ये । ५ । ३ । १०४ ॥

द्रव्यमयं ब्राह्मणः ॥

2059. The word *dravya* is anomalous, meaning beautiful.

The word *dravya* is formed by adding *yat* to the word द्रु ॥ The word भव्य means 'nice, excellent, proper, fit; having or containing in himself all the desired requisites'. As द्रव्योयं ब्राह्मणः 'how nice is this Brāhmaṇa'.

२०६० । कुशामाच्छुः । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

कुशाममिव कुशामीया बुद्धिः ॥

2060. The affix *chha* (ईय) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the word *kuśāgra*.

Thus कुशामीया (कुशाममिव सुक्ष्मत्वात्) बुद्धिः "Intellect sharp as the point of the *kuśa* grass". कुशामीयं वस्त्रम् ॥

२०६१ । समासाच्च तद्विषयात् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

इवार्थविषयास्तमासाच्छः स्यात् । काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वधः । इह काकतालसमागमसदृशजौ-
रसमागम इति समासार्थः । तत्प्रयुक्तः काकमरणसदृशस्तु प्रत्ययार्थः । अजाकुपाणीयः । भक्तकिंतोषनस्त
इति फलितोऽर्थः ॥

2061. The affix *chha* (ईय) comes also, only in the sense of 'like this,' after a compound noun which contains in itself the force of 'like this'.

Note :—The word तद् refers to इव, and तद्विषय means इवार्थविषय ॥ A compound which is formed with the force of इव, takes the affix छ, when a second इव is to be

indicated. In the chapter on Compounds, no samāsa is taught with the force of इव; this sūtra, therefore, indicates by implication that such a samāsa of two nouns can be formed, having hidden in it the sense of इव ॥ Such a samāsa will come under the head of सुप् सुप् समासः (II. 1. 4 § 649).

Thus काकतालीव, अजाकुपाजीव, अन्धकवर्तकीव ॥

The word काकतालीव means 'like the crow and the palm-fruit : the unexpected and sudden fall of a palm-fruit upon the head of a crow so as to kill it, at the very moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree ; and is used to denote a very unexpected and accidental occurrence'. Thus Devadatta happens to enter a village, and on that very day, robbers happen to attack the village, and in the fray, Devadatta is killed, this coincidence of the robbers, and Devadatta is called काकतालीवसमागमः, and the killing of Devadatta is like that of the crow by the ताल fruit. The first case of समागमः will form the compound, the second case of वधः will give rise to the affixing of छ, as काकतालीवो देवदत्तस्य वधः (the compound काकताल meaning काकतालसमागमसदृशश्चौर समागमः and the derivative word काकतालीवः meaning काकमरणसदृशः) :

Similarly अजाकुपाजीव means "like the death of a goat (ajā) by the accidental falling of a sword (kṛipāṇa) as the goat was passing". Similarly अन्धकवर्तकीव means "like the accidental falling of a quail (vartakā) in to the hands of a blind person who thus captures it". All these are unintentional (atarkita) and curious (chitrikaraṇa) coincidences. In short, these words mean 'accidentally.', 'unexpectedly'.

२०६२ । शर्करादिभ्यो ञ् । ५ । ३ । १०७ ॥

शर्करेव शर्करम् ॥

2062. The affix an (अ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words śarkarā &c.

Thus शर्करेव = शर्करम्,

1 शर्करा, 2 कपालिका, 3 कषाटिका, 4 कनिष्ठिका (कपिष्ठिका : विष्ठिका, कनिष्ठिक), 5 पुण्डरीक, 6 क्षयपथ, 7 गोलोमन, 8 लोमन्*, 9 गोपुच्छ, 10 नराची (नरालि), 11 नकुल (नकुला), 12 सिकता ॥

२०६३ । अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०८ ॥

अङ्गुलीव आङ्गुलिकः । मङ्गजव मङ्गजिकः ॥

2063. The affix thak (इक् or क्) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words aṅgulī &c.

Thus आङ्गुलिकः (= अङ्गुलीव) मङ्गजिकः ॥

1 आङ्गुलि (अङ्गुली), 2 मङ्गज, 3 वज्र, 4 वल्गु, 5 मण्डर, 6 मण्डल, 7 क्षण्डुली (क्षण्डुल), 8 हरिः, 9 कपि, 10 हुनि*, 11 वृक्ष, 12 खलः, 13 उदम्बित, 14 गोपी, 15 हरिः, 16 कुलिश, 17 शिला ॥

२०६४ । एकशालायाद्युज्यन्तरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

एकशालायाद्व्यतिथौ ढञ्च पठे ढक् । एकशालेव एकशालिकः । एकशालिकः ॥

2064. The affix *ṭhach* (ईक) also comes optionally after the word *ekasāla*, with the force of 'like this',

Thus एकशालिकः by *ṭhach* or एकशालिकः by ढक् ॥

२०६५ । कर्कलोहितादीकक् । ५ । ३ । ११० ॥

कर्कः शुक्लोऽथः स इव कार्कीकः । लौहितीकः स्फटिकः ॥

2065. The affix ईक comes in the sense of 'like this' after *karka* and *lohita*.

Thus कार्कीकः 'like कर्क or white horse'. लौहितीकः स्फटिकः 'a crystal though not itself red, appears red, owing to the reflection of some thing behind it'.

२०६६ । पूगाञ् ज्यो अग्रामणीपूर्वात् । ५ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इवाथो निवृत्तः । नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तयोर्धकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगास्तद्वाचकास्त्वर्थे ङञ् स्यात् । लौहित्यञ्ज्यः ॥

2066. The affix *ñya* (ञ्) is added without changing the connotation, to a word denoting a horde, but not when the word is derived from the name of their leader.

The anuvṛitti of इव ceases. The word *पूत* means a crowd of men of various castes, having no fixed livelihood, connected together with the object of acquiring wealth &c. Thus लौहित्यञ्ज्यः 'the red bannered horde'. *duat* लौहित्यञ्ज्यो, pl. लौहित्यञ्जाः ॥ Similarly, शैब्यः, शैब्यो, शिबयः, चातक्यः, चातक्यो, चातकाः ॥ In the plural, the affix is elided by II. 4. 62. S. 1193.

Note :—Why do we say अग्रामणीपूर्वात् ? Observe देवदत्तकाः (V. 2. 78, S. 1878) 'a horde whose leader is Devadatta'. From this sūtra, commence the तद्वाञ् affixes &c, the affixes that have the sense of 'King thereof'. The affix *ज्य*, therefore, has this meaning also viz. 'the leader of the horde'. Here we repeat V. 3. 113, S. 1100 owing to the context.

२०६६ । क ॥ व्रातच्छोरस्त्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

व्राते । कापोतपाक्यः । च्फञ् । कौञ्जावन्यः । ब्राध्मावन्यः ॥

2066. A. The affix *ñya* comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in *chphañ* (आयर्न IV. 1. 98. S. 1049) without change of sense ; but not in the feminine.

A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence are called *व्रात* or 'wild band'. Thus कापोतपाक्यः

'a wild band living on pigeons', d. कापोतपाक्ष्यौ and pl. कपोतपाकाः ॥ So with words ending in चक्रम्, as कौञ्जावन्यः, d. कौञ्जावन्यौ, pl. कौञ्जावनाः, ब्राह्मवन्यः d. ब्राह्मवन्यौ pl. ब्राह्मवनाः ॥

Note :—Why do we say " not in the Feminine ? Observe कपोतपाकी, ब्रीहिवती, कौञ्जावनी, ब्राह्मवनी ॥

२०६७। आयुधजीविसङ्घाम्यद्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् । ५ । ३ । ११४ ॥

वाहीकेषु य आयुधजीविसङ्घस्तद्वाचिनः स्वार्थे ऽयद् । शौर्यक्यः । मालव्यः । दित्वाण्डीप् । चौरकी । आयुधेति किम् । मल्लाः । सङ्घेति किम् । सङ्घाद् । वाहीकेषु किम् । शबराः । ब्रह्मणोति किम् । गोपालकाः । शालङ्कावनाः । ब्राह्मणे तद्विशेषमहणम् । राजन्ये स्वरूपमहणम् ॥

2067. To a name expressing a multitude living by the trade of arms, is added the affix ūyaṭ (य with the fem. in ई), when it is the name among the Vāhikas ; but not when it is the name of a Brāhmaṇa, nor when the word is Rājanya.

The anuvṛtiti of अस्त्रियाम् does not govern this sūtra. Thus कौण्डीवृत्त्यः, कौण्डीवृत्त्यौ pl. कौण्डीवृत्त्याः, fem. कौण्डीवृत्ती, शौर्यक्यः, चौरक्यौ, pl. चुरकाः fem. चौरकी, मालव्यः, मालव्यौ pl. मालवाः fem. मालवी ॥

Why do we say ' living by the profession of arms ' ? Observe मल्लाः ॥ Why do we say ' a multitude ' ? Observe सङ्घाद् ॥ Why do we say ' amongst the Vāhikas ' ? Observe शबराः ॥ Why do we say " not a Brāhmaṇa or the word-form Rājanya " ? Observe गोपालका ब्राह्मणाः, the Brāhmaṇa cow-herds, शालङ्कावना राजन्याः ॥ In the case of a Brahmana the rule applies to a word that is *qualified* by the word Brāhmaṇa ; while in the case of राजन्य, the sūtra teaches that the very word-form ' rājanya ' should be taken.

२०६८। वृकाद्वेय्यम् । ५ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घवाचकास्वार्थे । वार्केय्यः । आयुधेति किम् । जानिशास्त्रान्मा भूत् ॥

2068. The affix ṭenyan (एय्य) with the fem. in ई, comes after the word Vṛika, a class of persons living by trade of arms.

Thus वार्केय्यः (वार्केय्यौ, pl. वृका, fem. वार्केणी) ॥

Why do we say ' living by the profession of arms ' ? The affix will not come when वृक means ' a wolf '. As कामक्रोधौ मनुष्याणां खादितारौ वृकाविब ॥

२०६९। दामन्यादिभिर्गतेष्वष्टाच्छः । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

दामन्यादिभ्यश्चिगर्तषष्ठ्याशुधजीविसङ्घवाचिभ्यः स्वार्थे छः स्यात् । चिगर्तः षष्ठो वर्गो येषां ते चिगर्तषष्ठाः ॥

आहुश्चिगर्तषष्ठांस्तु कौण्डोपरयशण्डकी ॥

कोटुकिर्जालमानिष ब्रह्मयुतोऽय आत्मिकः ॥ १ ॥

शमनीयः । शमनीयौ । शमनयः । भौलपि । भौलपीयः । चिगर्तः । कौण्डोपरधीयः । शण्डकीयः ॥

2069. The affix *chha* (ईय) comes without changing the sense, after *dâmini* &c, and after the six warrior-stocks called *Traigarta shashṭha*.

The following are the six warrior races, of *Trigarta*: कौण्डोपरय, दाण्डकि, क्रोष्टुकि, जालमनि, ब्रह्मगुप्तः and जालकिः ॥

Thus रामनीयः. रामनीयौ, pl. रामनयः । भालनीयः, भालनीयौ, pl. उत्तपयः । कौण्डोपरधीयः pl. कौण्डोपरयाः । दाण्डकीयः pl. दाण्डकयः.

1 रामनि, 2 भौलापि, 3 बैजवापि*, 4 औशकी (भौनाकि औनाकि) 5 औशक्कि*, 6 अच्युनन्ति, (अच्युनन्ति), 7 भाच्युतन्ति* (भाच्युतन्ति), 8 बाकुन्तिकि*, 9 भाकिदन्ति, 10 भौडवि*, 11 काक-
वन्तकि (काकगन्ति), 12 बाहुनपि, 13 सार्वसेनि, 14 बिन्दु, 15 वैन्दवि*, 16 तुलभ, 17 मोञ्जायन, 18 काकन्दि, 19 सानित्रीपुत्र, 20 काकरन्ति 21 इववापि 22 अपच्युतको, 23 कर्क्री, 24 पिण्ड ॥

२०७० । पश्वादि यौधेयादिभ्यांऽणञौ । ५ । ३ । ११७ ॥

आयुधजीवसङ्गवाचिभ्य एभ्यः क्रमादणञां स्तः स्वार्थे । पार्श्वः । पार्श्वौ । पर्ववः । यौधेयः । यौधेयौ । यौधेयाः ॥

2070. The affix *an* (अ) comes after *parśu* &c, and the affix *añ* (अ) comes after *yaudheya* &c, without changing the sense : when these words denote warrior classes.

Thus पार्श्वः, d. पार्श्वौ pl. पर्ववः । यौधेयः d. यौधेयौ pl. यौधेयाः ॥

1 पशु, 2 असुर, 3 रक्षस्, 4 बाहीक (बाल्हीक), 5 वयस्, 6 वसु, 7 मरुत्, 8 सस्वत्, 9 शेषाह 10 विशाच, 11 अशानि 12 कार्पापण ॥

1 यौधेय, 2 कौशेय, 3 शौकेय, 4 शौभेय, 5 घातैय, 6 धातैय 7 ज्यावाभेय (ज्यावालेय), 8 विगत, 9 भरत, 10 उशीनर 11 कौशेय, 12 वार्ष्णेय ॥ See IV. 1. 178.

२०७१ । अभिजिद्विदभृच्छालावच्छिखावच्छमीवदूर्णावच्छकुमदणो यञ् ।

५ । ३ । ११८ ॥

अभिजिदादिभ्योऽणन्तेभ्यः स्वार्थे यञ्स्यात् । अभिजितोऽपत्यमाभिजित्यः । वैदभृत्यः । शालावत्यः । शौखावत्यः । शानीवत्यः । भौर्णावत्यः । भौमत्यः ॥

2071. The affix *yañ* (अ) comes without changing the sense, after the words *abhijit*, *bidabhrit*, *sâlâvat*, *sikhâvat*, *samîvat*, *îrṇâvat*, and *śrumat*, when those words end in the Patronymic affix *अण्* ॥

The *anuvṛtiti* of आयुधजीवसंज्ञात् ceases. Thus अभिजितोऽपत्यम् = आभिजित, add यञ् to this, आभिजित्यः, pl. आभिजिताः, वैदभृत्यः pl. वैदभृताः, शालावत्यः pl. शालावताः, शेषावत्यः pl. शेषावताः, शानीवत्यः pl. शानीवताः, भौर्णावत्यः, भौर्णावता, भौमत्यः and भौमताः ॥

Note :—The अण् here is Patronymic. Otherwise आभिजितो हुहर्त्तः and आभिजितः स्यालीपाकः, the affix here is अण् of नञ्नेय युक्तः कालः IV. 2. 3 S. 1204 and of सास्यदेवता IV. 2. 24 S. 1226 respectively.

२०७२ । ज्यादयस्तद्राजाः । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

पुनाभ्भ्य इत्यारभ्य उक्ता एतस्संज्ञाः स्युः । तेनास्त्रिणां बहुषु लुक् । लोहितध्वजः । कपोत-
पाकाः । कौञ्जायनाः । ब्राह्मयना इत्यादि ॥

2072. The affixes ūya &c, (V. 3. 112 &c 2066) are called tadrāja.

The illustrations of Tadrāja affixes have been given above. The word तद्राजा occurs in Sūtra II. 4. 62 S. 1193.

Being tadrāja, the affix is elided in the plural number of non feminine words. As लोहितध्वजाः (S. 2066), कपोतपाकाः (S. 2066 A), कौञ्जायनाः (S. 2066- A), ब्राह्मयनाः (S. 2066 A) &c.

२०७३ । पादशतस्य संख्यादेर्वीप्सायां वुन् लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । १ ॥

लोपवचनमनैमित्तिकत्वार्यम् । अतो न स्यानिवन् । पादः पन् । तद्वितार्थ इति समासे कृते प्रत्ययः । वुन्नन्तं स्त्रियामेव । द्वौ द्वौ पादौ दशति द्विपदिकाश्च ॥ द्विपदिकाश्च ॥

पादशतमद्वयमनर्थकमन्यथापि वर्णनान् * ॥ द्विमोदकिकाश्च ॥

2073. The affix vūn (वुन्) comes after the words pāda and śata when preceded by a numeral, the sense being that of distributive relation ; and the final of the stem is elided.

Prātipadikas preceded by a numeral and ending in the words पाद or शत take the affix वुन् when a distributive sense (वीप्सा) is to be expressed : and by the addition of this, the final is elided.

By VI. 4. 148 the final ञ् of pāda and śata would have been elided before the taddhita affix vūn ; even if such elision was not taught in this rule. The repetition of the word लोप in this rule, therefore, indicates that the elision ordained here is not one *caused* by the affix. For if the elision had been *caused* by the affix, then by I. 1. 57, such लोपादेश or " substitute " would be equivalent to the principal (sthānivat) ; and would thus debar the application of the rule VI. 4. 130 by which पाद् pād (and *not* Pāda) is changed into पद् ॥ In other words, the lopa taught by यत्नेति च is परनिमित्तक or caused by some thing which is subsequent, namely, by a taddhita affix or by इ or ई affix ; therefore, this lopa would be sthāni-vat for the purposes of the rule which would apply to something preceding it (I. 1. 57 S. 50). Therefore, pād becomes sthāni-vat to pād. Therefore, the anga or base ending with ' pāda ' will be called ञ्, and not the base ending with ' pād ', and therefore VI. 4. 130 which applies to ञ् bases will not apply, and there will be no substitution of पद् for पाद्, as there is not in the form पादाञ्च ॥ But we want such substitution and hence the employment of words " the final of the stem is elided ".

Thus द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति "he gives two quarters to each" = द्विपादिकां ददाति (द्विपाद् + बुन् = द्विपाद् + बुन् = द्विपद् + बुन् VI. 4. 130 = द्विपादिका VII. 3. 44 S. 463 by which ञ् of अक् is changed into इ). Similarly द्वे द्वे क्षते ददाति = द्विक्षातिकां ददाति ॥

The compounds above formed are taddhitārtha Tatpuruṣa compounds, viz. compounds containing the sense of a taddhita affix, by rule 11. 1. 51 S. 728. After the compound is formed, then the affix बुन् is added. Thus first we have द्विपाद् and द्विक्षत् compounded by 11. 1. 51 S. 728 then the affix is added. The words पाद् and क्षत् when not so compounded, take बुन् affix only in the feminine.

Note :—Why do we say "of the words पाद् and क्षत्" ? Observe द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति, no affixing. Why do we say "preceded by a numeral" ? Observe पादं पादं ददाति ॥ Why do we say "in a distributive sense" ? Observe द्वौपादौ ददाति "He gives two quarters : " द्वे क्षते ददाति ॥

Vdt :—The enumeration of पाद् and क्षत् is useless, as the affix is found after other words also. As, द्विमोक्षिकां ददाति "he gives two cakes to each". त्रिमोक्षिकां ददाति ॥

२०७४ । दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च । ५ । ४ । २ ॥

बुन् स्यात् । अशीप्तार्थमिदम् । द्वौपादौ दण्डितः द्विपादिकाम्, द्विक्षातिकां, व्यवसृजति दशानीत्यर्थः ॥

2074. Also when the sense is of a punishment or a donation.

The word दण्ड means "punishment", and व्यवसर्ग means "gift or donation". The prātipadikas पाद् and क्षत् preceded by a numeral, and conveying the sense of punishment or donation, take the affix बुन्, and the final ञ् is elided. This sūtra is begun to show that the "distributive sense" does not apply here. Thus द्वौ पादौ दण्डितः = द्विपादिकान् दण्डितः "punished with the infliction of a fine of two Padas (a quarter coin)". द्वौ पादौ व्यवसृजति = द्विपादिकां व्यवसृजति "he makes a gift of two Padas". Similarly द्विक्षातिकां दण्डितः "punished with a fine of two hundreds". द्विक्षातिकां व्यवसृजति &c.

२०७५ । स्थूलादिभ्यः प्रकारवचने कन् । ५ । ४ । ३ ॥

आतीवरोऽपवादः । स्थूलकः । अशुक्लः ॥ अञ्चद्बृहत्तोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अञ्चत्कः । बृहत्कः ॥ सुराया अहौ * ॥ सुरावर्णोऽहिः सुरकः ॥

2075. The affix कन् क comes in the sense of "like that or specialty", after the words sthūla &c.

This debars the affix आतीवर् (V. 3. 69 S. 2024). Thus स्थूलप्रकारः = स्थूलकः "bulky". So also अशुक्लः, नायकः ॥

Vdt :—The words अञ्चत् and बृहत् should be included in the list of sthūlādi words. As, अञ्चत्कः, बृहत्कः ॥ According to one version the words are

चंवा and वृहा and not चंवत् and वृहत् ॥ So the derivatives will be वृहकः and चंवकः the words that end in long vowels वा, ई or ऊ, shorten their vowels before this affix, by VII. 4. 13 S. 834.

Gaṇa-sūtra—The word कृष्ण takes कन् when tila is meant; as कृष्णप्रकारा-स्तिष्ठा = कृष्णकाः ॥

Gaṇa-sūtra—यव takes कन् when meaning ग्रीहि, as यवकाः ॥

Gaṇa-sūtra—इक्षु, तिल, पाय, काल, and अवदात take this affix when wine is meant, a पायिका, कालिका, अवदातिका “a kind of wine”.

Gaṇa-sūtra—गोमूत्र takes this affix when meaning a covering, as गोमूत्रकः ‘a covering of the colour of cow's urine, or go-mūtra may mean a certain arrangement of colours such as white and black’.

Gaṇa-sūtra—सुरा takes कन् when meaning a snake, as सुरकः (VII. 4. 13 S. 834) “a kind of snake of the color of wine”.

Note:—As सुरा + कन् = सुरकः “snake-like”.

Gaṇa-sūtra—जीर्य takes the affix कन् when meaning sāli grain, as जीर्यकाः = जीर्णकल्पा शालयः ॥ The following is a list of Sthulādi words.

1 स्थूल, 2 अणु, 3 माप 4 इषु, 5 कृष्ण तिलेषु 6 यव ग्रीहिषु, 7 इक्षुतिलपायकालावदाताः सुरायाम्, 8 गोमूत्र आच्छादने, 9 सुरा अर्शे, 10 जीर्ण शालिषु, 11 पत्रद्वले समस्तव्यस्ते, 12 कुमारीपुत्र, 13 कुमारीश्वशुर (कुमार, श्वशुर), 14 मणि. ॥

२०७६ । अनत्यन्तगतौ क्तात् । ५ । ४ । ४ ॥

छिन्नकम् । भिन्नकम् । अभिन्नकम् ॥

2076. . After a participle ending in kta, comes the affix kan, when the meaning is something not yet wholly completed.

The word अनत्यन्तगति means “an act which has been fully accomplished”; अनत्यन्तगति therefore, means, “an act which has not been fully accomplished”. Thus भिन्न + कन् = भिन्नकम् “not yet wholly divided” So also छिन्नकम् &c.

Note:—Why do we say “something not wholly completed”? Observe भिन्नम् “totally divided”, छिन्नम् “totally cut”.

३०७७ । न सामिवचने । ५ । ४ । ५ ॥

सामिपर्याये उपपदे क्तान्तात् कन् । सामिकृतम् । अर्धकृतम् । अनत्यन्तगतेरिह प्रकृत्यैवाभिधाना-स्पृष्टेण कन् न प्राप्तः । इदमेव निषेधसूत्रमत्यन्तस्वार्थिकमपि कन् ज्ञापयति । बहुतरकम् ॥

2077. . Not so, when a word in the sense of “half”, precedes such participle.

When the word सामि or any other word having this sense, is compounded, with a participle in क्त, the affix कन् is not added to denote the sense of incompleteness. Thus सामिकृतम्, सामिभुक्तम् &c. (II. 1. 27 S. 689). The word वचन shows that the synonyms of सामि are also to be taken, Thus अर्धकृतम् ।

*Note:—Objection:—*It is redundant to have prohibited कन् after a word preceded by 'half', because the word "half" itself shows that the action has not been completed.

*Note:—Answer:—*The prohibition contained in this sūtra does not refer to the कन् of the last sūtra where it has the sense of "incompleteness". It refers to that कन् which comes after a word, without changing the sense of that word (स्वार्थेकन्) ॥ Thus the words भिन्नतरः and भिन्नतम (the comparative and superlative degrees of भिन्न) show by the very fact of their comparison, that the action denoted by them is not complete. These words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम also take the affix कन् without change of sense. As भिन्नतरकः and भिन्नतमकः and बहुतरकं &c as used by Pāṇjali himself in the following sentences:—एवं हि सूक्ष्मभिन्नतरकं भवति, एतेहि बहुतरकं व्याप्यते ॥ This कन् is also prohibited in the case of compounds with सामि ॥

In fact, the prohibition of this sūtra teaches by implication (Jñāpaka) that कन् comes also in the sense of svārtha. As बहुतरकन् ॥

२०७८ । वृद्ध्या आच्छादने । ५ । ४ । ६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । द्वौ प्रावारोत्तरासङ्गौ सौ वृद्धिका तथा ॥ आच्छादने क्त्वि । वृद्धी कन्दः ॥

2078. The affix kan comes after the word bṛihati when it means "an article of dress".

The word कन् is to be read into this sūtra and not its prohibition. The force of this कन् is *nil*, or it is an example of स्वार्थे कन् ॥ Thus वृद्धि + कन् - वृद्धिका (प्रावारः) (VII. 4. 13 S. 834, by which long vowel is shortened) "an upper garment or mantle", see Amarakosha II. 9. 117.

Why do we say "when it means dress"? Observe वृद्धीकन्दः "the metre called Bṛihati".

२०७९ । अषडक्षाशितङ्ग्वलङ्कर्मालंपुदवाभ्युत्तरपदात्कः । ५ । ४ । ७ ॥

स्वार्थे । अषडक्षीणो मन्त्रः । द्वाभ्यामेव कृत इत्यर्थः । आशिता गावोऽस्मिन्नित्याशितङ्ग्वीनमर ण्वम् । निषातनात्पूर्वस्य सुम् । अलं कर्मणे अलंकरीणः । अलंपुरुषीयः । ईश्वराधीनः । निलोऽयं लः । उत्तरपदे विभाषाप्रवृत्तात् ॥ अन्येऽपि केचित्स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्यया नित्यमिष्यन्ते । तमबाह्वः प्राक्कनः । आह्वः प्राङ्मुनः । आमाह्वः प्राङ्मवटः । वृद्धी जायन्ताः समासान्ताश्चेति ॥

2079. The affix kha (ईन्) comes after the words aṣṭadkṣha, āsitaṅgu, alaṅkarma, alampurusha, and after a stem ending with adhi.

The force of क् is स्वार्थे i. e. it does not change the sense of the word.

*Note:—*The word अषडक्ष means "that which has not six eyes". षडक्ष is compounded from षट् + क्षिण् by adding षच् V. 4. 118 S. 852 "having six eyes". The affix क् is to be added to this word already ending in the affix ṣhach.

Thus अषडाक्षीणा मन्त्रः "a secret not having six eyes". i. e. "a secret

known or determined by two persons (four eyes) only, to the exclusion of a third ". Similarly आशितंगवीनं अरण्यम् = आशिता गावोऽस्मिन्नरण्ये = प्रभूतवचसे " a forest where formerly cattle had grazed ". The augment हुच् is added to आशितम् by nipātana, or irregularly. So also अलंकर्मिणः = अलं समर्थः कर्मणे पराप्तः = competent to do any act, clever. So अलं पुरुषीणः = अलं समर्थः पुरुषाच्च = प्रतिमन्त्रादिः = fit for a man.

A word ending with अधि, will be a Tatpurusha compound, by II. 1. 40, as the word अधि belongs to Śaundādi class. As ईश्वराधीनः ॥

The affix kha in the case of these words is invariable (nitya); because the word विनाशः occurs in the next sūtra; (and it is a maxim of interpretation that a rule occurring between two optional rules is nitya).

According to others the above words always occur with this affix and never without it while in the case of other words taught hereafter this affix comes optionally.

There are other affixes also which are *Sudrthika* and *nitya*.

Such as लप् &c up to the affix कच् (V. 3. 55 to 95).

उच् &c upto हुच्, (V. 3. 112 to V. 4. 1.)

जाच् &c. upto मवच्, (V. 4. 11 to 21).

And affixes taught from V. 4. 61. e. कच् to V. 4. 9, (कच्). ending in

जाति ॥

And all Samāsānta affixes.

२०८० । विभाषाभ्येरादिक् स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । ८ ॥

अधिक्रीडितेरेक्यन्तान्मातिपदिकान्तः स्याद्वा स्वार्थे । प्राक्. प्राचीनम् । प्रत्यक्, प्रतीचीनम् । अवाक्, अवाचीनम् । निकृष्टप्रतिकृष्टार्थेक्याप्यावमाधमाः । अर्धन्तमन्त्रसीति अर्वाक्, अर्वाचीनम् । अधिक्रिष्टां किम् । प्राची दिक् । उचीचीदिक् । दिग्महन् किम् । प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी । क्षीमहणं किम् । प्राचीनं वामाश्रयाः ॥

2080. The affix kha (ईच्) may optionally be added without change of sense to a stem ending in āuch (अच्), when it does not mean a point of the compass used in the feminine gender.

Thus प्राक् or प्राचीनम् "old", प्रत्यक् or प्रतीचीनम्, अर्वाक्, or अवाचीनम् "new".

Why do we say "when not denoting a direction in the feminine?"

Observe प्राची दिक् "eastern region", प्रतीची दिक् "western region". Why do we say "a point of the compass"? Other words in the feminine will take this affix. As प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी ॥ Why do we say "in the feminine"? A direction or दिक् ' used in any other gender will take this affix. As प्राचीनं वामाश्रयाः ॥

२०८१ । जात्यन्ताच्छ वन्मुनि । ५ । ४ । ९ ॥

ब्राह्मणजातीवः । वस्तुनि किञ् । ब्राह्मणजातिः शोभना । जातेर्बहुवचनं वृत्त्यं वस्तु ॥

2081. The affix *chha* (ईष्) is added without change of sense, to a stem ending in the word *जाति*, when it means appropriateness:

Note.—The word *वस्तु* means the substance or substratum in which *jāti*, or generic quality adheres or any thing by which a thing is regulated and individualised, (वस्तुते निबन्धते स्वतन्त्री क्रियते) ॥

Thus *ब्राह्मणजातीवः* “appropriate to a *Brāhmaṇa*”. *क्षत्रियजातीवः* *वैश्यजातीवः* &c.

Why do we say “when meaning appropriateness”. Observe *ब्राह्मणजातिः शोभना*, “the *Brāhmaṇa* caste is beautiful”.

वस्तु means that substance by which the genus *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kshatriya* &c is distinguished.

२०८२ स्थानान्तादिभाषा सस्थानेनेति चेत् । ५ । ४ । १० ॥

सस्थानेन तुल्येन चेत् स्थानान्तमर्थवदित्यर्थः । पितृस्थानीयः । पितृस्थानः । सस्थानेन किञ् ।
कोः स्थानम् ॥

2082. The affix *chha* (ईष्) is optionally added to a stem ending in *स्थान*, if it is compounded with something with which another is made to take an equal place.

The word *सस्थान* means *समानं स्थानमस्त्व* ‘whose place is the same’ or *तुल्य* or equal. Thus *पित्रा तुल्यः* = *पितृस्थानीयः* or *पितृस्थानः* (*पितृस्थि स्थानमस्त्व* whose place is that of a father).

Why do we say “when it means equal to”. Observe *गोमध्यासः* “cowshed”.

Note.—The word *इति* in *सस्थानेनेति* is for the sake of distinctness. The word *सस्थान* as a *Bahuvrīhi* compound is the appropriate word to be taken here, and not when it is taken as a *Tatpurusha* compound like *समानं च तत् स्थानं च* ॥ The word *चेत्* “when” is a conjunction : and joins the two meanings.

The rule S. 2081 occurring between this-rule and S. 2080 both of which are optional must be a *nitya* rule, as explained above. *ह्यनोर्निष्ठाः ह्यनोर्निष्ठा विधयः* ॥

२०८३ । अनुगादिनष्टक् । ५ । ४ । १३ ॥

अनुगतत्वीत्यनुगादी । स एव आनुगाधिकः ॥

2083. The affix *thak* comes after the word *anugādin*, without changing its sense.

Thus आनुगाहिकः " repeater or who echoes back ".

२०८४ । विसारिणो मत्स्ये । ५ । ४ । १६ ॥

अण् स्वान् । विसारिणः । मत्स्येति क्तिन् । विसारी देवदत्तः ॥

2084. The affix *an* is added to the word विसारिण् when a word expressing " fish " is to be made.

Thus विसारिणः " a fish ". Why do we say " when it means a fish "? Observe विसारी देवदत्तः " Devadatta who is gliding out ",

२०८५ । संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यांवृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच् । ५ । ४ । १७ ॥

अभ्यावृत्तिर्जन्य । क्रियाजननगणनवृत्तेः संख्यायाश्चास्वार्थे कृत्वसुच् स्वान् । पञ्चकृत्वो भुङ्क्ते । संख्यायाः क्तिन् । भृतिवारान्भुङ्क्ते ॥

2085. The affix *kritvasuch* (कृत्वस्) is added to a Numeral, when the repetition of an action is to be counted.

This is also a *svārtha* affix. The word अभ्यावृत्तिः means " again and again or repetition ". The counting of actions belonging to the same class and having the same agent, which occur again and again is called कृत्वाभ्यावृत्तिगणनम् ॥ Thus पञ्चवारान् भुङ्क्ते = पञ्चकृत्वोभुङ्क्ते " he eats five times ".

Why do we say " after a Numeral "? Observe भृतीन् वारान् भुङ्क्ते " he eats many times ".

२०८६ । द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् । ५ । ४ । १८ ॥

कृत्वसुचोऽपवादः । द्विर्भुङ्क्ते । त्रिः । रास्तस्य । चतुः ॥

2086. The affix " such " (स्) is added to the numeral *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*, in the same sense of counting the repetition of an action.

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ Thus द्वि-द्विस्, त्रि-त्रिस्, चतुर्-चतुर् in द्विर्भुङ्क्ते, त्रिर्भुङ्क्ते, चतुर्भुङ्क्ते ॥ The स् in the last example is ended by VIII. 2. 24 S. 280.

Note:—But चतुर् meaning " four ", and चतुर् " four-times ", are differently accented: the च् of सुच् indicating that the accent udātta falls on the last syllable. Thus चतुर् (चतुर् Un V. 58, being formed with the affix 'uran' added to चत्), and चतुर् (with सुच्) ॥

२०८७ । एकस्य सकृच्च । ५ । ४ । १९ ॥

सकृदिमादेशः स्वाध्यासश्च । सकृद्भुङ्क्ते । संयोगान्तस्येति सुचो लोपः । न तु इच्छयाविति । अत्रैस्त्रीविभक्त्यं सिच इव सुचोऽपि संयोगात् ॥

2087. The word सकृत् is substituted for एक before the affix सुच्, when an action is to be counted.

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ The 'repetition' being impossible, the action

alone is counted : so the anuvṛitti of सिच् only runs into this sūtra and not of अभ्यावृत्तिः ॥ Thus सकुक्षुङ्क्ते "he eats once" सकृदधीने ॥ The स् of सुच् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54 and not by VI. 1, 68 S. 252 ; because the सु of that sūtra refers to the सु of सुप् and not to the सु of सुच् ; as the सि of that sūtra refers to सिप् and not to सिच् as in अभिस्तीह (See page 128). But not here in एकः वाकः as being against usage.

२०८८ । विभाषा बहुधा विप्रकृतकाले । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

अविप्रकृत आसनः । बहुधा विवसत्य भुङ्क्ते । आसनकाले किय् । बहुकृत्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते ॥

2088. The affix धा is optionally added to the numeral बहु, to count the repetition of an action occurring in a not distant period of time.

This debars कृत्यसुच which comes in the alternative. The word अविप्रकृत "not remote", qualifies क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिः ; i. e. when the recurring of the action takes place within a short time, it is अविप्रकृतकाल ॥ Thus बहुधा or बहुकृत्व विवसत्य भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times a day". But when a remote time is denoted then धा does not apply. Thus बहुकृत्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते 'he eats many times in a month, not daily, owing to poverty &c.'

२०८९ । तत्प्रकृतवचने मयट् । ५ । ४ । २१ ॥

प्राचुर्येण प्रस्तुतं प्रकृतं तस्य वचनं प्रतिपादनम् । भावेऽधिकरणे वा ल्युट् । भाषे प्रकृत-मन्नमन्नमयम् । अपूपमयम् । यवाग्नमयी । द्वितीये भन्नमयो यज्ञः । अपूपमयं पर्व ॥

2089. The affix mayat (मय with the feminine in grave ई) is added to a word in first case in construction, when the sense is "made thereof", or "subsisting therein", (or 'made abundantly').

Note :—The translation of the sūtra given above is according to the rendering of Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kāśikā :—तत् signifies that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case, (IV. 1. 82) the word प्रकृतम् means "happening to be in abundance". So that according to this interpretation the sūtra should be translated, as done by Dr. Ballantyne. "The affix mayat may be employed after a word denoting some substance, when we require an expression for it as abundant," Thus भन्नं प्रकृतम् = भन्नमयम् "abundance of food". अपूपमयम् "abundance of cake". According to others that in which there is abundance of the thing signified by the word to which the affix मयट् is added, is denoted by the whole word. Thus भन्नं प्रकृतमस्मिन् = भन्नमयो यज्ञः "a feast in which there is abundance of food". अपूपमयं पर्व, वटकमयोवाचा ॥ Both senses are possible, as the sūtra is constructed.

The word prakṛita is made up of pra and kṛita, pra has the force of abund-

antly and kṛita means made. Prakṛita therefore means "made in abundance". That which expresses (vachana) this is called prakṛita vachana.

The word वचन in the sūtra has two senses. It being made by the affix कृद् conveys the force both of the *nature* (III. 3. 114) and the *sita*. In the former case, (taking लक्ष्म प्रकृतवचन to mean "the mention of that as abundantly made"), we have अन्नमयः "abundance of grain". अपूपमयः, वनागूयः ॥ But in the second case, (taking it to mean "that in which something is spoken of as abundant"), we have अन्नमयो यज्ञः "a sacrifice at which food is abundant" so also. अपूपमयो यज्ञः ॥

२०९० । समूहवचन बहुषु । ५ । ४ । २२ ॥

साधिकाः प्रत्यया अतिरिच्यन्ते आत्मवद् । मोक्षकाः प्रकृताः मोक्षकिकम् ॥ मोक्षकमयम् । शास्त्राधिकम् । शास्त्रलीनमयम् । द्वितीयेऽर्थे । मोक्षकिको यज्ञः । मोक्षकमयः ॥

2090. When that, whereof something is made or subsists in, is a multitude, then the affixes expressing a great quantity (IV. 2. 37 &c S. 1243) may also be employed to denote 'made thereof, subsisting therein'.

The च shows that मयद् also comes in the same sense. Thus मोक्षकाः प्रकृताः प्राप्नुयेय प्रस्तुताः = मोक्षकिकम् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256) or मोक्षकमयम्; so also शास्त्राधिकम् or शास्त्रलीनमयम् ॥ In the second sense we have, मोक्षकाः प्रकृताः अस्मिन् यज्ञे = मोक्षकिको or मोक्षकमयो यज्ञः; शास्त्रालोकः or शास्त्रलीनमयः ॥

२०९१ । अनन्तावसथेतिहभेषजाश्च जयः । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अनन्त एवानन्त्यम् । आवसथ एवावसथ्यम् । इतिहेति निवाससङ्घातः, ऐतिह्यम् । भेषजमेव भेषज्यम् ॥

2091. The affix ñya (ञ) comes, without changing the sense, after the words ananta, āvasatha, itihā and bhesaja.

Thus आनन्त्यम् = अनन्तः, आवसथ्यम् = आवसथः 'a dwelling place, a sanctuary for sacred fire'. ऐतिह्यम् = इति ह 'traditional account', the affix here is added to a word which is not a prātipadika. The word इति ह means tradition, as इति ह क्रोपाज्वालाः कथयन्ति ॥ भेषज्यम् = भेषजम् ॥

Note:—It is optional to add this affix, owing to the general optional nature of all taddhita affixes. See IV. 1 82. S. 1072.

२०९२ । देवतान्तात्तादर्थ्ये यत् । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

तदर्थ एव तादर्थ्यम् । स्वार्थे व्यञ्ज् । अग्निदेवतायै इदम् अग्निदेवतम् । विष्णुदेवतम् ॥

2092. After a stem ending in the word देवता, being in the fourth case in construction, comes the affix यत्, in the

sense of “appointed for it”.

The word **तार्क्ष्यं** has the same meaning as **तर्ष्यं** “for the sake of that” (II. 1. 36. S. 698), Thus **अग्निदेवताये इदं** = **अग्निदेवस्य** “offering &c, sacred to Agni”. So also **विनृष्यन्** ॥

२०९३ । पादार्थद्वयं च । ५ । ४ । २५ ॥

पादार्थद्वयं पाद्यम् । **अर्क्ष्यम्** ॥ **नवस्य** नृष्यदिवा जन्मनप्लावा प्रत्यया वक्तव्याः * ॥ **नृजन्** । **नृजनम्** । **नवीनम्** । **नव** पुराणे पात् * ॥ **पुराणार्थे** वर्तमानात्मशब्दानां वक्तव्यः । **चात्पूर्वोक्ताः** । **प्रजन्** । **प्रजन्** । **प्रतनम्** । **प्रीणम्** । **भागरूपनामधेय** ॥ **भागधेयम्** । **रूपधेयम्** । **नामधेयम्** ॥ **आग्नीध्रसाधारण्यम्** * ॥ **आग्नीध्रम्** । **साधारण्यम्** । **स्त्रियां ङीप्** । **आग्नीधी** । **साधारणी** ॥

2093. The affix **यत्** comes after the words **पाद्** and **अर्क्षं**, being in the fourth case in construction, when the meaning is ‘for the purpose of that’.

The word **तार्क्ष्यं** is understood here also. Thus **पादार्थद्वयं** = **पाद्यम्** “water meant for washing the feet”. So also **अर्क्ष्यम्** ॥ The accent of these words is governed by VI. 1. 213, S. 370 the udatta being on the first syllable.

Note :—The **च** in the sâtra implies the inclusion of words other than **पाद्** and **अर्क्षं**, not mentioned here. The affix **यत्** applies to other words also, as **एव** ये **सर्वशास्त्रे** **रहन्वस्वः** **प्रजापतिः** । So also **वष्टु**, **भयस्**, **शोक**, **कवि**, **चेम**, **उदक**, **वर्षस्**, **निष्कवल**, **उदक्य**, **जन**, **पूर्व**, **नव**, **सूर**, **मर्त**, **बविष्ठ** ॥ These words take **यत्** in the Vedas. Thus **वसव्यः**, **अयस्यः**, **भोक्यः**, **कव्य** । **क्षेप्यः**, **उदक्यः**, **वर्षस्यः**, **निष्कवस्यम्**, **उदक्यः**, **जन्यः** । **पूर्व्यः**, **नव्यः**, **सूर्यः**, **मर्त्यः** and **बविष्ठ्य** in **अग्निरीशेवसव्यस्य** । **भयस्यो वसनाः** (द्वितीयाबहुवचनस्यालुक् अपो वसना इत्यर्थः) **स्वभोक्ये** । **कव्योसि** । **क्षेप्यस्य वस्यसि** । **वायुर्वर्षस्यः** ॥ **निष्कवस्यं शंसति** । **उदक्यं शंसति** । **जन्यताभिः** । **पूर्व्या विशा** । **स्तोमैर्जनयामि नव्यम्** । **सूर्यः** । **मर्त्यः** । **बविष्ठ्यः** ॥ So also the words **आधुव्यावम्** and **आधुव्युभिका** ॥

Vart :—**नृ** is the substitute of **नव**, and the affixes **जप्**, **तनप्** and **स्त्र** are added to it ; as, **नृजन्**, **नृजनम्**, **नवीनम्** ॥

Vart :—To the word **प्र** meaning ‘old’, the affix **न** is added as well as the affixes **ज्**, **तन्** and **स्त्र** e. g. **प्रजन्**, and **प्रजन्**, **प्रतनम्** and **प्रीणम्** ॥

Vart :—The affix **धेय** is added to the words **भाग**, **रूप** and **नाम** e. g. **भागधेयम्**, **रूपधेयम्**, **नामधेयम्** ॥

Vart :—The affix **अध्र** comes after **आग्नीध्र** and **साधारण**, as, **आग्नीध्रम्**, **साधारण्यम्** ॥ The feminine is formed by **ङीप्** as **आग्नीधी** **साधारणी** ॥

Note :—All these are illustrations of the option allowed by IV. 1, 82, S, 1072 so that sometimes these affixes do not apply as **अग्नीध्रा** **यासा** **साधारणा** भूः ॥

२०९४ । अतिथेर्ध्वः । ५ । ४ । २६ ॥

तार्क्ष्ये इत्येव । **अतिथये** इदमातिथ्यम् ॥

2094. The affix *ñya* (ञ) comes after *अतिथि* in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of “for the purpose of that”.

The word *तादृक्* is understood here also. Thus *अतिथये इदम् = अतिथ्यञ्च ॥*

२०९५ । देवान्तञ् । ५ । ४ । २७ ॥

देव एव देवता ॥

2095. The affix *तञ्* comes after *देव*, without change of sense.

The anuvṛitti of *तादृक्* does not apply here and ceases. Thus *देवता = देवः ॥*

Note :— This word is always in the feminine, another example of the rule that a word derived by a svārthika affix does not always follow the gender of its primitive.

२०९६ । अवेः कः । ५ । ४ । २८ ॥

अविरेवाविकः ॥

2096. The affix *क* comes after *अवि*, without change of sense.

Thus *अविकः = अविः ॥*

२०९७ । यावादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । ४ । २९ ॥

बाव एव बावकः । मजिकः ॥

2097. The affix *कन्* comes after the words *याव* &c, without changing their sense.

Thus *बावकः = बावः, मजिकः = मजिः ॥*

1 बाव, 2 मजि, 3 अव्यय, 4 तालु*, 5 जानु*, 6 लान्त्र*, 7 पीन. 8 स्तम्ब (पीतस्तम्ब पोत, स्तम्ब), 9 कृतावुष्णशीते, 10 पक्षी लूनविपाते (वियाते), 11 अणु निपुणे, 12 पुत्र कृत्रिमे, 13 ज्ञान वेदसमाप्तौ, 14 शून्य रिक्तं, 15 दा-स्सिते, 16 तनु सूत्रे, 17 ईषस्य (श्रेयस्क), 18 ज्ञात, 19 अज्ञातः, 20 कुमारीम्रीडनकानि च 21 च. - ॥

G. S. The affix *कन्* is added to *उष्ण* and *शीत* when denoting a season : as, *उष्णक कटुः । शीतक कटुः ॥* Otherwise *उष्णोऽग्निः, शीतशुद्धकं ॥* G. S. *लून* and *वियात* take *कन्* when denoting an animal, as *लूनकः* or *वियातकः पशुः*, otherwise *लूनार्धः, वियातो नीचः, ॥* G. S. *अणु* takes *कन्* when meaning ‘clever’, as *अणुकः सूक्ष्मबुद्धिः* otherwise *अणु* only. G. S. *पुत्र* takes *कन्* when meaning ‘artificial’, as, *पुत्रको लोहादिनिर्मितः ॥* G. S. *स्नात* takes *कन्* when denoting a student who has completed his study of the Vedas, as *स्नातकः ॥* G. S. *शून्य* takes *कन्* when meaning empty, as *उक्तादिना रिक्तोऽयः शून्यकः*, otherwise *शून्यः प्रत्ययः i. e. बाह्यार्थ एहितः ॥* G. S. *दान* takes *कन्* when contempt is meant, as *कुप्सितदानं = दानकम् ॥* G. S. *तनु* takes *कन्* when meaning thread, as *तनुकं सूत्रं सूक्ष्मतनुः*, otherwise *तनुः शरीरम् ॥* G. S. The word ending in *ईषस्य* takes *कन्*, as *श्रेयस्कः ॥* G. S. The words denoting play things of girls take *कन्*, as *कण्टकम् ॥*

२०९८ । लोहितान्मणौ । ५ । ४ । ३० ॥

लोहित एव मणिर्लोहितकः ॥

2098. The affix कन् comes, without changing the sense, after the word लोहित, when it means a precious stone.

Thus लोहितकः=लोहितः "Ruby".

Note:—Why do we say 'when it means a precious stone?' Observe, लोहितः red.

२०९९ । वर्णे चानित्ये । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

लोहितकः कोपेन ॥ लोहितलिङ्गबाधनं वा * ॥ लोहितिका लोहिनिका कोपेन ॥

2099. The affix कन् comes after लोहित, when it means color which is not permanent.

Thus लोहितकः कोपेन "red with anger". लोहितकः पीडनेन ॥

Note:—Why do we say "not permanent," Observe लोहितो गौः "a red cow". लोहितं रुधिरम् "the red blood".

Vart :—The derivative of लोहित may not take the gender of the primitive, as लोहितिका or लोहिनिका कोपेन ॥

२१०० । रक्ते । ५ । ४ । ३२ ॥

लाभादिना रक्तं यो लोहितशब्दस्तस्मात्कन्यात् । लिङ्गबाधनं वेत्येव । लोहितिका लोहिनिका शादी ॥

2100. The affix कन् comes after the word लोहित meaning a substance dyed red.

As लोहितकः कम्बलः or पटः "a blanket or cloth colored red with shellac &c". The vartika of the preceding sūtra applies here also. Similarly लोहितकः or लोहिनिका शादी ॥

२१०१ । कालाब्धे । ५ । ४ । ३३ ॥

वर्णे चानित्ये रक्ते इति द्वयमनुवर्तते । कालकं मुखं वेलक्ष्येण । कालकः पटः । कालिका शादी ॥

2101. The affix कन् is added to the word काल, when it means a passing color, or dyed with color.

The word वर्णे च अनित्ये and रक्ते are both understood here. Thus कालकं मुखं वेलक्ष्येण "the face black with shame or confusion". कालकः पटः 'a cloth dyed blue-black'. कालिका शादी ॥

२१०२ । विनयादिभ्यष्टक् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

विनय एव वैयर्थिकः । सामर्थिकः ॥ उपायो ह्रस्वत्वं च * ॥ औपधिकः ॥

2102. The affix ठक् (कँ or इकँ) comes without changing the sense after the word विनय and the rest.

Thus वैतथ्यिकः = विनयः, सानयिकः ॥

Gana sūtra :—The आ of उपाय is shortened, as, औपायिकः ॥ The word अकस्मात् should be read as अकस्माद् in order to apply इक् and not क्, as आकस्मिकः ॥ The टि is elided, because it is an Avyaya. See VI. 4, 149, S. 499 The affix is optional by IV: 1, 82. S. 1072.

1 विनय, 2 सनय, 3 उपायो (उपायाद्) इत्यस्य च (औपायिक), 4 संप्रति*, 5 संगति, 6 कथं-
चित्, 7 अकस्मात्, 8 समाचार, 9 उपचार, 10 समवाचार, 11 व्यवहार, 12 संप्रदान, 13 संबुत्कथं,
14 समूह, 15 विशेष, 16 अत्यय, 17 अस्थि, 18 कण्डु ॥

२१०३ वाचोव्याहृतार्थायाम् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

संविष्टार्थायां वाचि विद्यमानाद्वाक्वात्सार्ये ढक् स्यात् । संवेसवाग् वाचिकं स्यात् ॥

2103. The affix ढक् comes after वाच् when it means the purport of the message spoken by another.

Note :—The word व्याहृत means 'declared, expressed'. That which was spoken formerly by another, and which is carried by a third party as a 'tiding' or 'news', is called व्याहृतार्थः ॥ Thus वाचिकं कथयति 'he relates the verbal message', वाचिकं ग्रहे ॥ Some say it applies to written message also.

Thus वाचिकम् = सन्देशवाक् ॥. See Amarakosha I. 6. 17.

Note :—Why do we say "when it means a verbal message?" Observe मधुरं वाक् देवदत्तस्य 'the speech of Devadatta is sweet'.

२१०४ । तद्युक्तात्कर्मणोऽण् । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

कर्मैव कर्मण्यण् । वाचिकं भुत्वा क्रियमाणं कर्मैत्यर्थः ॥

2104. The affix अण् comes after the word कर्मन् 'occupation' when it occurs in connection therewith (i. e. when it is the result of an oral message or commission).

Thus कर्मण्यण् = कर्म 'an occupation of a commission agent (?)'. i. e. when an act is done in pursuance to or on hearing of a verbal message or commission.

२१०५ । औषधेरजातो । ५ । ४ । ३७ ॥

स्वार्थेऽण् । औषधं विवति । अजातो किय । औषधयः क्षेत्रे रुढाः ॥

2105. The affix अण् comes after औषधि when it does not mean a species.

Thus औषधं विवति "he drinks medicine". Why do we say "when not meaning a जाति or species". Observe, औषधयः क्षेत्रे रुढा भवन्ति "the herbs are growing in the field".

२१०६ । प्रज्ञाद्विज्यञ्च । ५ । ४ । ३८ ॥

प्रज्ञा एव प्राज्ञः । प्राज्ञी स्त्री । देवतः । बान्धवः ॥

2106. The affix **अण्** comes after the words 'प्रज्ञ' &c. (the words retaining their sense).

Thus **प्राज्ञः** = **प्रज्ञः** "a wise person", feminine **प्राज्ञी** so also **द्वैवतः**, **बान्धवः** ॥

Note :—While **प्राज्ञः** "a man possessed of wisdom" with feminine **प्राज्ञा** comes from **प्रज्ञा** "wisdom" by the affix **ण्** having the sense of **मनुप्** ("being possessed of"), taught in V. 2, 101. S, 1908. The **प्रज्ञ** of this sūtra comes from the root **प्रजानाति** = **प्रज्ञः** "he who knows fully".

The word **विदन्** occurs in the list of **प्रज्ञादि** words. It is formed by the addition of the affix **शन्** (III. 2. 124 S. 3100) to the root, as, **विद् + शन्** = **विदन्** nom. s. **विदन्** ॥ The very fact that we have such a form **विदन्** shows that the substitution of **वसु** for **शन्** after the word **विद्** taught in VII. 1. 36 S. 3105 (by which we get **विद्वान्**) is an optional substitution, the word "optionally" being drawn in from Sūtra VII. 1. 35. S. 2197.

The word **श्रोत्र** takes **अण्** when meaning 'body', as **श्रोत्रम्**; otherwise **श्रोत्रम्** 'the sense of hearing', **जुह्वन्** takes **अण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as **जौह्वतः** ॥ The word **कृष्ण** takes **अण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as, **कार्णः** ॥

1 **प्रज्ञ**, 2 **वणिज्**, 3 **उशिज्**, 4 **उष्णिज्** (**उष्णिक्** **उष्णिह्**), 5 **प्रत्यक्ष**, 6 **विद्वस्**, 7 **विदन्**; 8 **षोडन्**, 9 **विद्या**, 10 **मनस्**, 11 **श्रोत्र** शरीरे, 12 **जुह्वन्**, 13 **कृष्ण** वृण, 14 **चिकीर्षन्**, 15 **चोर**, 16 **शत्रु** (शक्र), 17 **योध**, 18 **चक्षुस्** (वक्षस्), 19 **वसु** (वस् !), 20 **एनस्** (एत् !), 21 **मरुत्**, 22 **क्रुञ्च** (क्रुङ्), 23 **सत्त्वन्तु** (सत्त्वन्, सत्त्वन्त), 24 **दशार्ह**, 25 **वयस्**, 26 **व्याकृत**, 27 **असुर** (आसुर !), 28 **रत्नस्**, 29 **विशाच**, 30 **अशनि**, 31 **कर्षापण** (का), 32 **देवता**, 33 **बन्धु**, 34 **षोडश**, 35 **धूर्त** 36 **राजा** ॥

२१०७ । **मृदस्तिक्** । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

मृदेव वृत्तिका ॥

2107. The affix **तिक्** comes after **मृद्** (the word retaining its sense).

Thus **वृत्तिका** = **मृद्** 'mud'.

Note :—Of course, this is also an optional affix not a nitya affix like many of the svārthika affixes enumerated in V. 4. 7. S. 2079.

२१०८ । **सन्तो** प्रशंसायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४० ॥

रूपोऽपवादः । **प्रशस्ता** **वृत्** **वृत्ता** । **वृत्ता** । **उत्तरस्त्रेऽन्यतरस्यां** **महयान्नित्योऽयम्** ॥

2108. The affix **स्त** and **ञ** comes after **मृद्** when it means 'excellence'.

This debars the affix **रूप** V. 3. 66. S. 2021. Thus **प्रशस्ता** **वृद्** = **वृत्ता** or **वृत्ता** ॥ These two affixes are nitya or invariable, i. e. whenever superiority is to be expressed we *must* add these affixes. The reason for our calling it *nitya* is that the word **अन्यतरस्याम्** 'optionally' follows it in V. 4. 42. S. 2109. so that, this affix is not optional. cf. V. 4. 7. 10. &c.

२१०६ । बहुलपार्थान्मङ्गलकारकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । ४२ ॥

बहूनि वदति बहुशः । अल्पानि अल्पशः ॥ बहुलपार्थान्मङ्गलानामङ्गलवचनम् * ॥ मेह बहूनि वदत्यनिष्टेषु । अल्पं वदत्याभ्युदधिकेषु ॥

2109. After a word signifying much or little, comes the affix **शस्** optionally, when the word stands in agreement with a verb (as a *kâraka*).

No especial *कारक* being mentioned, all cases such as accusative &c are to be taken. Thus बहूनि वदति = बहुशो वदति, बहुभिर्वदति = बहुशो वदति ॥ So also बहुभ्य आगच्छति or बहुश आगच्छति &c. Similarly अल्पशो वदति = अल्पं or अल्पेन &c.

Why do we say "signifying much or little"? Observe गां वदति, अश्वं वदति ॥

* Why do we say "when it is a *kâraka*"? Observe बहूनां स्वामी "lord of many". Here the words are in genitive case and a genitive or 6th case is not a *कारक* or case, dependent or related to a verb: and so the affix is not applied here.

Vart:—By the word *signifying* the synonyms of बहु and अल्प are also included. Thus मूरिशो वदति, स्तौकशो वदति ॥

Vart:—This affix is to be applied to bahu and alpa only when the action refers to an auspicious or inauspicious act respectively. Thus बहुशो वदति = अभ्युदधिकेषु कर्मसु । अल्पशो वदति = अनिष्टेषु कर्मसु ॥ Thus बहुशो देहि "Give much on auspicious occasions as sacrifices &c". अल्पशो देहि "give a little on inauspicious occasions as funeral feasts &c". But not here बहूनि वदति (अनिष्टेषु), or अल्पं वदति (आभ्युदधिकेषु).

२११० । संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४३ ॥

द्वौ द्वौ वदति द्विशः । माषं माषं माषशः । मत्स्यशः । परिमाणशब्दा वृत्तावेकार्या एव । संख्यैकवचनात्किम् । घटं घटं वदति । वीप्सायां किम् । द्वौ वदति । कारकादित्येव । द्वयोर्द्वयोः स्वामी ॥

2110. The affix **शस्** comes optionally after crude forms denoting numbers, and words denoting units of a coin in the singular number, when a distributive sense is to be expressed (and the word is a *kâraka*).

Thus द्वौ द्वौ मोदकौ वदति = द्विशो मोदकौ वदति "He gives two sweet-meats to each". So also त्रिशः ॥ Similarly after words in the singular number as कार्षापणशो वदति "he gives a Karshâpana coin to each". So also माषशः, पाषशः मत्स्यशः ॥ That by which the sense of unit is expressed is called *eka-vachana*. The words *kârshâpana* &c denote quantity, but their function in the sentence is to denote one-ness i. e. one to each, though in fact many are given

Why do we say "after Numerals and units of coin"? Observe घटे ददाति "he gives a pot to each". Why do we say "when a distributive sense is meant"? Observe द्वौ ददाति "He gives two". कार्षापणम् ददाति "he gives a kârshâpaṇa".

This rule, of course, applies when the word is in relation with a verb viz. when it is a kâraka, and not when it is in the genitive case governing another noun. As द्वयोर्द्वयोः स्वामी "Lord of two each". कार्षापणस्य कार्षापणस्य स्वामी "Possessor of a kârshapaṇas each". In fact the work "karakât" of the last sūtra is understood here also. This sūtra is exception to VIII. 1. 4.

२१११ । प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसिः । ५ । ४ । ४४ ॥

प्रतिना कर्मप्रवचनीयेन योगे या पञ्चमी विहिता तदन्तात्तसिः स्यात् । प्रथुम्नः कृष्णतः प्रति ॥ आद्यादिभ्यः उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ आक्षौ आक्षितः मध्यतः । पृष्ठतः । पार्श्वतः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । स्वरेण स्वरतः । वर्णतः ॥

2111. The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which is ordained owing to the union with the Karma-prava-chañiya word प्रति ॥

This Ablative case is ordained by Sūtra II. 3. 11. S. 600. Thus प्रथुम्नः कृष्णतः प्रति ॥ The anuvṛtti of वा "optionally" runs here also: thus it is an optional rule; we have the regular forms कृष्णात् &c, also.

Vart:—The affix तसि comes after the word आक्षि &c: as, आक्षितः, मध्यतः, भन्ततः पार्श्वतः, पृष्ठतः &c. This is an ākṛitigaṇa, no complete list being given; so we have स्वरतः or स्वरेण; वर्णतः &c.

२११२ । अपादाने चाऽहीयरुहोः । ५ । ४ । ४५ ॥

अपादाने या पञ्चमी तदन्तात्तसिः स्यात् । आमाशगच्छति । आमतः । अहीयरुहोः किम् । स्वर्गां वीर्यते । पर्वताद्वरोहति ॥

2112. The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which has the force of an Apādāna Kâraka, except when this apādāna relation arises owing to the union with the verbs हीय (passive of ह्रा) and रुह ॥

Thus आमतः[आगच्छति] or आमात् ॥ See Sūtra I. 4. 24. 25, and 26 &c. Why do we say "excepting hīya and ruha"? Not so when the verbs हीय and रुह govern the ablative: as स्वर्गाद् हीर्यते पर्वताद् अवरोहति ॥

Note:—The form हीय is given in the sūtra to indicate that the verb ह्रा whose present is जहाति is to be taken, and not जिहीति ॥ Thus we have भूमित उज्जिहीते or भूनेरुज्जिहीते ॥ How do you explain the use of "tasi" in the following well-known verse: "मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा"? The words here are not in the ablative, but in the Instrumental case i. e. स्वरेण वर्णेन वा हीनः ॥

२११३ । अतिग्रहाऽव्ययनक्षेपेष्वकर्तरि तृतीयायाः । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अकर्तरि तृतीयायान्ताद्वा तसिः स्वात् । अतिक्रम्य ग्रहोऽतिग्रहः । अरिजेणातिगृह्यते । अरिजतोऽतिगृह्यते । अरिजेणान्वानतिक्रम्य वतते इत्यर्थः । अव्ययनमचलनम् । वृत्तेन न व्यथते । वृत्ततो न व्यथते । वृत्तेन न चलतीत्यर्थः । क्षेपो वृत्तेन क्षिप्तः । वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः । वृत्तेन निन्दित इत्यर्थः । अकर्तरीति किम् । देवदत्तेन क्षिप्तः ॥

2113. The affix tasi comes after that Instrumental case which does not denote an agent, and is governed by a verb having the sense of “to excel”, “not to give way”, and “to blame”,

Thus अरिजेण or अरिजतोऽतिग्रह्यते ॥ This means when a person of good conduct surpasses others through his conduct he is said “to have excelled through his conduct and character”. So also वृत्तेन or वृत्ततो न व्यथते ; similarly अरिजेण or अरिजतो &c, the sense being he does not succumb or is not moved owing to his strength of conduct or character. Similarly वृत्तेन or वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः, अरिजेण or अरिजतः क्षिप्तः “blamed owing to his bad conduct”,

Why do we say “when not denoting an agent”? Observe देवदत्तेन क्षिप्तः “blamed by Devadatta”.

२११४ । हीयमानपापयोगाच्च । ५ । ४ । ४७ ॥

हीयमानपापयुक्तादकर्तरि तृतीयायान्ताद्वा तसिः । वृत्तेन हीयते । वृत्तेन पापः । वृत्ततः । क्षेपस्वाविवक्षावामिक्म् । क्षेपे तु पूर्वेण सिद्धम् । अकर्तरि किम् । देवदत्तेन हीयते ॥

2114. And the affix tasi comes optionally after a word ending in the third case-affix, when such word is joined to the verb “hiya”, or the noun “pāpa”; not denoting an agent.

The words अकर्तरि and तृतीयायाः are understood in this aphorism. Thus वृत्तेन हीयते or वृत्ततो हीयते ॥ अरिजेण हीयते or अरिजतो हीयते ॥ So also in construction with the word पाप, as, वृत्तेन पापः or वृत्ततः पापः ॥ अरिजेण पापः or अरिजतः पापः ॥ This use of the affix is in places other than those where censure is meant : in other words, it comes where no censure is implied, but a simple fact is mentioned. Where censure is implied, the affix tasi would come by force of the preceding aphorism V. 4. 46. S. 2113.

The word अकर्तरि being understood here also, the affix does not come when the 3rd case-affix has the force of an agent : as देवदत्तेन हीयते ॥

२११५ । वृष्ट्या व्याश्रये । ५ । ४ । ४८ ॥

वृष्टयान्ताद्वा तसिः स्वाभावानापक्षसमाश्रये । देवा अर्जुनतोऽभवत् । आदित्याः कर्णतोभवत् । अर्जुनस्य पते इत्यर्थः । स्वाश्रये किम् वृष्टस्य शाखा ॥

2115. The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word ending in the sixth case, when the sense is that of a party name or faction.

Taking sides with one faction or another is called *व्याघ्रः* ॥ Thus *देवाभर्जुनस्य वक्षऽभवन्* = *देवा भर्जुनतोऽभवन्* ॥ 'The Devas became Arjunites'. So also *आदित्याः कर्णतोऽभवन्* "The Adityas became Karṇāites".

Why do we say "when it denotes a Party-name?" Observe *वृक्षस्य शाखा* "the branch of the tree".

२११६। रोगाच्चापनयने । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

रोगवाचिनः पठ्यन्ताद्वा तसिचिकिस्ताथा । *प्रवाहिकातः कुरु* । *प्रतीकारमस्याः कुर्वित्यर्थः* । *अपनयने क्तिप्* । *प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनं करोति* ॥

2116 The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word denoting a disease, ending in the sixth case, when the healing of the same is denoted.

The words *रोग* means 'disease', and *अपनयन* means 'healing', 'curing'. Thus *प्रवाहिकायाः प्रतीकारं कुरु* = *प्रवाहिकातः कुरु* ॥

Why do we say 'when healing is meant? Observe *प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनंकुरु* ॥

२११७। कृश्वस्तियोगे संपद्यकर्तरि च्विः । ५ । ४ । ५० ॥

अभूततद्भाव इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ *विकारात्मतां प्राप्तुवत्यां प्रकृतौ वर्तमानादिकारणव्याख्यायै च्विर्वा स्यात्करोत्यादिभिर्योगे* ॥

2117. The affix *chvi* comes after a word, when the agent has attained to the new state expressed by the word, what the thing previously was not, and when the verbs *kṛi* 'to make', *भू* 'to be', and *अस्* 'to be' are conjoined with it.

Vārtika :—When something or somebody has become that which is expressed by the stem, when it was not that previously, then this affix *च्वि* is added. When the cause of a thing arrives at the state of being that very thing so produced, it is said to be *abhūtatadbhāva*—'the state of that what it was not'. The agent of the action of attaining is called *sanpadya kartā*.

२११८। अस्य च्वौ । ७ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अवर्णस्य ईयस्यात् च्वौ । *वेलोपः* । *अव्यन्तस्वव्ययत्वम्* । *अकृष्णः कृष्णः संपद्यते तं करोति कृष्णीकरोति* । *ब्रह्मीभवति । गङ्गीस्यात्* । *अव्ययस्य आधीरत्वं नेति वाच्यम्* * ॥ *दोषाभूतमहः* । *दिव्याभूता रात्रिः* । *एतच्चाव्ययीभावमेति सूत्रे भाष्येउक्तम्* ॥

2118. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्वि

The वि being aprikta is elided. The chvi ending word is an Indeclinable. Thus भकुण्यः कृष्णः संपद्यते तं करोति = कृष्णीकरोति "He blackens"; when some one who is not black becomes black i. e. some one makes him so. Similarly ब्रह्मी भवति । गङ्गी स्यात् ॥

Vat:—The final अ of an indeclinable is not changed to long ई before chvi. Thus शेषाभूतमहः शेषाभूता राशिः ॥ This is enunciated by Patanjali in his gloss on I. 1. 41. S. 451,

२११६। क्यच्च्योश्च । ६। ४। १४५ ॥

हलः परस्थापत्यकारस्य लोपः स्यात् क्ये औ च परतः । गार्गीभवति ॥

2119. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य and the adverbial affix च्वि ॥

Thus गार्गीभवति = गार्गीयति or गार्गीयते ॥

२१२०। च्वौ च । ७। ४। २४ ॥

औ परे पूर्वस्य दीर्घं स्यात् । शुचीभवति । पट् स्यात् । अग्न्यस्य दीर्घस्य नेति केचिन्तन्निर्मूलम् । स्वस्ति स्यादिति तु महाविभाषया अत्रेभावास्तिङ्गम् । स्वस्ती स्यादित्यपि पक्षे स्यादिति चेदस्तु । यदि नेष्यते तर्ह्यनभिधानात् च्विरेव नोत्पद्यते इत्यस्तु । रीकृतः । मात्रीकरोति ॥

2120. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix च्वि (V. 4. 50. S 2117).

As शुची भवति, पट् स्यात् ॥ Some say the final vowel of an indeclinable is never lengthened. This is without authority. The non-lengthening in स्वस्ति स्यात् can be explained by the non application of chvi under the great option of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. and as there is no च्वि added, so there is no lengthening.

Obj. As the great option IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 declares an option only, so in the alternative there will be affixing of च्वि, and then if we do not make the above exception about indeclinables, there will be lengthening and we shall get स्वस्ती स्यात् ॥ Ans. Let it be so ; where is the harm ?

Obj. But this is not desired for we never find it in usage.

Ans. Then let us say that chvi never comes after svasti, so there is no difficulty, and, we have come to our former point that under the great option no chvi is ever added to svasti.

By VII. 4. 27 S. 1234. the final अ is changed to ई before chvi Thus मात्री करोति ॥

२१२१ । भयर्मनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहो जसां लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । ५१ ॥

एषां लोपः स्यात् च्विच । अरु करोति । उन्मनी स्यात् । उचक्षु करोति । विचेती करोति । विरही करोति । विरजी करोति ॥

2121. The affix *chvi* comes after the words *arūs*, *manas*, *chakshus*, *chetas*, *rahas*, and *rajas*, and there is elision of their final consonant.

The affix *च्वि* would have come after these words by force of the sūtra V. 4. 50. S. 2117. which is of universal application : the present sūtra is made in order to teach the elision of the consonant. Thus अनरुः संपद्यते, तं करोति = अरु करोति, अरु भवति अरु स्यात् ॥ So also उन्मनी करोति, भवति, or स्यात्, so also उचक्षु, विचेती, विरही, and विरजी करोति or भवति or स्यात् ॥ The short उ of अरु and चक्षु is lengthened by VII. 4. 26, S. 2120 and the अ of the other words is changed into ई by VII. 4. 32. S. 2118.

२१२२ । विभाषा साति कात्स्न्ये । ५ । ४ । ५२ ॥

च्विविषये सातिर्वा स्यात्साकन्ये ॥

2122. The affix *sāti* may be employed optionally in the sense of *chvi*, when something is changed in all its parts into something else.

The whole phrase "when the agent has attained to a state it previously had not and the verbs *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti* are in conjunction", is understood here.

२१२३ । सात्पदाद्योः । ८ । ३ । १११ ॥

सस्य पस्यं न स्यात् । इधिसिञ्चति । कृत्स्नं शस्त्रमग्निः संपद्यतेऽग्निसाञ्जवति । अग्नीभवति । अहाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । कात्स्न्ये किञ्च । एकदेशेन शुक्लीभवति पदः ॥

2123. The *च्* substitution does not take place in the affix *सात्* and for that *स* which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus *सा* here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52. S. 2122 and it would have been changed to *च्* by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. The present sūtra prevents that. The Padādi *स* refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a *स*, and for which a *स* is substituted. This also is exception to VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. Thus अग्निसात् । इधिसात् । नष्टसात् ॥ So also with Padādi *स* as इधि ङञ्चति, नष्टु सिञ्चति ॥

The affix *साति* is employed when the original is changed in its totality (कृत्स्न). Thus अग्निसाद् भवति शस्त्रम् "the whole weapon is in a blaze—has become fire". We may also say अग्नी भवति सज्जम् ॥

Why do we say "in its totality"? Observe एकदेहेन पटः छुल्ली भवति "the cloth whitens in part".

The word "optionally" shows that the affix *chvi* also comes in the same sense. While the optional affixing of these terminations *chvi*, *sâti* &c is governed by the *Mahâ-vibhâshâ* of *sûtra* IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. (see V. 3. 1).

२१२४ । अभि विधौ संपदा च । ५ । ४ । ५३ ॥

संपदा कृष्णस्तिभिश्च योगे सातिर्वा स्याद्वाप्तौ । पक्षे कृष्णस्तिथोगे च्चिः । संपदा तु वाक्यमेव ।
अग्निसात्संपद्यते अग्निसात्भवति शस्त्रम् । अग्नीभवति । जलसात्संपद्यते जलीभवति लवनम् । एकस्या व्यक्तेः
सर्वावयवावच्छेदेनान्यथाभावः कात्स्न्यम् । बहूनां व्यक्तीनां किञ्चिदवयवावच्छेदेनान्यथात्वं स्वमिवाधः ॥

2124. The affix *sâti* comes after a word in the sense of *chvi*, when it is in construction with the verb *sam-pad*, and the meaning is that all things of a kind are changed into some thing else, though partially.

The word *अभिविधिः* means 'pervasion'. The force of the word *च* in the *sûtra* is that the same is expressed when the verbs *कृ*, *भू* and *अस* are in construction as well. By drawing the *anuvṛitti* of the word *vibhâshâ* into this *sûtra*, we may, in the alternative, employ the affix *चि* in the same sense of *abhividhi* : but then it must be followed by the verbs *कृ*, *भू* and *अस्* only and not by the verb *संपद* ॥

Thus *अग्निसात् संपद्यते* or *अग्निसात् भवति*; *उदकसात् संपद्यते* or *भवति* &c. Or *उदकी भवति* or *अग्नी भवति* ॥

What is the difference between the words *abhividhi* and *kârtsnya* of these two *sûtras*? Where all things of similar origin get changed, though it be partially only, it is called *abhividhivikâra*. As, *अस्त्रां सेनायाम् उन्पातेन सर्वम् शस्त्रम् अग्निसात् संपद्यते* or *वर्षासु सर्वम् लवनम् उदकसात् संपद्यते* ॥ Here *सर्व* has the force of *प्रकार कात्स्न्य*, namely, all things belonging to the kind of weapons such as swords, lances &c. and all things of the nature of salt, but not these things individually in its totality. While the word *kârtsnya* means that one thing in all its parts assumes the form of another thing. In short, the difference between these two words is this : when one object is changed in all its parts, it is *kârtsnya* change, when *many* objects are changed in *some* of their parts, it is *abhividhi* change.

२१२५ । तदधीनवचने । ५ । ४ । ५४ ॥

सातिः स्वात्कृष्णस्तिभिः संपदा च योगे । राजसात्करोति । राजसात्संपद्यते । राजाधीनमित्यर्थः ॥

2125. The affix *sâti* comes after a word expressing 'a master' or 'lord', in the sense of 'dependent upon this',

when it is in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhû*, *asti*, and *sam-pad*.

. The anuvṛitti of *अनुवृत्तत्वादे* ceases here, as a different sense altogether is assigned to the affix. The anuvṛitti of the four verbs *Kṛi* &c, however, runs into the sūtra. The word *तदधीन* means 'under the supremacy or control of that', 'under the proprietorship of that'. The proprietor in general and the object of rulership in general are indicated by the word *tadadhīna*. Thus *राजाधीनं करोति = राजसत्त्वं करोति* "he (a king) brings it (a kingdom) under his dominion". Similarly *राजसत्त्वं स्यात्* or *भवति* or *संपद्यते* ॥ So also *ब्राह्मणसत्त्वं भवति, करोति, स्यात्* or *संपद्यते* ॥

२१२६ । देये वा च । ५ । ४ । ५५ ॥

तदधीने देये वा स्यात्सतिश्च कृष्णादियोगे । विप्राधीनं देयं करोति विप्रवाकरोति । विप्रवासंपद्यते । पक्षे विप्रसात्करोति । देये किम् । राजसत्त्वं भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

2126. The affix *trā* comes in the sense of 'to be given to that', as well as the affix *sāti*, in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhû*, *asti* and *sam-pad*.

The phrase "dependent upon that" is understood here also. The word *देय* qualifies the above phrase. When a thing which is known as a proper gift for the Brahmanas, is put under their control by offering it to them, then the affix *trā* is employed. Thus *ब्राह्मणाधीनं देयं करोति = ब्राह्मणवा* or *ब्राह्मणसत्त्वं करोति* ॥ "He gives it to the Brahmana, as it is an object which ought to be given to them". *ब्राह्मणवा भवति* "it becomes given to the Brahmana". So also with *स्यात्* and *संपद्यते* ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is that of to be given"? Observe *राजसत्त्वं भवति राष्ट्रम्* ॥

२१२७ । देवमनुष्यपुरुषपुरुर्मर्त्येभ्यो द्वितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । ५ । ४ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीयान्तेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यश्च वा स्यात् । देववा वन्दे रमे वा । बहुलोक्तेरन्यथापि । बहुषी जीवतो मनः ॥

2127. After the words *deva*, *manushya*, *purusha*, *puru* and *martya* ending in the 2nd or 7th case, the affix *trā* is diversely employed, having the force of the accusative or locative case,

The anuvṛitti of *sāti* ceases, that of *trā* continues. The verbs *kṛi*, *bhû* and *asti* also have no scope here. This is a general sūtra. Thus *देवा गच्छति = देववा गच्छति, देवेषु वसति = देववा वसति* ॥ So also *मनुष्यवा, पुरुषवा, पुरुष, मर्त्यवा* ॥ *देववा वन्दे रमे वा* ॥

By using the word 'diversely' in the aphorism it is intended that the affix comes in this sense after other words also ; as *बहुषी जीवतो मनः* ॥

२१२८ । अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् द्व्यजवरार्धादिति डाच् । ५ । ४ । ५७ ॥

डाच् भवरं न्यूनं न तु ततो न्यूनम् अनकाजिति यावत् । तद्वचनार्धे यस्य तस्माद्वाच् स्वात्कृन्वस्ति-
भिर्योने ॥ डाचि विवक्षिते द्वे बहुलम् * ॥ नित्यमात्रेडिते डाचीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ डाच्परं द्वाभेडितं
तस्मिन्परे पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णयोः परकपं स्यात् । इति तकारपकारयोः पकारः । पटपटाकरोति । अव्यक्तानुकर-
णात्किम् । ईषत्करोति । द्व्यजवरार्धात्किम् । अत्करोति । भवरोति किम् । खरटखरटाकरोति । अपटपट-
करोति । अनेकाश्च इत्येव सूत्रबिदुस्तुष्टितम् । एवं हि डाचीति पक्षेऽप्येव द्वित्ये सुवच्येत्यवधेयम् । अनितौ
किम् । पदिति करोति ॥

2128. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the half of a word denoting an imitation of an inarticulate sound, when such half consists of at least two syllables, and when it is not followed by the quotation-word 'iti'.

The sound in which the letters अच्चा &c are not distinctly expressed is called *avyakta* 'unmanifest' or 'inarticulate'. The imitation of such a sound is called *avyaktā-anukarāṇa*. That whose half consists of at least two syllables is called *dvyajavarārdha*, that is a polysyllabic word of four syllables or more when doubled, the smallest number of whose vowels are two, not less, when halved. The phrase "when joined with *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti*" is understood here. The affix comes after that word which when reduplicated is such that its half (*ardha*) is at least (*avara*) of two syllables (*dvyach*).

Vārtika :—When the affix डाच् is to be added there is diversely the reduplication of the word. That is, first the word is reduplicated and then the affix is added. The force of the locative in डाचि is that of विषयसप्तमी and not परसप्तमी ॥ Had it been the latter then there would be the fallacy of *petitio principii*. By adding *ḍach* and doubling we must see whether the half is at least of two syllables. If it is, then *ḍach* is to be added. Thus पटन् is a sound imitation word. By reduplication it becomes पटन् पटन् ॥

Now applies the following *Vārtika* :—

* *Vārtika* :—Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix चा is added which causes the elision of the final अन्, for the final न् of the first member and the initial consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus पटन् पटन् = पटप् पटन् = पट पटन्, with डाच् = पटपटा ॥

The final न् of the first word is changed in to the form of the next letter प्, and then for two वं's one is substituted by this *vārtika*. Thus पटपटन् करोति = पटपटा करोति "he makes a sound like *paṭat paṭat*". So also with भवति and स्यात् ॥ So also दमदमा करोति, भवति or स्यात् ॥ The final अन् of पटपटन् is elided by VI. 4. 143 §. 316 before the affix डाच् having an indicative & the real affix being चा ॥

Why do we say "when it is name of an imitative sound"? Observe **हवत् करोति**, 'it makes or turns to stone'. Why do we say "after that half which consists of at least two vowels"? Observe **अत् करोति** 'he utters the exclamation *sra*'. Why do we say "at least"? Observe **खरदखरदा करोति** where the half consists of more than two syllables and the rule still applies. But had the sūtra been "**द्व्यजार्धात्** half two syllables" then it would not have applied here as the half consists of *three* syllables. So also **अपदपदा करोति** ॥

The sūtra ought to have used the word **अनेकाक्षः** "after a word of more than one syllable" instead of *dvyajavarārdhāt*. Thus before the affix **डाच्** the doubling takes place by reason of the affix which is exhibited in the seventh case (**डाचि** in the *vārtika*) this doubling being caused by something which follows. Why do we say "when **इति** does not follow"? Observe **पठिति करोति** (VI. 1. 98. S. 81). The **च्** of **डाच्** is for the sake of accent, it prevents the circumflex (*swarita*) accent. Thus, **पठपठौ + ङसि** ॥ Here first the **अ** of **असि** which was *udātta*, becomes *anudātta* by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935. Then by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658 **औ** of **दा** and **अ** of **असि** coalesce into an *udātta* **दा**, as **पठपठौसि** ॥ But then comes in rule VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659 which would make this **दा** optionally *svarita*, the indicatory **च्** prevents it. Some read **द्व्यजवरार्धात्**, the **य** however does not change the sense.

२१२६। कृजो द्वितीयतृतीयशम्बबीजात्कृषौ। ५। ४। ५८ ॥

द्वितीयादिभ्यो डाच् स्यात्कृज एव योगे कर्षणेऽर्थे। बहुलोलोत्तरव्यक्तानुकरणादम्बस्य डाचि न द्वित्वम्। द्वितीयं तृतीयं कर्षणं करोति द्वितीयाकरोति। तृतीयाकरोति। शम्बशब्दः प्रतिलोमे। अनुलोमं कृष्टं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रतिलोमं कर्षति शम्बाकरोति। बीजेन सह कर्षति बीजाकरोति ॥

2129. The affix *dāch* comes after the words *dvitīya*, *tritīya*, *śamba*, and *bīja* when connected with the verb *kṛi*, and meaning "to plough in such a way".

By force of the word *diversely* in the *vārtika* under the last sūtra, there is doubling only when inarticulate sound is imitated and nowhere else.

The repetition of the word **कृ** in this sūtra indicates that the **च्** and **अस्ति** are not to be taken. Thus **द्वितीया करोति** = **द्वितीयं कर्ष** (= **विशेखनं**) करोति 'he makes the second ploughing of the field'. So also **तृतीया करोति**, **शम्बा करोति** 'he makes the field ploughed contrariwise to what it was ploughed before' = **अनुलोमं कृष्टं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रतिलोमं कृषति** ॥ So also **बीजा करोति** = **सहबीजेन विशेखनं करोति** ॥

Note.—Why do we say when meaning "to plough"? Observe **द्वितीयं करोति पदम्** ॥

२१३०। संख्यायाश्च गुणान्तायाः। ५। ४। ५९ ॥

कृजो योगे कृषौ डाच् स्यात्। द्वियुगाकरोति क्षेत्रम्। क्षेत्रकर्म तं द्वियुगं कर्षणं करोतीत्यर्थः ॥

2130. The affix *dâch* comes after a Numeral followed by the word *guṇa*, the sense being to plough so many times'.

The word *कु* is understood here. Thus *द्विगुणा* or *त्रिगुणा* करोति क्षेत्रम् "he ploughs the field twice or thrice" = *द्विगुणं विलेखनं करोति क्षेत्रस्य* ॥

Why do we say "when meaning to plough"? Observe *द्विगुणां करोति रज्जुम्* "he doubles the rope".

२१३१ । समयाच्च यापनायाम् । ५ । ४ । ६० ॥

कृपाविति निवृत्तम् । कृमो योगे जाय स्यात् । समयकरोति । कालं यापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2131. The affix *dâch* comes after the word *samaya* when *कृ* follows, and the sense is that of 'neglecting'.

The word *कृ* is understood here also. The *anuvṛtiti* of *कृ* ceases. The getting of leisure from the duties is called *समय* or 'time'; the neglect or loss of such time is meant by the word *यापना* ॥ Thus *समया* करोति = *कालक्षेपं करोति* (अथ मे पारवश्यं, श्वः परश्वो वास्य समय इत्येवं यो बहुषु दिवसेषु अतिवर्तते, स एवमुच्यते) 'who procrastinates'.

Note:—Why do we say when the sense is that "neglecting"? Observe *समयं करोति* "he makes time".

२१३२ । सपत्रनिष्पत्रादतिव्यथने । ५ । ४ । ६१ ॥

सपत्राकरोति घृगम् । सपुङ्खशरप्रवेशनेन सपत्रं करोतीत्यर्थः । निष्पत्राकरोति । सपुङ्खस्य शरस्याऽपरपार्श्वेन निर्गमनान्निष्पत्रं करोतीत्यर्थः । अतिव्यथने क्रिम् । सपत्रं निष्पत्रं वा करोति भूतलम् ॥

2132. The affix *dâch* comes after the words *sapatra*, and *nishpatra* followed by the verb *kri*, when the sense is that of causing intense pain.

The word *कृ* is understood here also. The word *ati-vyathana* means "violent pain". Thus *सपत्रा* करोति घृगं व्याधः = *सपत्रं शरमस्य शरीरे प्रवेशयति* "the hunter pierces the stag with the arrow so violently that the feathered part of the arrow also enters the body". So also *निष्पत्रा* करोति = *शरीराच्च छरमपरपार्श्वे निष्क्रामयति* "he pierces so violently that the arrow entering one side comes out of the other with its feathers". Why do we say "when meaning to cause violent pain"? Observe *सपत्रं* or *निष्पत्रं* करोति भूतलम् ॥

२१३३ । निष्कुलाभिष्कोषणे । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

निष्कुलाकरोति शङ्खिणम् । निर्गतं कुलमन्तरवयवानां समूहो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीहिर्द्विधा ॥

2133. The affix *dâch* comes after the words *nishkula* followed by the verb *कृ*, when the sense is 'to disembowel'.

The verb कृ should be read into the sūtra. The word निष्कोषण means to bring the inner organs out or to eviscerate. निष्कुला करोति शडिमन् "he takes out the kernel or seeds of the pomegranite".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to disembowel or take out the kernel"? Observe निष्कुलान् करोति शत्रून् "he makes the enemies family-less".

२१३४ । सुखप्रियादानुलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सुखाकरोति । प्रियाकरोति गुरुम् । अनुकूलचरणेनानन्दयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2134. The affix dâch comes after the words sukha and priya, followed by kri, when the meaning is (' to concede ' ' gratify ') ' to go with the grain '.

The word आनुलोभ्य means 'agreeability', 'to conform to the wishes of the object of adoration'. Thus सुखा करोति, प्रिया करोति गुरुम् = स्वाम्यादोर्ध्वतनागधयति " tries to please the heart of the master &c".

Note:—This affix comes when, while doing a pleasant or agreeable thing, the idea is to please another by such an act. Otherwise observe: सुखं करोति or मियं करोति औषधपानम् " the drinking of medicines gives pleasure &c".

२१३५ । दुःखात्प्रातिलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६४ ॥

दुःखाकरोति । स्वामिनम् पीडयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2135. The affix dâch comes after the word duḥkha followed by kri, when meaning to do something against the grain or "to contravene".

The verb कृ is understood and prātilomya means 'to oppose' or "to act against another's wishes", "to pain the heart of one's master &c". As दुःखा करोति भृत्यः स्वामिनम् " the servant pains the master".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to go against the grain"? Observe दुःखं करोति कदन्नम् ॥

२१३६ । शलात्पाके । ५ । ४ । ६५ ॥

शलाकरोति मांसम् । शलेन पचतीत्यर्थः ॥

2136. The affix dâch comes after the word śula followed by kri, when the sense is that of "roasting".

Thus शले पचति = शला करोति मांसम् " he roasts the meat on a spit".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to roast"? Observe शलं करोति कदन्नम् " the bad food causes colic".

२१३७ । सत्यादशपथे । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

सत्याकरोति भाण्डं वणिक् । क्रैतव्यमिति तथ्यं करोतीत्यर्थः । शपथे तु सत्यं करोति विपः ॥

'2137. The affix *dâch* comes after the word *satya*, followed by *kṛi*, when not meaning to swear.

The word *सत्य* means 'truth' as opposed to 'falsehood'. Sometimes it means 'to swear', as in the sentence "सत्येन वापयेद् विप्रम्" ॥ This latter sense is prohibited. Thus *सत्या करोति वणिक् भार्यडम्* "the merchant concludes the bargain of the goods i. e. he settles that he will purchase these wares". Why do we say 'when not meaning to swear'? Observe *सत्यं करोति विप्रः* "the Brahmana swears".

२१३८ । मद्रात्परिवापणे । ५ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मङ्गलशब्दे मङ्गलार्थः । परिवापणं मुण्डनम् । मद्राकरोति माङ्गल्यमुण्डनेन संस्करोतीत्यर्थः । भद्राच्चात् वक्तव्यम् * ॥ भद्राकरोति । अर्थः प्राग्वत् । परिवापणं किम् ॥ मङ्गलं करोति । भद्रं करोति ॥

2138. The affix *dâch* comes after the word *madra* followed by *kṛi*, in the sense of 'to shave'.

The word *परिवापण* means 'to shave' 'to raze'. The word *मद्र* means 'auspicious'. Thus *मङ्गलं मुण्डनं करोति = मद्रा करोति* ॥

Vart:—So also after the word *भद्र* : as *भद्रा करोति नापितः कुमारः* "the barber shaves the hair of the boy on the auspicious occasion".

Why do we say when meaning 'to shave'. Observe *मङ्गं* or *भद्रं करोति* ॥

Here end the Taddhitas.

अथ द्विरुक्त प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XL.

ON REITERATION.

२१३६ । सर्वस्य द्वे । ८ । १ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

2139. From here upto VIII. 1. 15. S. 2150 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase “the whole word is repeated”.

Note :—This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16 S. 401) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4 S. 2140 teaches “when the sense is that of ‘always’, and ‘each’”. Here the phrase ‘the whole word is repeated’ should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. “The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*”. What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as, पचति पचति ‘he always cooks’. Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः ‘every village is beautiful’.

The *sūtra* ‘sarvasya dve’, should not be confounded as meaning ‘the word-form *sarva* is doubled’. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, S. 82 and VI. 1. 100 S. 2128 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्वं वेदाति (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वाङ्गीनो भिक्षुः = सर्वमकार-मन्नं भक्षयति; (3) the totality of *members* (अवयवः), as सर्वः पदोदग्धः ॥ In the present *sūtra*, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in *sarvasya*, is that of *sthāna*, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the *sūtra* is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the *sūtra*, however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not *ādeśā*, but *prayoga*. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is *employed* twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word *sarvasya* is employed in the *sūtra* for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise one may double only the last letter of a word by the rule of अलोऽन्तस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samāsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टापदः ॥ Here there is the sense of vipsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपरिकां ददाति, here also the sense is that of vipsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम् the sentence ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16. S. 401

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves, पर्वाणि पर्वाणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्यः', so that the sense of vipsā is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the force of vipsā is there denoted by the taddhita affix itself, and so doubling is not necessary. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsā can take place with regard to a word, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति: for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only प्रचति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्रोग्धा and द्रोढा ॥ Here लृच् is added to the root द्रुह्, and ह् is optionally changed to च by VIII. 2. 77, S. 354 and in the other alternative there is ढ ॥ As च and ढ are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12) the doubling would take place without making this च or ढ substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्रोहता द्रोहता) then optional च or ढ change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्रोग्धा द्रोढा, द्रोढा द्रोग्धा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्रोढा द्रोढा, or द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमाद्विचने (See VIII. 2. 3 S. 439 last vārtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अर्धभाषाच् meaning सर्वं कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति तद्वि सर्वं, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been first performed, then the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

२१४० । नित्यवीप्सयोः । ८ । १ । ४ ॥

आभीक्ष्ण्यं वीप्सायां च शोभे पदस्य द्विचनं स्यात् । आभीक्ष्ण्यं तिङन्तेष्वप्यसंज्ञककृद्गन्तेषु च । पचतिपचति । भुक्त्वाभुक्त्वा । वीप्सायाम्, वृक्षंवृक्षं तिङ्चति । ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः ॥

2140. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by *krit* affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22. S. 3343). Thus पचति पचति, he cooks continually'. भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति or भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away'. See III. 4. 22. S. 3343. लुनीहि लुनीहि लुनाति (See III. 4. 2. S. 2825).

Note :— The words formed by affixes *ktvā* and *namul* and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix यङ् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते । And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of *nitya*, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable *krit* words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोजं ॥

Note :—Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite verbs (तिङ्) express *nitya*, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express *vipsā* or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word *vipsā*? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (*vyāptum icchhā*) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is *vipsā*. Thus वृक्षं वृक्षं सिंचति "He waters every tree". ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः, पुरुषः पुरुषो निधनमुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of *nityatā*; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to *vipsā*, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated; as आढ्यतरमाढ्यतरमानय ॥

२१४१। परेर्वर्जने। ८। १। ५ ॥

परिपरि वङ्गेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः । वङ्गान्परिहृत्येत्यर्थः ॥ परेर्वर्जने वा वचनम् ॥ * ॥ परिवङ्गेभ्यः ॥

2141. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि वङ्गेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88. and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Banga'.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिषिञ्चति ॥

Vart :—Optionally परि meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound as परि परि वङ्गे = परि वङ्गेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिषिञ्चते वृष्टो देवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

Note :—The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I. 4, 88 S. 596). and governs the fifth case by II. 8, 11. In परिदिश्यति the word is an upasarga.

२१४२ । उपर्यप्यधसः सामीप्ये । ८ । १ । ७ ॥

उपर्यपरि ग्रामम् । ग्रामस्थोपरिहास्तमीपे हेतो इत्यर्थः ॥ अन्धधि सुखम् । सुखस्थोपरिहास्तमीप-
काले दुःखमित्यर्थः । अधोऽधो लोकम् । लोकस्थाधस्तास्तमीपे हेतो इत्यर्थः ॥

2142. उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when they express uninterrupted nearness.

The word sāmīpya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्यपरि ग्रामम्, "any locality in the immediate vicinity of a village".. अन्धधिग्रामम्, अधोऽधो लोकम् "a place near a loka". Similarly अन्धधिसुखम् "anything immediately following after pleasure" i. e. pain. Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमाः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि शिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्यपरि पश्यन्तः सर्व एव हरिश्चति ।

अधोऽधो दर्शने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vipsā.

२१४३ । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्याऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु । ८ । १ । ८ ॥

असूयायाश्च, सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् । संमती, देवदेव वन्द्योऽसि । कोपे, दुर्विनीतदुर्वि-
नीत इत्यर्था ज्ञास्यासि । कुत्सने, धातुष्कधातुष्क वृथा ते धनुः । भर्त्सने, चोरचोर घातयिष्यामि त्याम् ॥

2143. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vākya. Thus (1) envy :—सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् "O beauty! O beauty! in vain is thy beauty!!" (2) praise :—देव देव वन्द्योऽसि "O Deva! O Deva! adorable art thou!" (3) anger :—दुर्विनीत दुर्विनीत इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि "O arrogant! O arrogant! now thou shalt know" (4) blame :—धातुष्क धातुष्क वृथा ते धनुः "O archer! O archer! in vain is thy bow". (5) Threat—चोरचोर ३ घातयिष्यामि त्या, वन्दयिष्यामि त्या "O thief O thief I shall kill thee". The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the āmreḍita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. S. 3614. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभना खल्वसि भावयकः ॥ Why do we say of Vocative? Observe उदारोदेववत् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'? Observe देववत् गामन्त्राय सुखम् ॥

In some books, the vākya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्यं) ॥

२१४४ । एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् । ८ । १ । ९ ॥

इदं एकशब्दो बहुव्रीहिवत्स्यात् । तेन सुलोपपुंवज्ञावौ । एकैकमक्षरम् । इह द्वोरपि सुपोलुकि कृते बहुव्रीहिवत्ज्ञावादेव प्रातिपदिकत्वात्समुदायास्तुप् । एकैकयाहुत्या । इह पूर्वभागे पुंवज्ञावा-
द्वयमहं विशेषः । न बहुव्रीहवित्यत्र पुनर्बहुव्रीहिमहणं मुख्यबहुव्रीहिलाभार्थम् । तेनातिविष्टबहुव्रीहौ
सर्वनामतास्त्येवेति प्राञ्चः । वस्तुतस्तु भाष्यमते प्रत्याख्यातमेतत् । सूत्रमंतपि बहुव्रीहयस्मादिकै-
विमहे निषेधकं न तु बहुव्रीहविवितीहातिवेषाद्वैव नास्ति । एकैकस्मै देहि ॥

2144. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrīhi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकैकमक्षरं पठति (not एकमेकम्). Here the case affixes after both words being elided they assume the form एकैक and being treated as a Bahuvrīhi they become a prātipadika or nominal stem and then to this whole as a crude form is added the case-affix. एकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (not एकैकया). Here the first member has become masculine. The difference is brought out when analysing namely, it will be एक + एकया and not एका + एकया ॥ The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case affix is elided by II. 4. 71. and masculinising by VI. 3. 34.

Note :—According to the Kāśikā this double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrīhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrīhi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a pronoun, as एकैकस्मै देहि ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is really a Bahuvrīhi, and not to a word-form which is treated like a Bahuvrīhi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi in that sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was understood from the preceding one, indicates this (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus न न करोति, सुसुजागर्ति ॥ This double-word is treated like a Bahuvrīhi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrīhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves:—1st, VI. 1. 223 S. 3734 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd, VI. 2. 1. the first member retaining its accent, 3rd, VI. 2. 172 S. 3906 already mentioned. 4th VIII. 1. 3. S. 3670. by which the second member becomes anudātta. The rule VI. 2. 1, however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrīhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samāsānta affixing. Thus ऋक् ऋक् एः पूः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10 S. 2145) do not get the samāsānta affix च by V. 4. 74.

"In the sūtra न बहुव्रीहौ (I. 1. 29 S. 222), the repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi, when its anuvṛitti was current from the preceding sūtra I. 1. 28.

S. 292, 'is for the sake of making that rule applicable to the Primary Bahuvrīhi, (and not to *analogical* Bahuvrīhi like that of this sūtra VIII. 1. 9. S. 2144). Therefore in the case of words which are Pseudo-Bahuvrīhis or analogical-Bahuvrīhis, the prohibition of S. 222 does not apply, and the word remains a Sarvanāman, and is declined as such." This is the opinion of the ancients. But as a matter of fact, this whole sūtra I. 1. 29 has been overruled by the opinion of the Bhāshya-author Patanjali. Even in the opinion of the sūtra-author Pāṇini, the prohibition of I. 1. 29 S. 222 applies to the stage of grammatical analysis of a Bahuvrīhi compound and not to the Bahuvrīhi compound as such. That is to say, a sārvanaman is not to be declined as such, if it is going to form the member of a Bahuvrīhi compound. So that in the analytical stage *before* composition, the word will not be declined as a pronoun. *After* composition, of course, the word loses its pronominal character by the vārtika under I. 1. 29. S. 222. So there can be no question of that sūtra applying to an analogical Bahuvrīhi, for such a Bahuvrīhi can never be grammatically analysed like the primary and true Bahuvrīhi. Therefore, we have एकैकस्मै वेहि and not एकैकाय वेहि ॥

२१४५। आवायेन् । ८ । १ । १० ॥

पीडायां घोत्यायां हे स्तो बहुव्रीहिवच्च । गतगतः । विरहात्पीड्यमानस्येयमुक्तिः । बहुव्रीहिवद्वा-
वास्तुलुक् । गतगता । इह पुंवद्भावः ॥

2145. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrīhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus गतगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्टः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine. Here the case affix is elided after the first word by treating it as a Bahuvrīhi, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine, here the first term becomes masculine and (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735.

२१४६। कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु । ८ । १ । ११ ॥

इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्बचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यम् । प्रयोजनं सुब्लोपपुंवद्भावान्तोदात्तस्थानि ॥

2146. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhāraya is to elide the case-affix (II. 4. 71 S. 650), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42 S. 746), and to regulate the accent by making the final acute VI. 2. 23. S. 3757. or S. 3734.

Note :—The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sūtra being an adhikāra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word उत्तरेषु.

२१४७ । प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य । ८ । १ । १२ ॥

सादृश्ये द्योत्ये गुणवचनस्य द्वे स्तस्तच्च कर्मधारयवत् । कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेष्वित्यधिकारात् । तेन पूर्व-
अङ्गस्य पुंवङ्गावः । समासस्थित्यन्तोदात्तत्वं च । पटुपटुः । पटुपटुः । पटुसदृशः । ईषत्पटुः इति यावत् ।
गुणोपसर्जनद्वयवाचिनः केवलगुणवाचिनश्चेह गृह्यन्ते । शुक्लशुक्लं रूपम् । शुक्लशुक्लः पदः ॥

भानुपूर्व्ये द्वे वाच्ये * ॥ मूलमूलं स्थूलः ॥

संभ्रमेण प्रवृत्तौ यथष्टमेनेकधा प्रयोगोऽन्यसिद्धः * ॥ सर्वःसर्वः बुध्यस्व २ । सर्वः ३ बुध्यस्व ४ ॥
क्रियासमभिहारे च * ॥ लुनीहिलुनीहीत्येवायं लुनाति । नित्यवृत्तियोरिति सिद्धं वृत्तार्थे द्वित्वार्थं
मिदम् । पौनः पुन्येऽपि लोटा सह सद्युच्चित्य द्योतकतां लब्धुं वा ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनाम्नो द्वे वाच्ये समासवच्च बहुलम् * ॥ बहुलप्रहणादन्यपर्योर्न समासवत् ।
इतरशाब्दस्य तु नित्यम् ॥

असमासवद्भावे पूर्वपदस्य सुपः सुर्वक्तव्यः * ॥ अन्योन्यं विप्रा नमन्ति । अ योन्यौ । अन्योन्यान् ।
वान्योन्येन कृतम् । अन्योन्यस्मै दत्तमित्यादि । अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरामृशन्त इति माघः । एवं परस्परम् ।
अत्र कम्कादित्वाद्विसर्गस्य सः । इतरेतरम् इतरेतरेणेत्यादि ॥

स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपदस्थाया विभक्तेराम्भावो वा वक्तव्यः * ॥ अन्योन्याम् । अन्योन्यम् । परस्पराम् ।
परस्परम् । इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरे वा इमे ब्राह्मणयोःकुले वा भोजयतः । अत्र केचित् आभावेऽसौ द्वितीयाया
एव । भाष्यादौ तथैवोदाहृतत्वात् । तेन स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरपि तृतीयादिषु पुंवदेव रूपमित्याहुः । अन्येतृता-
हरणस्य दिङ्मात्रत्वात्सर्वविभक्तीनामामादेशमाहुः ॥

दलद्वये दाबभावः क्लीबे चद्विरहः स्वमोः ॥

समासे सारलुक्चेति सिद्धं बाहुलकाच्चयम् ॥ १ ॥

तथाहि । अन्योन्यं परस्परमित्यत्र दलद्वयेऽपि दाप् प्राप्तः । नच सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवङ्गावः ।
अन्यपर्योरसमासवद्भावात् । नच द्विवचनमव वृत्तिः । यां यां भिद्य प्रैक्षत कातराक्षी सासत्यादावतिप्रस-
ङ्गात् । अन्योन्यमितरेतरमित्यत्र चद्विदतराभिष्य इत्यद्व प्राप्तः । अन्योन्यसंसक्तमहास्त्रियामम् । अन्योन्या-
श्रयः । परस्पराक्षिसादृश्यम् । अदृष्टपरस्परैरित्यादौ सारलुक्च प्राप्तः । सर्वं बाहुलकेन समाधियम् । प्रकृ-
तिकाभ्यामोदाहरणं स्त्रियामिति सूत्रे अन्योन्यसंश्रयवत्तदिति भाष्यं चात्र प्रमाणमिति ॥

2147. An attribute is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karmadhāraya.

Thus पटुपटुः, घृदुघृदुः where the first member has lost the case-affix, पटुपटुः, घृदुघृदुः where the first member is a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालककालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पटुपटुः पटुपटुः, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223. S. 3734 was debarred by VIII. 1. 3. but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223.

The word being treated as a Karmadhāraya there is masculinisation of the first member and the final takes the acute under VI. 1. 223. S. 3734.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference' and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here : i. e. *the person or thing resembles, but is not fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus पटुपटुः, 'tolerably sharp', पटुपटुी "she who is tolerably sharp." पटुपटुः "pretty soft". पण्डितपण्डितः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix जातीच् (V. 3. 69. S. 2024). also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus पटुजातीयः, पटुजातीयः ॥

The doubling takes place both where the adjective is a secondary member qualifying a substance, and where it is an attribute pure and simple, in the abstract, without any particular substance. As शुक्लशुक्लः पटः "tolerably white or whitish cloth." शुक्ल शुक्ल "whitish".

Why do we say prakāre "when denoting some what like it"? Observe पुद्गलेश्वरः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्मायकः, 'a fiery boy', गौ बाहीकः 'a cow-like Bāhika'. Here 'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vārt:—An adjective is repeated, when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलः "it is thick in all its roots one after another." अग्ने अग्ने सूक्ष्माः, उद्येष्ठ उद्येष्ठ प्रवेशय ॥

Note:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षापणादिहभक्ष्यां माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha, out of this kārshāpāṇa to you two i. e. give only *two* masha one to each'. A kārshāpāṇa contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vipśā). The word माषं माषं देहि = द्वौदेहि, the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say 'when it expresses the limit'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ देहि, त्रीन्वा माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, त्रीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि ॥

Vārt:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice or as many times as one likes, so long as the meaning is not manifest to the person addressed. The word संभ्रमण in the vārtika means 'a confused state of mind. As सर्प सर्प बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व "a snake, a snake, beware, beware." It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As सर्प सर्प सर्प बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व ॥

Vart:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, हुनीदि हुनीदि इत्येवम् हुनति ॥ See III. 4. 2. Though the doubling would have taken place under VIII. 1. 4. S. 2140. also yet the present *vartika* ordains doubling in the sense of intensity. Or it ordains doubling of the imperative, giving to it the additional meaning of frequency.

Note:—In re-iteration the word is doubled as, भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, भोजं भोजं ब्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Note:—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as पटपटा करोति पटपटायते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58.) Because of this restriction, some read the *vartika* as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

If the rule meant that the half word must be of at least two syllables before doubling, and then dāch should be added, then it would not apply to words like पटन् &c. Therefore the "half-not-less-than two-syllables" refers to the *doubled* word, the doubling being caused by dāch. The above difficulty arises if the locative in डाचि has the force of परसप्तमी ॥ But if we take the locative as विषयसप्तमी then the difficulty is obviated.

Note:—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वं पूर्वं पुष्प्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पच्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरे पुष्प्यन्ति, प्रथमतर पच्यन्ते ॥

Note:—The words ending in the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम comparative and superlative, are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभाविमावाक्यो, कतरा कतरा अनयोराक्यता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्वे इमे आक्याः, कतमा कतमा एषामाक्यता ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम; as; उभाविमावाक्यो, किदृशीकिदृशी अनयोराक्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun denoting condition (as आक्यता) is not in the feminine: as, उभाविमावाक्यो, कतरः कः श्रेष्ठयोर्वैभवः "Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness."

Vart:—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled; and diversely it is treated like a compound. Because the word 'diversely' is used in the *vartika*, the pronominals *anya*, and *para* are never treated like a compound; while the word *itara* is *invariably* treated as such and never optionally. II. 2. 27 S. 846

Vart:—And when it is not treated like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the nominative singular. See I. 3. 14. III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127.

Thus. अन्यमन्यमिने ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति "these Brāhmanas feed one another." अन्योऽन्यमिने ब्राह्मणा नमन्ति ॥ अन्योऽन्यस्मै ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरां भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. So also अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्योऽन्यान् अन्योऽन्येनकृतं, अन्योऽन्यस्मैदत्तं, अन्योऽन्येषां पुष्करैराहुतान्ते 'Māgha So' also परस्परं where the visarga is changed to स because it belongs to Kaskādi class. So also इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरेण &c.

Vart:—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added optionally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यामिने ब्राह्मण्यौ भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यामिने ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरामिने ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिने ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥ Here some say. The आम् substitution takes the place of the affixes of the accusative only: because the examples given in the Mahābhāṣhya &c are of accusative only. Therefore, the feminine and neuter words do not assume the masculine form in the Instrumental and other cases. This is one opinion. Others say, the examples given in the Bhāṣhya are merely illustrative, and therefore, the affixes of all cases, are replaced by आम् ॥

Verse.

1. The absence of दाप् in the both members of the doubled word.
2. The replacing of सु and अम् by अद् in the Neuter.
3. The non-elision of सु in compounds.

These three operations take place by force of the word bāhulaka 'diversely' in the vārtika.

1. Thus in अन्योन्यं and परस्परम् there would have come the Feminine affix दाप् ॥ The form ought to have been अन्या + अन्या = अन्यान्या ॥ But it is अन्यः + अन्यः = अन्योऽन्यं ॥ This is prevented by the vārtika. Nor will vārtika under II. I. 51. S. 728 apply and cause masculinisation.

Note:—That vārtika states the Pronouns become masculine whenever they occur as functions—vṛitti—of a compound or a taddhita.

Because अन्य and पर in the above are treated as not parts of a compound. Nor is re-iteration a vṛitti or function of a taddhita. For if re-iteration be considered a vṛitti as understood in II. I. 51. S. 728 vārtika, then it would apply to the following also. यां यां म्रियः प्रेक्षतः कातराक्षी सा सा &c.

Note:—Patanjali also uses it in this way: thus,

अकारकं व्यकथितत्वात् कारकं चेत् तु नाकथा ॥

कारकं चेद् विजानीयाद् यां यां मन्येत सा भवेत् ॥ Mahābhāṣhya. I. 4. 51.

2. The replacing of सु and अम् (Nom. and acc Sg) by अद् अद् ॥ Thus अन्योन्यम् । इतरेतरम् ॥ Here by VII. I. 25 S. 315 the affix अद् would have come and the form would have been अन्यदन्यम् and इतरदेतरम् ॥ The present vārtika prevents that.

3. The non-elision of सु in compounds;

Thus in अन्योन्यसंश्रयं महिमानम् । अन्योन्याश्रयः । परस्परान्वितद्वयम् । अदृष्टपरस्परैः ॥
In all the above examples the सु would have been elided by the above vartika. The word 'diversely' of the vartika prevents it.

The illustration of this vartika, as given by the Mahābhāṣya, is to be found in the sentence अन्योन्यसंश्रयं स्वेतद् भवति, as used by Patanjali in his gloss on IV. 1. 3. (क्षियाम्). So the Great Commentary is also an authority here.

२१४८ । अकृच्छ्रे प्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । १ । १३ ॥

प्रियप्रियेण इति । प्रियेण वा । सुखसुखेन इति । सुखेन वा । द्विवचने कर्मधारयपदानां सुबुद्धिः पुनस्तदेव वचनम् । अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्वनायासेन इतितीर्थः ॥

2148 'The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated optionally, when they mean "easily, without any difficulty".

The words कृच्छ्र means 'difficulty and sorrow', अकृच्छ्र means 'without difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियप्रियेण इति, सुखसुखेन इति, or प्रियेण इति, सुखेन इति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्वनायासेन इति ॥ That is, he gives with pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. In reiteration the word is treated as a Karmadhāraya and so there is elision of the case-affix as already mentioned above.

Note :—Why do we say "when meaning easily" Observe प्रियः पुत्रः "beloved son". सुखी रथः ॥

२१४९ । यथास्वे यथायथम् । ८ । १ । १४ ॥

यथास्वमिति वीप्सायामध्ययीभावः । योऽयमात्मा यथास्मीयं तद्यथास्वम् । तस्मिन्वयाशब्दस्य हेतुः श्रीवत्त्वं च निपात्यते । यथायथं ज्ञाता यथास्वभावमित्यर्थः । यथास्मीयमिति वा ॥

2149 The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the sense of "respectively, fitly, properly".

The word yathāsvam is an Avyayibhāva with the force of vīpsā. Whatever is this self and whatever belongs to this self all that is denoted by yathāsvam.

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वभावम् "all objects have been known according to their respective nature". सर्वेषां तु यथायथं = यथास्मीयं ॥

२१५० । ब्रह्मं रहस्यमर्थादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयत्नपान्नप्रयोगामिव्यक्तिषु । ८ ।

१ । १५ ॥

विशब्दस्य द्विवचनं पूर्वपदस्याम्भावोऽस्य चोत्तरपदस्य नपुंसकत्वं च निपात्यते एव्येषु । तत्र रहस्यं ब्रह्मशब्दस्य वाच्यम् । इतरे विषयभूताः । ब्रह्म मन्त्रयते । रहस्यमित्यर्थः । मर्यादा स्थित्यनतिक्रमः ॥

आचतुरं हीने पशवो इन्द्रं मिथुनायन्ते । माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति । पौत्रेण प्रपौत्रेणापीत्यर्थः ।
व्युत्क्रमण पृथगवस्थानम् । इन्द्रं व्युत्क्रान्ताः द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः । इन्द्रं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुज्यन्ते ।
इन्द्रं संकल्पं वासुदेवौ । अभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण नारदपर्वतौ, इन्द्रं सर्कषणं वासुदेवौ = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ
साहचर्येण ॥

2150. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word इन्द्रं is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first द्वि into अन्, and the second द्वि into अन् and making it a Neuter. The word इन्द्रं itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' मर्यादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus इन्द्रं मन्त्रयन्ते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or मर्यादावचनाः, as, आचतुरं हीने पशवो इन्द्रं मिथुनायन्ते "upto the fourth degree, these cattle congregate with each other." माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Sākh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—इन्द्रं व्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as—इन्द्रं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुज्यन्ते । (See I. 3. 64). अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation : as—इन्द्रं नारदपर्वतौ, इन्द्रं सर्कषणं वासुदेवौ = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word इन्द्रं is found employed in connection with other senses also ; as, इन्द्रं युज्यते वर्त्तते, इन्द्रानि सहस्रेभ्यः, आर्ये इन्द्रः &c,

Here ends the chapter on Reiteration.

HERE ENDS THE VOLUME ONE OF THE SIDDHANTA KAUMUDĪ

BY BHATTTOJI DIKSHITA.

Prof. Cecil Bendall

Since the appearance of your book, I have had to read a portion of this chapter and to write down your elucidations and remarks on the sūtras to be of great value. I feel always that you had most carefully weighed each passage. I have no doubt that your Siddhānta Kāumudī will be equally useful.

Mañmahopādhyaya Pandit Sivakumār Sāstri, Benares—

इति शिष्यभाषया त्रैयुतत्रैश्वर्यवसुक्तस्य सिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्यानस्य समी-
क्षितं शिष्यभाषानभिज्ञेन मया यथावत् कर्तुं नाशक्ति। परं “यथार्थत्वे-
न विज्ञे पुनः सद्दृश्यमदृश्यं गुणभूतेऽपि सादृश्ये यथा स्यादिति” पङ्क्तौ;
अत्रोक्तं किम् एहि सुखोता अत्र आहि द्युतस्यासिद्धत्वादतः परोऽयमिति”
मन्त्रे भावं मया पृष्टेन केनचित्तद्भाषाभिज्ञेनैतद् अत्यमवलोक्य प्रकाशित-
शिष्यभाषायां परमं सन्तोषं प्राप्य स्थालीपुस्तकन्यायेनेदं व्याख्यानं सिद्धान्त-
कौमुदी यथास्मिताशयप्रकाशकन्तज्जिज्ञासूनां परमोपकारकश्चास्तीत्यध्य-
यसि काशीस्थो महामहोपाध्यायः पण्डित शिवकुमार शर्मा मित्रः।

Professor A. A. Mac Donell, M. A., Oxford—

Pray accept my best thanks for the copy of Volume I of your translation of the Siddhānta Kāumudī which has just arrived. As the Siddhānta Kāumudī is a very useful work for students of the Paninian system of grammar, you are doing a good thing in translating it.

Mañmahopādhyaya Pandit Kailas Chandra Siromani, Benares—

इति शिष्यभाषानभिज्ञः। इति शिष्यभाषायामतिव्युत्पन्नेन त्रैयुतेन वाचु त्रैश्व-
र्यवसुना इति शिष्यभाषया सिद्धान्तकौमुद्या व्याख्यानं कृतं यत् तत् दृष्ट्वा तदर्थं
पण्डितः प्रहोऽस्मि। केनचित् तद्भाषाभिज्ञेन पाठयित्वाऽर्थमुपलभ्य व्याख्यातु-
मर्हति विवेच्य सिद्धान्तकौमुद्या अर्थजिज्ञासूनामनेन अत्येन विशेषफललाभं
भविष्यतीति सन्भावये। महामहोपाध्यायशिरोमण्युपनामा श्रीकैलासचन्द्र शर्मा

Professor Louis dela Vallée Paunui, Ghent—

I have duly received the first volume of your Siddhānta Kāumudī. I was much pleased to get such a nice present from you. I have no hesitation to confess that I found inextricable difficulties in the use of Bohtlingk's Panini before I was so fortunate as to obtain from my friend a copy of your Ashtādhyāyī. It is a capital book for study and the Siddhānta Kāumudī, for study.

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 I congratulate you on your successful termination of Panini's Ashtadhyayi. It was a great undertaking, and you have done your part of it most admirably. I say once more, what should I have given you for the edition of Panini when I was young, and how much time and trouble it saved me and others. Whatever people may say, no one can deny the merit of this edition. * * * * *

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